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A MODEL OF COMMUNICATION BEHAVIOR, ATTITUDE TOWARD
TELEVISION ADVERTISING, AND IDENTIFICATION WITH THE
MATERIALIST "IDEOLOGY OF PROGRESS"

by
Marc Anthony Fedák

A Thesis submitted to
the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research
through the Department of Communication Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts
at the University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada

1988

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ABSTRACT:
A MODEL OF COMMUNICATION BEHAVIOUR,
ATTITUDE TOWARD TELEVISION ADVERTISING,
AND IDENTIFICATION WITH THE MATERIALIST "IDEOLOGY OF PROGRESS"

by
Marc Anthony Fedak

Many cross-cultural researchers have observed that members of mass, consumer societies are relatively more materialistic than members of traditional or transitional societies which place a higher premium on humanist values; yet, many traditional and transitional societies implicitly support the materialist "ideology of progress", and have either actively sought out technical and exploitive, economic progress or accepted its imposition, despite the supposed incompatibility of "progressive" and traditional values. This study has attempted to account for this discrepancy by developing a new construct -- nature/progressive society threat orientation -- and relating it to dominant value profile. This study also developed and applied in part a psychological model that attempts to predict which individuals or groups are most likely to support or reject the "ideology of progress", embodied in television advertising, and progressive institutions such as commercial television.

Based on the psychological model of attitudes and behaviour relating to the "ideology of progress", a questionnaire containing, among other items, measures of locus of control, threat orientation, dominant value profile, amount of time spent watching commercial television, and reaction toward commercial television programming and advertising was administered to 449 post secondary students from Canada, the United States, Jamaica, and Montserrat. Pearson correlation, ANOVA, regression, and chi-square analyses were used to test the validity of the psychological and sociological level research hypotheses.

It was found that the proposed psychological model received qualified support in Canada, the US, Jamaica, and Montserrat.

Among Canadian and American respondents, threat orientation was found to be related to dominant value profile, such that those who perceive nature as the greatest threat are relatively more materialistic than those who perceive progressive society as the greatest threat. Meanwhile, threat orientation and dominant value profile seemed to account for differences in reaction toward the materialist "ideology of progress" depicted in television advertising: those who perceive nature to be the greatest threat or possess a materialist dominant value profile tend to view television advertising more favourably than do those who perceive progressive society to be the greatest threat or possess predominantly humanist values.

At the cross-cultural level of analysis, it was revealed that Americans, Canadians, and Jamaicans generally perceive progressive society as the greatest threat, yet retain the materialist, "progressive" values; Montserratian students, on the other hand feel that nature and progressive society are equally threatening, and possess predominantly humanist values. Based on these findings, this author concluded that the United States, Canada, and Jamaica will become humanist societies only if they first reject the materialist "ideology of progress". That American and Canadian students view television advertising in a negative light is encouraging, for it suggests that the materialist "ideology of progress" is losing its appeal in North America; unfortunately, while Jamaican students perceive progressive society as the greatest threat, their positive assessment of television advertising indicates that they still are favourably disposed toward the "ideology of progress" and have not yet made the connection between materialism and the perpetuation of the progressive institutions they fear.

It was more difficult to speculate about the fate of Montserrat. Since the Montserratian students still perceive nature as threatening, and since they react most favourably toward television advertising, there is a strong possibility that Montserrat will embrace the ideology and institutions of

progressive society, despite their present humanist value profile. On the other hand, if the perception that progressive society is the greatest threat arises, and its populace retains a humanist dominant value profile, then Montserrat will not evolve into a mass, consumer society on its own accord.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank:

My chief advisor, Prof. Stuart Surlin, for steering me in the direction of continuing as my thesis a study I had initially become involved with during his History of Consumerism, and Graduate Proseminar courses; for his assistance in helping me clarify many of the ideas herein; and above all, for his continued, enthusiastic support and encouragement throughout all the stages of writing this thesis.

My second department advisor, Prof. Kai Hildebrandt, for instilling in me an appreciation of the value of basing quantitative research on a solid theoretical background; and above all, for his willingness to share his statistical expertise and invaluable constructive criticism with me, even before he had agreed to take on the role of advisor.

My outside advisor, Prof. Subhas Ramcharam, and extra-reader, Prof. Chris King for sharing their unique perspectives with me.

Steve Pellarin for assisting in the construction, administration, and coding of the questionnaire used in this thesis, and for his patience in explaining SPSS-X computer programming to me.

Patti Collins and June Degia for their assistance in administering and coding the questionnaire used in this thesis, and Ed Czilli for sharing his knowledge of the SPSS-X computer program.

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LIST OF NOMENCLATURE

1. progress: While acknowledging that there has been much contention over how to define "progress", it is in the largely economic sense of the word (rather than the social sense of the word) that the term will be used throughout this discourse. More specifically, by "progress", I mean evolution characterized by continued technological growth, increasing efficiency and production of material goods, specialization of labour, and alienating institutionalization which, though initiated by society, is ultimately intended to benefit the individual by radically transforming his or her relationship with the natural world, from one of dependence to one of independence. Furthermore, it is predominantly exploitive, in that the progress-minded individual seeks to minimize the amount of energy he or she must personally expend to survive by dominating and exhausting natural and human resources. (An interesting parallel can be made between "progress" thus defined and the Hopi term "powaqqatsi", which refers to "a way of life that consumes the life forces of other beings in order to further its own life" (Metro Times, July 13, 1988: 18). Since capitalism seeks to maximize returns while simultaneously minimizing personal expenditures, it is the economic system most conducive to progress. Exploitive, economic progress can be contrasted with non-exploitive progress, which is predominantly conservational: in this case, the individual still seeks to minimize the amount of energy he or she must personally expend to survive, but does not intend to do so by dominating and exhausting natural and human resources.

2. ideology of progress: This term refers to that set of attitudes, assumptions, and beliefs which implicitly or explicitly legitimize and support the perpetuation of progress as it is conceived of in the industrial and post-industrial consumer

societies of the West, and at least one of the long-term goals that progress seeks to achieve (see Chapter One for a discussion of the three long-term goals of progress). One of the interesting tactics of "the ideology of progress" is that it strives to create a unified public and a sense of community (though strictly for the economic purpose of creating the largest possible marketplace) by appealing, ironically, to the desire within members of the mass audience to be different from and independent of other humans. This can be observed in television advertising and programming in general: even though traditional, humanist values are often portrayed, the satisfactions derived from them are ultimately individual and private, rather than collective (Squire, 1986: 6).

3. progressive institutions: This term refers to those institutions which are geared toward establishing or continuing economic, exploitive progress, and ultimately achieving at least one of its long-term goals (see Chapter One). Admittedly, it is difficult to determine whether or not a given organization is "progressive", since i) it may have both "progressive" and "non-progressive" characteristics, or, ii) it may seek to attain progressive goals

but not via economic, exploitive progress. However, the following arguably can be seen as progressive institutions: colleges which focus on teaching applied, marketable skills; institutes of technology and science stressing Newtonian rather than relativistic concepts; zoos; the meat industry; and advertising firms.

CHAPTER ONE: THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND HYPOTHESES

INTRODUCTION

Recent cross-cultural research has at last provided a systematic, empirical foundation to earlier unsubstantiated claims made by scholars in the humanities and social sciences regarding the differing values of members of traditional and emerging societies, and members of "advanced" societies. For instance, Gilgen and Cho have found that "Eastern-oriented subjects tended to value wisdom, inner harmony, courage, forgiveness, imagination, love and a life-style characterized by waiting quietly for joy and peace" (Gilgen, Cho, 1979: 268). On the other hand, "subjects with a Western orientation tended to favour a comfortable life, but also one geared toward mastering threatening forces through hard work; in addition, they valued ambition" (Ibid.: 268). Western-oriented males in particular also favoured excitement, social recognition, group participation, broadmindedness, the appreciation and preservation of humanity's achievements, self-control, and high ideals.

Similarly, Surlin has reported value differences between alienated Jamaicans who identify more closely with traditional African culture than they do with their own, and Westernized Jamaicans who constitute the majority of the population. It was observed that Westernized Jamaicans ranked salvation, obedience, and self-control relatively high, and mature love, social recognition, broadmindedness, and imagination relatively low. The less authoritarian but more culturally alienated Jamaicans ranked cleanliness, a world at peace, happiness, and independence relatively high, while true friendship, honesty, salvation, cheerfulness, and forgiveness were ranked relatively low (Surlin, 1985).

Belk and Pollay have noted that America, as the prime exponent of consumerism, "has traditionally been characterized as being more materialistic than any other part of the world. There is also the popular view that Americans have become more

materialistic since 1970" (Belk, Pollay, 1984: 394).

In short, such research supports the long held belief that traditional cultures, with their strong sense of community, tend to place a relatively high premium on social and moral values; in the mass, consumer societies of the Western hemisphere, where individualism and competitiveness are the norm, personal and competence values predominate. Yet, such research fails to account for the tendency of many traditional societies to consciously or subconsciously endorse the "ideology of progress" and patronize its concomitant institutions --among them, commercial television -- despite the supposed incompatibility of progressive and traditional values. Besides attempting to address this issue by determining if variables other than dominant value profile play a major part in influencing an individual's or group's acceptance of progress, this study also seeks to answer several other questions: why has the "ideology of progress" been so alluring throughout the centuries? From a socio-psychological standpoint, which individuals and groups are most likely to actively seek progress or accept its imposition, and which individuals and groups are most likely to resist it? Finally, how does one's patronage and reaction to television commercials (which depict the vision of paradise favoured most by those who support the aims of progressive society) relate to one's orientation to progressive society in general, and to one's dominant value profile?

BACKGROUND: THE "IDEOLOGY OF PROGRESS"

Many scholars of philosophy, arts, and social sciences have noted that there are two opposing fundamental world views based on the individual's relationship with himself or herself, society/humanity, nature and god. Those holding the monastic view see their relationship with such entities as one characterized by balance, harmony, interdependence, and complementariness, whereas those holding the dualistic view often associated with Western societies (but most likely prevalent throughout much of the

world) perceive themselves as an independent agent pitted against all external entities in a bitter, never ending conflict (Spellman, 1986; Gilgen, Cho, 1979: 202).

Similarly, it can be observed that there are two fundamentally different views of "progress". One view of progress is that in a harmonious, interdependent world there is no need for the individual -- and it must be reiterated that, although progress is a social phenomenon, it is purported to ultimately benefit the individual -- to impose significant change on nature or fellow humans. Instead, change is absorbed or directed inward; in other words, it is accepted. The view generally held throughout the world, however, differs radically: the process of society-imposed evolution is seen as a weapon against unwanted change and the resulting chaos, instability, conflict, and pain imposed by outside entities, most notably nature. Progress is generally seen as the best, if not only, means for individuals to collectively subordinate and achieve mastery over the forces of nature which work in opposition to the individual; moreover, individuals with an adversarial relationship with external entities also view progress as a means to dominate fellow humans.

As I see it, there is implicit in the push for progress a desire held by those with an adversarial relationship with external entities to accomplish three long term, idealistic goals. As mentioned earlier, the first and most important of these is to impose absolute control over all external sources of change and conflict. The other goals are to eliminate all physical and mental labour, and to escape existence in a conflict-ridden, ever-changing physical world. In essence, progress is believed to be the "magic carpet" that will allow the individual to leave behind his or her present existence in the physical realm and reach his or her ultimate destination: a self-determined, egocentric state of perpetual equilibrium, or stated differently, a self-imposed paradise.

The compulsion of progress-minded individuals to impose

control over all external sources of change and conflict has been noted by many academics, among them Argyl, Adler, and Marcuse. Argyl, as cited by Phares, observed that "Autonomy is a drive that impels people toward need satisfaction through manipulation of and influence over the environment. The individual seeks to master the world although he is governed at the same time by a propensity to subjugate himself to his environment"(Phares, 1976: 72). Adler echoed this belief: "Strivings for power and influence are seen as outgrowths of feelings of inferiority. To become powerful is to deny one's inadequacies by overcoming them"(Phares, 1976: 72).

Marcuse also saw an underlying desire within all progress-minded individuals to dominate external entities.

Nature [and humanity are] a priori experienced by an organism bent to domination and therefore experienced as susceptible to mastery and control. And consequently, work is a priori power and provocation in the struggle with nature [and humanity]; it is the overcoming of [perceived] resistance. In such work-attitude, the images of the objective world appear as "symbols for points of aggression"; action appears as domination, and reality per se as resistance" (Marcuse, 1974: 111).

While self-imposed control over all external entities is the ultimate goal of those having an adversarial relationship with such entities, the compulsion to achieve total mastery over nature (including an extension of nature, one's body) is strongest, since nature -- being more powerful and alien to the individual than humanity -- constitutes the greatest threat to the individual's autonomy¹. Hence, the individual may believe that it is in his or her best interest to temporarily abdicate some measure of autonomy in favour of gaining security and stability through society-imposed change and control. Veblen, upon speculating why our early ancestors may have seen the need to affiliate, arrived at a similar conclusion:

He [man] was of a peaceful and retiring

disposition only by force of circumstances... when industrial efficiency was still inconsiderable, no group could have survived except on a basis of a sense of solidarity strong enough to throw self-interest in the background.... Self-interest, as an accepted guide of action, is possible only after the use of tools has developed so far as to leave a large surplus of product over what is required for the sustenance of the producers (Veblen, 1934: 86-87).

It should be re-emphasized that those whose ultimate goal is to impose self-initiated control over all external agents view their subservience to society not as a terminal state, but rather as a temporary condition: such individuals will seek to dominate not only nature, but -- if the opportunity arises -- other humans as well, so that their self-interest alone will be served².

Certainly, adherents of the Berkeley school such as Adorno and Forbes saw in their prototype of the authoritarian personality a contradictory inclination to readily submit to the various authorities and institutions of society, while at the same time yearning to defy them by unconditionally satisfying his or her self-interest. Intolerant of social complexity, violently opposed to change, conflict, and control imposed from outside, the authoritarian person either accepts a particular group without reservation, or else he or she rejects it as alien or threatening. The group he or she accepts is the ingroup; the group he or she rejects is the outgroup. Human relationships are seen as a matter of dominance or submission, and the struggle between the two.

Under ideal conditions, he or she will condemn, reject, punish, and dominate those who violate ingroup conventions; at the same time, he or she will display a submissive, uncritical attitude towards the moral authorities of the ingroup, whom he or she sees as a mirror image of himself or herself³. Yet, deep down, the authoritarian person holds no love for such authority figures. While the authoritarian individual will outwardly submit to conventional values -- hard work, loyalty to family,

respect for authority, 'the homely virtues of living' -- he cannot help secretly desiring leisure and its delights, freedom from family obligations, the power to disregard the restraints of [externally imposed] authority and convention... He resents the whole society that denies him what he secretly craves"(Forbes, 1985: 39).

The goal to eliminate physical and mental labour is also cherished by progress-minded persons. That physical labour is generally reviled has been noted by many: Freud argued that even a minimum expenditure of energy is inherently painful and without satisfaction. Marcuse points out that "In Freud's metapsychology, there is no room for an original "instinct of workmanship", "mastery instinct", etc. The notion of the conservative nature of the instincts under the rule of the pleasure and Nirvana principles strictly precludes such assumptions" (Marcuse, 1974: 81). Veblen noted that in progressive societies, "the economic beatitude lies in an unrestrained consumption of goods, without work; whereas the perfect affliction is unrenumerated labour. Man instinctively revolts at effort that goes to supply the means of life"(Veblen, 1934: 78). Weber too, alluded to this negative attitude toward work. He noted that the spirit of capitalism required the cultivation of a mentality which

during the working hours, is freed from the continual calculations of how the customary wage may be earned with a maximum of comfort and a minimum of exertion. Labour must, on the contrary, be performed as if it were an end in itself, a calling. But such an attitude is by no means a product of nature. It... can only be the product of a long and arduous process of education (Weber, 1976: 63).

From this perspective, then, one of education's tasks is to suppress the temptation to avoid engaging in physical labour (and especially alienated labour). This implies that the desire to eliminate work is an "instinct" in all progress-minded

individuals; ironically, it is this predisposition which probably impelled the early capitalists to engage in the very activity that eventually they sought to avoid. To eliminate a simple act of labour required the performance of more complex acts of labour⁴. Still, once an act of labour was eliminated, in theory, there was no need to ever perform it again. Attention could then be turned toward the elimination of more complex acts of labour until finally expenditure of physical energy would no longer be required to survive.

The same tendency of avoidance applies to mental labour. While proponents of technological advancement claim that the fruits of science free up humans from having to engage in physical labour, thereby making it possible for them to engage in higher intellectual pursuits, it seems that science (or at least that based on mechanistic, Newtonian principles) strives to eliminate the expenditure of mental energy as well⁵. Empirical science -- because of its reductionist goal to replace multiple, subjective interpretations of the physical world with a single, objective paradigm which accounts for every phenomenon -- ultimately is in opposition to the activity which supposedly it fosters: learning (Kuhn, 1970). For learning to occur, the individual must first be confronted with an attitude or belief which conflicts with those he or she already has accepted, otherwise, the individual's prior cognitive or emotional body of knowledge is merely being reinforced. If empirical science ever succeeds at discovering "The Paradigm", mental conflict, and hence, learning, will have been effectively abolished. Humanity will have reached a state of mental (and physical) equilibrium.

As dynamic organisms, however, humans need to expend energy, even if they ultimately wish to eliminate work; if they do not, the body quickly declines, regressing to a death like state referred to as atrophy. Unfortunately, as society progresses and more and more acts are rendered unnecessary, there is the potential for members of such a society continue regressing physically and mentally⁶. Veblen hinted of this in The

Theory of the Leisure Class:

For this class [the leisure class], the incentive to diligence and thrift is not absent; but its action is so greatly qualified by the secondary demands of pecuniary emulation, any inclination in this direction is practically overborne and any incentive to diligence is of no effect. The most imperative of these secondary demands of emulation... is the requirement of abstention from productive work... Abstention from labour is the conventional evidence of wealth and is therefore the conventional mark of social standing... Abstention from labour is not only a honorific or meritorious act, but it presently comes to be a requisite of decency (Veblen, 1979: 36-41).

While Veblen attributes the refusal of the leisure class to engage in physical labour to vanity and arrogance, perhaps the principle reason why its members refuse to work is because of an inherent repugnance of labour. Yet, unless all physical and mental labour is eliminated, such an attitude is counterproductive to the achievement of the goal to eliminate work. Recalling that the abolition of simple acts of labour requires the performance of relatively more complex acts of labour, it is no wonder that physical and especially mental stagnation is not tolerated for long in progressive societies.

The third goal of progress-minded individuals -- to escape existence in the physical world -- can only be attained if the two previously discussed goals have been completely achieved. Because individuals with an adversarial relationship with the external world see existence as a painful experience full of unwanted chaos, conflict, and change over which they have no control, it is understandable that they yearn for the day when they can declare independence from all external sources of control, and sever their relationship of dependency with nature and humanity; it is understandable that they seek deliverance to a utopia that is self-determined and self-serving, a state of perpetual equilibrium revolving around the individual.

This notion that there is a proclivity for humans and other

organisms to seek and maintain a state of equilibrium has been proposed in both the natural sciences and the social sciences. According to Littlejohn, the theory of cybernetics, which originated in physics and was later applied to communications (by proponents of General Systems Theory), assumes that an open system -- one that is interdependently linked with the outside environment -- is geared toward maintaining itself, staying in balance, and holding its own: in other words, there is a drive toward maintaining homeostasis, or equilibrium. If such a system cannot adapt to change imposed upon it from outside, it will become a closed system characterized by movement, progressive internal chaos, and finally, death (Littlejohn, 1986: 148-151).

Littlejohn has also noted that consistency theory, another theory sharing the assumption that humans strive for equilibrium, begins with the basic premise that people need to be consistent, or at least need to see themselves as being consistent. While people, as dynamic, ever-changing organisms, do seek conflict-inducing stimuli and inconsistency (i.e., education, excitement) from time to time, there is almost always the element of self-imposed control, as embodied in the individual's exercising of free choice. In general, the direction of change will likely be towards achieving balance and self-maintenance, with the ultimate ideal state being equilibrium. Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance, an elaboration of consistency theory, assumes that dissonance produces stress and conflict that impel the individual to make adjustments so that the dissonance is reduced. In addition, when dissonance is present, the individual will not only seek to reduce it, but will avoid similar dissonance producing situations. Hence, two strategies for dealing with dissonance might be to seek information that is consonant with one's values, beliefs, or attitudes, or to misinterpret or distort dissonant information (Littlejohn, 1986: 148-151).

Marcuse also was aware of the desire within the human organism to maintain a state of self-imposed balance. Like Freud, he observed that

The pleasure principle is a tendency operating in the service of a function whose business it is to free the mental apparatus entirely from excitation or to keep the amount of excitation in it constant or to keep it as low as possible. ...The primary processes of the mental apparatus, in their striving for internal gratification, seem to be fatally bound to the "most universal endeavour of all living substance -- namely to return to the quiescence of the inorganic world" [the Nirvana Principle]... The instincts are thus drawn into the orbit of death (Marcuse, 1974: 24-25).

Belk and Pollay believe Western society's preoccupation with a self-determined, self-serving utopia is reflected in television advertising. With its lack of death, suffering, and hardship, advertising presents a picture not of reality, but of the way we aspire to live; the emphasis is on "the good life", a life abounding in material comfort and luxuries (Belk, Pollay, 1985: 887-888). Although this fetish with material objects seems to contradict the contention that progress-minded individuals wish to escape existence in the physical domain, it is actually consistent with this view. Material objects are alluring in that they represent the ultimate triumph of human ingenuity over the forces of nature: they provide concrete "proof" that we can freeze or harness the supposedly unpredictable and unmanageable forces of nature to serve our purposes. Life in the physical realm is tolerated only so long as the individual can exercise some degree of control over the external world, as he or she does indirectly through the production and acquisition of material objects; however, a world characterized by human mastery over external forces is not a natural, dynamic world; it is an artificial, static world.

While the concept of perpetual equilibrium is akin to the scientist's understanding of death, it differs from the conventional notion of death held throughout most of the Western world. Unlike natural death, which is feared because we have no

control over how or when it will occur, a self-imposed and self-determined state of perpetual equilibrium is desirable precisely because the individual has exercised free choice and control in determining the nature of its outcome. He or she has enlisted the component instincts of self-preservation, self-assertion, and mastery "to ward off any possible ways of returning to inorganic existence other than those which are immanent in the organism itself" (Freud, 1961b: 33). Though it may be more accurate to think of this form of death as suicide, the difficulty here is that in most cases, suicide only appears to be self-imposed and self-determined; in reality, by committing this act, the individual tacitly acknowledges that he or she is reacting to their environment out of powerlessness and despondency. Self-imposed perpetual equilibrium, on the other hand, can only be achieved when the individual has attained absolute mastery over all external entities.

Although progress-minded individuals seek to assert control over all external entities; eliminate the need to expend physical and mental energy for purposes of survival; and create a self-imposed, egocentric state of perpetual equilibrium, to do so, they are forced to engage in the very activities they revile. They must abdicate self-interest and self-imposed control, and submit to various institutions and authority figures in order that society can collectively subdue its greatest adversary, nature. In doing so, not only do they become increasingly dependent on the machinery of progress for their very survival, but they are ever more vulnerable in the face of nature. Progress-minded individuals also unwittingly engage in increasingly more complex acts of labour to eliminate simpler acts of labour. They are forced to deal with the bitter misery of the here-and-now rather than escape to their ultimate destination, paradise. This great irony will be referred to as the "Paradox of Progress"⁷.

Few have had such a clear grasp of this bitter irony as Freud and Marcuse. Freud posited that the unrestrained pleasure

principle comes into conflict with the natural and human environment, forcing the individual to come to the realization that full and painless gratification of his or her biological needs is impossible, and that adherence to the reality principle is necessary in order to maintain a secure existence in adverse surroundings. Adherence to the "reality principle" demands the repression of the uncontrolled Eros and the deflection of this libidinal energy to expressions condoned within a particular society (Freud, 1961a). Furthermore, as Marcuse pointed out, a shift in instinctual priorities from immediate satisfaction, pleasure, joy (play), receptiveness, and absence of repression to delayed satisfaction, abstinence from pleasure, toil (work), productiveness, and security is necessary (Marcuse, 1974).

Progressive civilization is the perfect embodiment of the reality principle, for it is only made possible when the self-interest of its members is repressed. "If absence from repression is the archetype of freedom, then civilization is the struggle against this freedom... Whatever liberty exists in the realm of the developed consciousness, and in the world it has created, it is only derivative, compromised freedom gained at the expense of full satisfaction of needs" (Marcuse, 1974: 13-15).

Both Freud and Marcuse noted that, despite its goal to eliminate physical and mental labour, progressive society is founded upon repression and work. On the latter, Marcuse, in particular, was careful to make the distinction between work, which he believed could provide a high degree of libidinal satisfaction, and alienated labour. "The work that created and enlarged the material basis of civilization was chiefly labour, alienated labour, painful and miserable -- and still is. The performance of work hardly determines individual needs and inclinations" (Marcuse, 1974: 85). The work of individuals in a progressive society ultimately benefits "an apparatus they do not control, which operates as an independent power to which individuals must submit if they want to live. And it becomes more alien the more specialized the division of labour becomes. While

they work, they do not fulfill their own needs and faculties but work in alienation" (Marcuse, 1974: 45).

The Paradox of Progress also can be observed on a broader level. Progress, or evolution and control initiated by humans, is perceived to be the best means by which those with an adversarial relationship with nature and society seek to achieve a self-determined, self-serving state of perpetual equilibrium. Constant change, movement, and conflict are enlisted in an attempt to create a static, fixed, and peaceful world. In essence then, progress -- so long as it is intended to continue unabated until all three of its goals have been completely achieved -- is ultimately de-evolutionary. Freud and Marcuse both recognized that society's drive towards achieving progressive goals entailed the transformation and utilization of the regressive Death Instinct or its derivatives. The instincts of self-preservation, self-assertion, and mastery, insofar as they have absorbed the "constructive technological destruction" and radical alteration of nature, have the function of assuring the individual's own path to death⁸.

Ironically, never-ending progress defies natural (or if you will, objective) reality: it is impossible to fully achieve the reactionary goals of progress in a world that is essentially evolutionary and dynamic in nature. Moreover, in order that one individual's desire to impose absolute control over nature and humanity be achieved, these external entities must forfeit their inclination to assert themselves on that individual; since this scenario is almost unimaginable in a society where individuals have an adversarial relationship not only with nature, but with each other, conflict is inevitable. Yet, despite the futility of it all, as "rational" creatures, much of humanity is deluded into believing the myth that progress is the road to happiness⁹.

THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

Response to the implementation of progress and its supporting doctrine, the "ideology of progress" (which, for this

study, will be approximated by the respondent's attitudinal and behavioral reactions towards the most vocal proponents of material progress, television advertising and commercial television programming) is believed to be largely determined by three psychological variables: internal/external locus of control; desire for imposing control on external entities, specifically nature and humanity; and threat orientation.

Internal/external locus of control, a concept developed by Rotter, refers to an individual's perception that desired outcomes are contingent upon his or her actions. If the individual believes that the achievement of desired outcomes or goals is contingent upon his or her actions, then this individual is said to have a belief in internal control; conversely, an individual who attributes the achievement of desired outcomes or goals to fate, luck, God, or some external agent is said to have a belief in external control (Phares, 1979). With respect to the present discussion of an individual's reactions to progress and its concomitant ideology, internals--being more confident in their abilities than externals -- are most likely to actively accept or resist the establishment and perpetuation of progress, whereas externals are likely to passively accept the imposition of progress, whether or not they desire it. Internals are also more likely than externals to favour "active media" such as newspapers or books over "passive media" like commercial television.

The desire to impose control over external entities, specifically humanity, roughly corresponds to authoritarianism, the concept developed by Adorno et al. which was discussed earlier, and a related concept, directiveness, or "the desire or tendency to impose one's will on others" (Ray, 1976: 322-323). It is believed that this variable must be incorporated along with the variable locus of control in any theory which seeks to predict how an individual or group will respond to the "ideology of progress". Knowledge that an individual is an internal or an external alone will not suffice: an internal will not actively

embrace progress or endorse its ideology (nor will he or she seek to undermine progressive society) if he or she has little desire to assert control over nature and fellow humans; in addition to having the belief that he or she is capable of mastering his or her environment, the individual must also be motivated to do so.

An individual's threat orientation must also be taken into account, since it will indicate which external entity -- nature or progressive society -- will be the present target of that individual's efforts to assert himself or herself¹⁰. Those who perceive nature as the greatest threat most likely will be favourably disposed to the materialist "ideology of progress" and support the establishment of progressive institutions. Those who perceive progressive society as the greatest threat might outwardly comply with the norms of progressive society (especially likely if a belief in external locus of control is held), though deep down, they will hold negative attitudes toward the "ideology of progress" and will support the dismantling or transformation of progressive institutions.

Generally, at the individual/micro/psychological level of analysis, it is posited that individuals who have an internal locus of control, have a great desire to impose control over external entities, and perceive nature as the greatest personal threat will not only be favourably predisposed to the "ideology of progress", but will actively embrace or seek to perpetuate progress. Their efforts will meet the greatest resistance from individuals who similarly have an internal locus of control along with a great desire to impose control over external entities, but who perceive progressive society, rather than nature, as the greatest personal threat. Externals, regardless of their threat orientation or the extent to which they desire to assert mastery over their surroundings, will tend to accept the imposition of progress, even if they are not supportive of its concomitant ideology. Those who possess a belief in external control, yet have a great desire to dominate external entities, will likely experience more than any other group profound frustration,

helplessness, and alienation, regardless of their environment in which they exist¹⁰. (For a more detailed look at the progress-related attitudes and behaviours expected of the various psychological types, see Appendix B.)

The concepts of locus of control, desire for self-imposed control over nature and society, and threat orientation can also be applied on a macro, cross-national level of analysis, although great caution is required, especially when using these to predict how a given nation will respond to progress and its supporting ideology. In many instances, especially in the Third World, it will be the elite (which often constitutes the minority), not the majority group(s) of a given nation, whose orientation on the forementioned three variables will be of primary interest, since the former controls most of the nation's resources, and thus, most likely decides whether or not its country will accept or reject progress.

The cross-cultural application of this psychological model is further complicated when used to account for cross-national differences in dominant values¹¹. The expected associations between a nature threat orientation and materialism, and a progressive society threat orientation and humanism, though apparently the only logical possibilities, may not hold universally; what is needed is a theoretical framework which takes into account important historical factors which might alter the expected relationships between dominant value profile and threat orientation. To address contradictions between threat orientation and dominant value profile expected to arise at the cross-cultural level, Fedak and Surlin are proposing the "Transformation of Values and Threat Orientation Theorem".

It is posited that value orientation has evolved as a community's desire and ability to master nature has changed¹². At pre-time 1, when the preeminence of a harmonious world view precludes a nature threat orientation, humanist values dominate. At time 1, when nature is generally perceived to be the greatest threat, humanist values dominate; without significant

development of technology and the physical sciences, the collective efforts of the community are needed to survive. At time 2, when nature remains a threat, but the introduction of the physical sciences and ascendancy of technological society makes it possible not only to survive, but transcend the forces of nature, materialist, individualist values become favoured over humanist values.

At time 3, a glaring contradiction between dominant value profile and threat orientation becomes manifest: even though progressive society is generally perceived to be the greatest threat, most ironically still seek solace in materialism and embrace materialist values. This contradiction disappears at time 4, when progressive society is generally perceived to be the greatest threat and when most people have recognized the Paradox of Progress, and have adopted humanist values¹³. At this stage, either technology will be used constructively to overcome human problems without destroying nature, or there will be a voluntary return to an agrarian, communal way of life.

By borrowing from the research of Inglehart, not only does the contradiction between the dominant value profile and threat orientation of time 3 society seem to be resolved, but an explanation of what historical factor might precipitate the transition from time 3 to time 4 is also provided. In The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles among Western Publics, Inglehart observed that the middle-class of several affluent Western societies had undergone a transition of dominant value orientation during the 1960s, from dominantly materialist to dominantly post-materialist (or in keeping with the terminology used in this study, humanist). By incorporating the motivation theory of Maslow, Inglehart posited that this transition became possible only after a sufficiently large part of the populace felt confident that its basic sustenance needs would be met, leaving it free to concentrate on satisfying higher level needs.

Those who lived their formative years in the economically

unstable period prior to World War Two were more preoccupied with materialist goals precisely because they always had lingering doubts that their sustenance needs could be met; conversely, the post war generation -- knowing nothing but prosperity -- had little to fear here, and could well afford to redirect their energy toward the achievement of humanist goals (Inglehart, 1977). Relating this to the Transformation of Values and Threat Orientation Theorem, perhaps a society will evolve from time 3 to time 4 only when a sufficiently large part of the population perceives that the satisfaction of basic, biological needs will be met: this is most likely in societies that have enjoyed at least a generation of economic prosperity. Those who are only eking out a living, though they may feel threatened by progressive society, will be too concerned with acquiring material goods to recognize the Paradox of Progress, or desire humanist goals.

The chief advantage of The Transformation of Values and Threat Orientation Theorem is that by accounting for seemingly incompatible threat orientation and dominant value profile configurations which may exist in some countries, the psychological model of attitudes and behavior relating to the "ideology of progress" developed in this study can be reconciled with current Value Theories. Moreover, it may provide cross-cultural researchers with another benefit: it seems to account for apparent contradictions in dominant value profile and reaction toward television advertising which have been observed in some nations. By itself, Value Theory cannot explain why in many supposedly humanist nations of the Third World, commercial television imported from the West is so popular; yet, using the Transformation of Values and Threat Orientation Theorem, it becomes evident that in time 1 nations -- where a nature threat orientation and a(n) (instrumental) humanist dominant value profile are the norm -- much of the populace can be expected to react favourably toward the materialist "ideology of progress" presented in commercial television programming and advertising.

(See Appendix C for expected reactions toward television advertising based on the Transformation of Values and Threat Orientation Theorem).

In some respects, this study's attempts to fashion a psychological model which relates threat orientation, desire to control external entities, locus of control, and (indirectly) dominant value profile to attitudes toward the "ideology of progress" and behavior toward progressive institutions was anticipated in Weber's epic survey of the rise of capitalist society, *The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Weber posited that it was the proliferation of Protestantism throughout Europe in the 1500s that ushered in capitalism and subsequently, the industrial/consumer society of his time. Unique to the religion was a philosophical outlook of life which encouraged its adherents to actively shape their own destiny "here and now" rather than acquiesce to fate, God, or luck, with the hope of being rewarded after death. The highest form of moral obligation was that the individual fulfill his or her duty (or "calling" as it was referred to by the Calvinists and other Protestant sects of the Reformation period) in worldly affairs, rather than transcend the demands of mundane existence..

The "this-worldly" asceticism, along with the emphasis on initiative and mastery of one's environment contrasted with the "other-worldly" asceticism and passivity characteristic of Eastern religions like Hinduism and Confucianism, as well as Judaism and Catholicism. In Hinduism, "There is an important emphasis on asceticism... but it is... other worldly; that is to say, it is directed towards escaping the encumbrances of the material world, rather than, as in Puritanism, towards rational mastery of the world itself" (Weber, 1976: 6). Confucianism, while very different from Hinduism,

no more provided for "incorporation of the acquisitive drive in a this worldly ethic of conduct" than did Hinduism... Confucianism is, in an important sense, a "this-worldly" religion, but not one that embodies ascetic values. The

Calvinistic ethic introduced an asceticism into the believer's approach to worldly affairs, a drive to mastery in a quest for virtue in the eyes of God, that are altogether lacking in Confucianism (Weber, 1976: 6).

Confucianism stresses rational adjustment to the world "as it is" by directing the individual to interact harmoniously to the established order of things, the status quo; it does not promote rational instrumentation (or rational adjustment to the world "as it should be") as does Protestantism, nor does it sanctify transcendence of mundane affairs in the manner of Hinduism.

Judaism, and later Christianity, introduced what Weber termed "the active prophecy". This involved the active propagation of the Divine Mission and contrasts with the "exemplary prophecy" (whereby the prophet offers the example of his own life as a model for others to follow) more characteristic of India or China:

Judaism and Christianity rest on the tension between sin and salvation and that gives them a basic transformative capacity which the Far Eastern religions lack, being more contemplative in orientation. The opposition between imperfections of the world, in Christian theodacy, enjoins the believer to achieve his salvation through refashioning the world in accordance with the Divine purpose. Calvinism... maximizes the moral impulsion deriving from the active commitment to achievement of salvation and focuses upon economic activity (Weber, 1976: 7).

However, once the seeds of capitalism were sown, the religious elements in the ethic which helped produce that particular economic system were pushed to the wayside. While early Protestantism was essentially a "this-worldly" religion, its adherents, like the members of the earlier faiths, were still guided in their actions by a desire for spiritual salvation and reunion with God in the hereafter. Whereas the Protestant ethic tolerated the accumulation of wealth in so far as it was combined

with a sober, industrious career and devotion to God, its derivative "creed" -- Capitalism -- has come to regard the accumulation of wealth not as an instrumental goal secondary in importance to spiritual growth, but as an end in itself. The acquisition of material goods alone has become the acceptable way of attaining salvation; the notion of paradise as a place of reconciliation with God has been dispensed with and replaced with a vision of paradise that revolves around the self. No longer can the clergy and other propagators of The Word expect the undivided attention of the minions when there exists a more appealing doctrine, the "ideology of progress", and a more persuasive purveyor of this message: commercial advertising.

Several hypotheses deriving from the general theory just put forth will be tested in this study. (It should be noted, however, that one of the variables -- desire to impose control over the external entities, nature and humanity -- has been excluded from analysis, since some measures had to be omitted to keep the collaborative study within a manageable length. Instead, it was assumed that all individuals have a high desire to control nature and humanity, an assumption which will have to be tested in future research.) At the individual/micro/psychological level of analysis:

(H1) it is expected that individuals who perceive nature to be the greatest personal threat will exhibit a dominant materialist profile, while those who perceive progressive society as the greatest personal threat will exhibit a dominant humanist value profile.

(H2a) it is expected that locus of control influences media/communications behaviour (which is represented by two variables believed to be conceptually related, amount of time spent watching prime-time television, and amount of time spent patronizing "active" media such as newspapers and books). Specifically, internals are more likely than externals to spend more hours per day patronizing "active" media like newspapers and books, but relatively less hours per day watching commercial TV.

(H2b) it is expected that dominant value profile influences amount of time spent watching prime-time television, such that materialists will spend more hours/day than humanists engaging in the activity.

(H2c) it is expected that of the three psychological variables, locus of control best explains variance in two variables -- how many hours/day one patronizes "active" media (newspapers, books), and how many hours/day one patronizes TV.

(H3a) furthermore, it is expected that there will be a positive relationship between overall value orientation and reaction towards TV advertising; individuals who have an dominant materialist value profile will react positively towards TV advertising, while those who have a dominant humanist value profile will react negatively towards TV advertising.

(H3b) it is expected that threat orientation influences reaction towards TV commercials; specifically, those in the nature threat category are more likely to react positively towards TV advertising, while those in the progressive society threat group are more likely to react negatively towards TV advertising.

(H3c) furthermore, it is expected that of the three psychological variables, threat orientation influences one's reaction to TV advertising most.

(H4a) it is expected that there will be significant differences between materialists and humanists in how they envision paradise, such that the latter will envision it as a place of social, psychological, and/or natural harmony, while the former will envision it as a place of unrestrained self-gratification (hedonism).

(H4b) it is expected that there will be significant differences between those in the nature threat category and those in the progressive society threat category in how they envision paradise.

At the cross-national/macro/sociological level of analysis,

*(H5) it is expected that there will be significant differences between post-secondary students from the four nations -- Canada, the United States, Jamaica, and Montserrat -- on mean locus of control scores; those from the Caribbean nations will have

relatively low scores (associated with an external locus of control), whereas those from the North American nations will have relatively high scores (associated with an internal locus of control).

**(H6) it is expected that there will be significant differences between post-secondary students from the four nations on mean threat orientation scores; those from North America will have relatively higher scores (associated with a progressive society threat orientation) than do Caribbeans. Caribbeans may perceive nature as the greatest personal threat or may not perceive any of the two entities as a significant personal threat.

**(H7) it is expected that there will be significant differences between post-secondary students from the four nations on overall value orientation. Specifically, those from the Caribbean will currently be more humanistic, while those from North America will currently be more materialistic¹⁴.

**H5, H6, and H7 are the pivotal hypotheses of this study: if significant national differences exist for any one of these variables, for example locus of control, then national subgroup analyses will be used whenever this variable appears subsequently as the independent variable. If not, then the aggregate sample will be used.

(H8) it is expected that Caribbean and North American post-secondary students will differ significantly in their reactions towards television advertising by virtue of their differing threat orientation. Specifically, North Americans, with their expected progressive society threat orientation, will assess television advertising more negatively than Caribbeans.

(H9) it is expected that Caribbean and North American post-secondary students will differ significantly in their media/communication behaviour. Assuming that locus of control is the most salient determinant of media/communication behavior, the dominantly internal North American post-secondary students will spend relatively more hours/day attending "active media" like newspapers and books, while the dominantly external Caribbean post-secondary students will spend more time patronizing commercial television.

(H10) it is expected that there will be significant differences between Caribbean and North American post-secondary students on how they envision paradise.

(H11) it is expected that the rural/urban status of the respondent's community of residence will influence threat orientation, such that those from rural communities most likely will perceive nature as the greatest personal threat, while those from urban communities will perceive progressive society as the greatest threat.

(H12) assuming that threat orientation is the most salient determinant of reaction toward television advertising, it is expected that those respondents from rural communities, with their anticipated nature threat orientation, will react relatively more positively to commercial TV advertising than those from urban communities (who are expected to see progressive society as the greatest threat).

(H13) it is expected that there will be significant differences between ruralite and urbanite respondents in how they envision paradise.

(H14) it is expected that at least two of the individual/psychological variables (locus of control, threat orientation, value orientation) will interact in influencing:
a) amount of time spent watching prime time commercial television
b) amount of time spent patronizing active media
c) reaction towards television advertising

(H15) it is expected that at least one of the individual/psychological variables (locus of control, threat orientation, value orientation) will interact with at least one of the cross-cultural/sociological variables (nationality, rural/urban dimension) in influencing:
a) amount of time spent watching prime time commercial television
b) amount of time spent patronizing active media
c) reaction towards television advertising

CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY AND FINDINGS

METHODOLOGY

For this study, convenience samples comprising of 449 first year post-secondary students from Canada, the United States, Jamaica, and Montserrat have been used¹⁵. One may question the validity of generalizing findings from studies relying on convenience samples to the general population, especially in cross-cultural research, since students often differ significantly from other subgroups on such variables as locus of control, value orientation, and media behaviour. However, as outlined earlier, this study is more concerned with how members of the elite, as opposed to the general population, react to progress and its materialist ideology, since it is they who, for the most part, determine the destiny of their country; since post-secondary students, more than any other subgroup of the population, will likely become members of the elite in the near future, their inclusion in this study is warranted, if not demanded¹⁶. Furthermore, the problems inherent in convenience sampling are not as pressing when the primary interest is the operation of relationships between variables rather than in the distribution of attributes across populations; as mentioned earlier, one of the purposes of this study, and especially of the individual/micro/psychological hypotheses, is to shed light on psychological processes.

A self-administered questionnaire has been designed to test the forementioned hypotheses¹⁷. Among other things, respondents were asked four of the 29 questions devised by Rotter relating to locus of control; questions relating to threat orientation; and, questions gauging media behaviour and reactions to television commercials. In addition, they were asked to rank from most important to least important 18 terminal values and 18 instrumental values from an index compiled by Rokeach. An open-ended question asking respondents how they envision "paradise" was also included in the survey.

Before any statistical procedures were conducted, several transformations of data had to be performed. Indices for locus of control, threat orientation, value orientation, reaction to commercial television, and "active media" behaviour were constructed by correlating one relevant question against the remaining relevant questions; only those question items which yielded a reliability coefficient equal or greater to .60 were included in the index, except when the material/humanist value index was created, in which case the standard was lowered so that an item was included if it produced a reliability coefficient of .30 or higher. (To find out which question items comprise each of the indices, which items were recoded, as well as the reliability coefficients for each index item, see Appendix D.)

Once the indices were devised, other transformations were performed. To determine an individual's locus of control, his or her mean score on the Internal/External index was compared to either the cross-national, aggregate sample 33.3 or 66.7 percentiles, or the percentiles of that individual's country. As previously alluded to, which of the two methods for determining an individual's locus of control was applied depended on the outcome of one of the pivotal hypotheses, H5: if significant differences on locus of control exist between post-secondary students from any of the four nations, then the latter approach -- comparing the individual's mean locus of control score with the percentiles of his or her home country -- was used; otherwise, the individual's score was compared to the aggregate sample percentile scores. In either case, a score greater than or equal to the 66.7 percentile indicated that one is an internal; scores less than or equal to the 33.3 percentile indicated that one is an external, while those falling between these cut-off points indicated a mixed locus of control. Percentiles were used as standard because this ensured that the resulting trichotomous categories were pretty well equally represented, a condition which, when performing chi-square

analyses and other sensitive statistical operations, is ideal if all membership cells are to be filled.

Similarly, an individual's threat orientation was determined by comparing his or her mean score on the Nature/Progressive Society threat index to either the cross-national percentiles, or the individual's home country percentiles on that variable, depending on the outcome of H6. An individual whose mean score was equal to, or exceeded the 66.7 percentile perceives progressive society as the greatest personal threat; an individual whose mean score was equal to or below the 33.3 percentile perceives nature as the greatest personal threat.

The individual's overall value orientation was derived by subtracting his or her mean score on the Squire social value index --an index comprised of the respondent's ranking of world of peace, world of beauty, equality, wisdom, broadmindedness, cheerfulness, forgiveness, helpfulness, and love -- from his or her mean score on the Squire material value index, which was comprised of the respondent's ranking of comfortable life, sense of accomplishment, pleasure, social recognition, ambitiousness, capability, and independence (Squire, 1986: 32-36). If that individual accrued a negative score, then he or she was predominantly a materialist; if he or she accrued a positive score, then he or she was predominantly a humanist¹⁸.

With the necessary transformations of data accomplished, it was possible to perform the following statistical analyses: chi-square, Pearson r correlation, ANOVA (to study not only bivariate relationships, but also multivariate relationships and possible interaction effects) and multiple regression (to determine the success of a particular multivariate model in explaining variance on a given dependent variable and possible sources of variance not explained by the model).

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Because the outcome of the pivotal hypotheses -- H5, H6, and H7 -- determined whether aggregate sample analyses or sub-group

4

analyses were performed to test the micro-level, psychological hypotheses, the results of the pivotal hypotheses will be dealt with first. When ANOVA was used to determine whether or not there were significant differences between Canadians, Americans, Jamaicans, and Montserratians on locus of control, threat orientation, and dominant value orientation, precautions were taken to hold the rural/urban dimension constant, since a disproportionate number of Montserratians are ruralites (all but 3 of the 109 respondents), whereas in Canada and the United States, the rural category is underrepresented (12.4% of Canadian respondents and 6.9% of US respondents). This being done, hypothesis 5 was rejected: there are no significant differences between the four nations on locus of control <see Table 1>.

TABLE 1
(Results of H5: locus of control by nationality)**

COUNTRY	(N)	MEAN
Montserrat	102	3.11
Jamaica	25	2.77
Canada	16	2.65
United States	8	3.21

F= 2.31; probability of F=.078

--a mean score of 1 indicates a belief in an external locus of control, while a mean score of 5 indicates a belief in an internal locus of control.

** because a disproportionate number of Montserratians were classified as rural, while urbanites were over-represented in the United States and Canada, it would be difficult to determine for these subgroups whether it is nationality or the respondent's rural/urban status that influences the dependent variable. To surmount this problem, rural/urban status was held constant by using for this analysis only the data of those classified as rural (farm- 10,000 people).

ANOVA did reveal, however, that there are significant national differences on threat orientation <see Table 2>.

The American students have the highest mean score (4.21, which

is associated with a progressive society threat orientation), followed by Canadians, Jamaicans, and Montserratians with respective mean scores of 3.67, 3.42, (signifying a progressive threat orientation) and 3.06 (meaning a neutral threat orientation). The linear progression of the national means is consistent with what was predicted in H6. Consequently, whenever threat orientation appeared as, the independent variable in subsequent hypothesis tests, national subgroup analyses were performed.

TABLE 2
(Results of H6: threat orientation by nationality)**

COUNTRY	(N)	MEAN
Montserrat	102	3.06
Jamaica	25	3.42
Canada	16	3.67
United States	8	4.21

F= 9.61; probability of F=.000*

--a mean score of 1 indicates a nature threat orientation, while a mean score of 5 represents a progressive society threat orientation.

* indicates probability level was accepted as significant

** because a disproportionate number of Montserratians are rural, while urbanites are over-represented in the United States and Canada, it would be difficult to determine for these subgroups whether it is nationality or the respondent's rural/urban status that influences the dependent variable. To surmount this problem, rural/urban status was held constant by using for this analysis only the data of those classified as rural (farm- 10,000 people).

Hypothesis 7 was generally supported, since there are significant differences between post-secondary students from the four nations on dominant value orientation <see Table 3>. Moreover, despite that the Jamaican students exhibit a dominant materialist value orientation, not a humanist value orientation as was predicted, the linear progression of the national means reflects what was hypothesized, with students from the United States being most materialistic (mean=-.96), those from Canada

being the second most materialist group (mean= -.58) and Jamaicans following close behind (mean=-.33). Students from Montserrat are predominantly humanist, achieving a mean score of 1.61. Thus, whenever overall value orientation appeared as the independent variable in subsequent hypothesis tests, national subgroup analyses were performed.

TABLE 3
(Results of H7: dominant value profile by nationality)**

COUNTRY	(N)	MEAN
Montserrat	102	1.61
Jamaica	25	-.33
Canada	16	-.58
United States	8	-.96

F= 3.49; probability of F=.017*

--a positive mean score indicates a dominantly humanist value profile, while a negative mean score indicates a dominantly materialist value profile.

* indicates probability level accepted as significant

** because a disproportionate number of Montserratians are rural, while urbanites are over-represented in the United States and Canada, it would be difficult to determine for these subgroups whether it is nationality or the respondent's rural/urban status that influences the dependent variable. To surmount this problem, rural/urban status was held constant by using for this analysis only the data of those classified as rural (farm- 10,000 people).

Pearson r correlation indicates that H1 may be valid only among North Americans <see Table 4>. With both Canadian and American post-secondary students, a nature threat orientation is associated with a dominant materialist value profile, while a progressive society threat orientation is associated with a dominant humanist value profile. However, no association between the two variables was found among students from Montserrat or Jamaica.

TABLE 4
(Results of H1: dominant value profile by threat orientation)

COUNTRY	(N)	PEARSON R	PROB.
Montserrat	107	-.0159	.436
Jamaica	89	-.0215	.421
Canada	126	.1540	.043*
United States	116	.1764	.029*

* indicates probability level was accepted as significant

Hypothesis 2a received partial support: while the expected relationship between locus of control and the amount of television watched was not found, Pearson r correlation and ANOVA revealed that locus of control influences the amount of time spent patronizing "active media", namely newspapers and books (see Table 5). A positive relationship between the two variables exists, such that those with an internal locus of control had the highest mean score on the active media patronage scale, 2.79, followed by those in the neutral locus of control and external locus of control categories with respective mean scores of 2.58 and 2.33 respectively. Moreover, the relationship between locus of control and use of "active" media is strongest among Canadian students (see Table 6). Multiple regression analysis on the Canadian subsample indicated that if dominant value profile and threat orientation are held constant, a one standard deviation increase in locus of control --which is associated with a more internal locus of control -- brings about a .226 standard deviation increase in amount of time spent patronizing active media. In other words, internals spend more time than do externals patronizing active media.

TABLE 5
(Results of H2a: stated media/communications behavior by locus of control)

dependent variable: amount of time spent patronizing "active" media by locus of control

COUNTRY	(N)	PEARSON R	PROB.
Montserrat	105	.1592	.052
Jamaica	89	.1184	.135
Canada	128	.2331	.004*
United States	116	.1494	.055

(ANOVA results using aggregate sample)

LOCUS OF CONTROL	(N)	MEAN
internal	100	2.79
middle	63	2.58
external	200	2.33

F=6.932; probability of F=.001*

-- a mean score of 6 indicates that the respondent engages in a given communication activity for more than 3 hours on a typical day; a mean score of 1 indicates that the respondent engages in a given communication activity for less than 15 minutes on a typical day.

* indicates probability level was accepted as significant

Except in Jamaica, the prediction that there is a negative relationship between dominant humanist values and amount of time spent watching commercial television has been confirmed (see Table 6). Furthermore, when referring to Table 7, it becomes apparent that the relationship is strongest among the American subgroup: a one standard deviation increase in dominant value profile (associated with a more humanist value orientation) results in a .173 standard deviation decrease in the dependent variable when threat orientation and locus of control are held constant. Simply put, materialists tend to spend more hours per day watching prime-time commercial television programming than do humanists.

TABLE 6

(Results of H2b: stated media/communication by dominant value profile)

dependent variable: amount of time spent watching television
independent variable: value profile (positive mean = humanist)

COUNTRY	(N)	PEARSON R	PROB.
Montserrat	108	-.1666	.042*
Jamaica	86	.0979	.185
Canada	126	-.1540	.043*
United States	117	-.1848	.023*

(ANOVA results using aggregate sample**)

DOMINANT VALUE PROFILE	(N)	MEAN
materialist	139	4.45
middle	109	4.30
humanist	115	4.18

F=1.101; probability of F=.334

-- a mean score of 6 indicates that the respondent engages in a given communication activity for more than 3 hours on a typical day; a mean score of 1 indicates that the respondent engages in a given communication activity for less than 15 minutes on a typical day.

* indicates probability level was accepted as significant

** though ANOVA was performed on data from the aggregate sample, cross-national differences on the independent variable were eliminated by using country-specific cut-off points in the assignment of respondents into appropriate categories of the independent variable.

Multiple regression lent only qualified support for the two multivariate models proposed in H2c. When the dependent variable was amount of time spent patronizing "active" media, it was found that the specified ranking of psychological variables according to the extent they influenced the dependent variable (with locus of control being the most salient variable) held true only in the Canadian and Montserratian subgroups <see Table 7>. Among the two subgroups, the three psychological variables accounted for a maximum 6 percent of the variance in amount of time spent patronizing "active" media.

With regard to the other dependent variable, amount of time spent watching prime-time commercial television, the multivariate model as stated did not receive support in any of the four countries <see Table 7>. Regression has shown that dominant value profile, rather than locus of control, is the most salient determinant of the dependent variable in all countries but Jamaica.

TABLE 7
(Results of H2c: regression models of stated media/communication behavior by country)

dependent variable: amount of time spent patronizing "active" media

COUNTRY	R SQ	ACTMED	(beta) LOCUS	+	(beta) VALUES	+	(beta) THREAT
Montserrat	.04		.140		.109		-.008
Jamaica	.02		.128		.056		.128
Canada	.06		.226**		-.055		.045
U.S.A.	.05		.144		-.053		-.145

dependent variable: amount of time spent watching prime-time commercial television

COUNTRY	R SQ	WATCHTV	(beta) LOCUS	+	(beta) VALUES	+	(beta) THREAT
Montserrat	.04		-.055		-.158		-.101
Jamaica	.04		-.098		.098		.147
Canada	.03		.020		-.146		-.021
U.S.A.	.06		.138		-.173*		-.055

* significant at the .05 level

** significant at the .01 level

In all countries , H3a received tentative support. Pearson r correlations revealed that among respondents from all four countries, a negative relationship between dominant value profile and reaction toward television commercials exists, such that materialists tend to look upon television commercials more favourably than do humanists <see Table 8>. ANOVA lent further support of H3a, indicating that the relationship between the independent and dependent variables is roughly linear.

TABLE 8
(Results of H3a: reaction towards television commercials by
dominant value profile)

(i) reaction towards TV commercials by dominant value profile

COUNTRY	(N)	PEARSON R	PROB.
Montserrat	107	-.0288	.384
Jamaica	85	-.0153	.445
Canada	123	-.2216	.007*
United States	117	-.1512	.050*

(ANOVA results using aggregate sample**)

VALUE PROFILE	(N)	MEAN
humanist	115	4.82
middle	109	4.83
materialist	139	5.29

$F=2.775$; probability of $F=.064$

--a mean score of 10 indicates a favourable reaction toward television commercials; a mean score of 1 indicates an unfavourable reaction toward television commercials.

* indicates probability level was accepted as significant

** though ANOVA was performed on data from the aggregate sample, cross-national differences on the independent variable were eliminated by using country-specific cut-off points in the assignment of respondents into appropriate categories of the independent variable.

Hypothesis 3b also received tentative support, except in Montserrat. In Jamaica, Canada, and the United States, students who perceive nature as the greatest threat tend to look upon television commercials more favourably than do those who perceive progressive society as the greatest threat <see Table 9>. The relationship between the two variables was strongest in the Jamaican subgroup: using multiple regression, it was found that when dominant value profile and locus of control are held constant, a one standard deviation increase in threat orientation -- signifying a progressive society threat orientation -- brings about a .251 standard deviation decrease in the dependent variable <see Table 10>. It should be noted,

however, that ANOVA has revealed that the relationship between the two variables may be curvilinear, since it is the middle "neutral" threat group which has the highest mean score, 5.25, followed by the nature threat group with 5.02, and the progressive society threat group with 4.73.

TABLE 9
(Results of 3b: reaction towards TV commercials by threat orientation)

COUNTRY	(N)	PEARSON R	PROB.
Montserrat	106	.0262	.395
Jamaica	86	-.1836	.045*
Canada	126	-.0560	.267
United States	113	-.1234	.094

(ANOVA results using aggregate sample**)

THREAT ORIENTATION	(N)	MEAN
prog. society	115	4.73
middle	109	5.25
nature	136	5.02

F=2.54; probability of F=.080

--a mean score of 10 indicates a favourable reaction toward television commercials; a mean score of 1 indicates an unfavourable reaction toward television commercials.

* indicates probability level was accepted as significant

** though ANOVA was performed on data from the aggregate sample, cross-national differences on the independent variable were eliminated by using country-specific cut-off points in the assignment of respondents into appropriate categories of the independent variable.

Only among the Jamaican subgroup did the multivariate model proposed in H3c receive support. Threat orientation, dominant value profile, and locus of control account for 50 percent of the variance in reaction towards television commercials among Jamaican students, with threat orientation being the most salient predictor for this subgroup <see Table 10>. A one standard deviation increase in threat orientation (associated with a

progressive society threat orientation), dominant value profile (associated with a greater tendency toward humanism), and locus of control (associated with a more internal locus of control) bring about a -.309 standard deviation net decrease in the dependent variable (associated with a more unfavourable assessment of television commercials).

TABLE 10
(Results of H3c: regression model of reaction toward TV commercials by country)

COUNTRY	R SQ	ACTMED = THREAT	+	VALUES	+	LOCUS
Monserrat	.00	-.025		.030		.010
Jamaica	.05	-.251*		-.098		.040
Canada	.08	-.006		-.233**		-.171
U.S.A.	.04	-.097		-.131		.088

* significant at the .05 level

** significant at the .01 level

Similarly, H4a did not receive clear support as stated, though it was found that among American and Jamaican students, humanists are more likely than materialists to envision a paradise characterized by social, natural, and/or psychological harmony (see Table 11). While the Canadian findings were not significant, the Canadian subgroup Percentage Difference Indices parallel those of the American and Jamaican subgroups, once again indicating that the preference for the harmonious vision of paradise is strongest among humanists. Since materialists in each country have produced a positive Percentage Difference Index, however, the expectation that materialist respondents are overwhelmingly in favour of a purely hedonistic paradise cannot be supported. Generally, they still prefer a harmonious paradise, only to a lesser extent than do humanists. Hypotheses 4b-- that threat orientation influences preferred vision of paradise-- was not supported.

TABLE 11
(Results of H4a: preferred vision of paradise by dominant value orientation by country)

COUNTRY	CHI SQUARE	D.F.	PROB.
Montserrat	1.31	2	.52
Jamaica	7.91	2	.02*
Canada	4.29	2	.11
U.S.A.	7.29	2	.02*

* indicates probability level accepted as significant

(Percentage Difference Index: % Harmonious - % Hedonist by dominant value profile and country)

	Montserrat	Jamaica	Canada	U.S.A.
Humanist	71.2%**	71.4%**	75.9%**	88.7%**
Materialist	80.0%**	37.2%**	51.0%**	64.0%**

** represents the PDI (% harmonious - % hedonist) for preferred vision of paradise of each of the dominant value types.

At the sociological, macro-level of analysis, ANOVA indicated that respondents from North America are less favourable of television commercials than Caribbeans, a finding consistent with H8 <see Table 12>. However, it should be acknowledged that the underlying theoretical rationale of H8 might be open to challenge. Hypothesis 8 had been based on the anticipated outcomes of three previous hypotheses: H3c, which predicted that of the three psychological variables, threat orientation is the most salient determinant of reaction toward television advertising; H3b, which predicted that those with a nature threat orientation are more likely than those with a progressive society threat orientation to favourably rate television advertising; and H6, which predicted that North American students, as compared to their Caribbean counterparts, are more inclined to perceive progressive society as the greatest threat. Yet, one of these hypotheses, H3c, received support only in Jamaica. Still, it is

believed that this previous finding alone does not jeopardize the theoretical underpinnings of H8. As with any regression model, there is the possibility that an unaccounted for intervening variable(s) may have masked the true dominance of the variable predicted as most salient (in this case, threat orientation).

TABLE 12
(Results of H8: reaction toward TV commercials by country)

COUNTRY	(N)	MEAN
Montserrat	104	5.53
Jamaica	85	5.35
Canada	126	4.39
U.S.A.	113	5.12

F=11.20; probability of F=.000*

--a mean score of 10 indicates a favourable reaction toward television commercials; a mean score of 1 indicates an unfavourable reaction toward television commercials.

* indicates probability level accepted as significant

Hypothesis 9 cannot be supported: there are no significant differences between countries on the amount of time spent patronizing "active media". Moreover, even though ANOVA revealed that there are significant differences between respondents of the four nations on amount of time spent watching television (see Table 13), the direction of the means defies explanations suggested by the psychological-oriented theory put forth in this study. hypothesis 9 was based on the assumptions that (i) locus of control was believed to be the most salient determinant of the amount of time spent watching television, (ii) externals were expected to engage in "passive" media behavior like watching television more often than internals, and (iii) Caribbeans were thought to generally have a belief in external locus of control, while North Americans were thought to generally have a belief in internal locus of control. However, not only was it found that

the four nations do not differ significantly on locus of control, but also that locus of control is not related to amount time spent watching television.

Alternately, since it was found that dominant value profile is the most salient determinant of amount of time spent watching television, and is negatively related to the latter, an attempt could be made to apply such findings to explain the observed cross-national differences in amount of time spent watching television, but even this fails. Montserratian students, though predominantly humanists, watch more, not less, television than materialist students from the United States, Canada, and Jamaica. Thus, the findings of H9 may be best explained by another variable, one that is probably non-psychological in nature.

TABLE 13

(Results of H9: time spent watching TV by country; time spent patronizing "active media" by country)

COUNTRY	(N)	TVWATCH	(N)	ACTIVE MEDIA
		MEAN		MEAN
Montserrat	104	4.85	103	2.58
Jamaica	85	3.91	83	2.58
Canada	126	4.34	126	2.51
U.S.A.	113	4.05	113	2.36

F=11.2; p of F=.000*

F=1.80; p of F=.146

-- a mean score of 6 indicates that the respondent engages in a particular media activity for more than 3 hours on a typical day; a mean score of 1 indicates that the respondent engages in a particular media activity for less than 15 minutes on a typical day.

Hypothesis 10 -- that there are significant differences between Jamaica and the other three nations in the preferred depiction of paradise -- was supported. Specifically, Jamaican post-secondary students are less likely than those from the other three countries to desire a paradise characterized by harmony, but more likely to desire a mixed harmonious, hedonistic paradise <see Table 14>.

TABLE 14
(Results of H10: preferred vision of paradise by country)

	Montserrat	Jamaica	Canada	U.S.A.
Hedonist	2.0%	7.0%	9.1%	3.5%
Harmonious	76.5%	60.5%	73.6%	81.3%
Mixed	21.4%	32.6%	15.5%	15.2%
	-----	-----	-----	-----
	n=109	n=112	n=86	n=98

CHI SQUARE	D.F.	PROB.
22.245	9	.044*

* indicates probability level is accepted as significant

(Percentage Difference Index: % Harmonious - % Hedonist by country)

	Montserrat	Jamaica	Canada	U.S.A.
PDI =	74.5%	53.5%	64.5%	77.8%

While hypotheses 11 and 13 were rejected, H12 received support (see Table 15): ruralites tend to assess television commercials more favourably than do urbanites. In Jamaica, where the relationship between the two variables was strongest, being a ruralite is associated with a .337 standard deviation increase in the dependent variable when threat orientation is held constant. Still, since H3c and H11, the hypotheses which were thought to be logically related to H12, have not been supported, the theoretical foundation of H12 may be in question.

Meanwhile, though support was not given for H14b and H14c, ANOVA supported H14a, which anticipated that at least two of the psychological variables would interact to influence the dependent variable, amount of time spent watching prime-time television. Specifically, there is an interaction effect between locus of control and threat orientation on amount of time spent

TABLE 15
(Results of H12: reaction toward TV commercials by rural/urban status)

STATUS	(N)	MEAN
rural	150	5.48
urban	278	4.82

--a mean score of 10 indicates a favourable reaction toward television commercials; a mean score of 1 indicates an unfavourable reaction toward television commercials.

F=11.20; probability of F=.000*

* indicates probability level accepted as significant

watching prime-time television, such that of those who see nature as the predominant threat, those with a mixed locus of control watch the most television, followed by internals, then externals. Curiously, the opposite held true for those who see progressive society as the greatest threat: externals watch the most television, followed by internals, then persons with a mixed locus of control <see Table 16>.

This finding could have implications on theories relating to communication technologies, for it implies that the traditional classification of television as a "passive medium" may be misleading. That the more fatalistic, passive externals watch more television than internals when progressive society is perceived as the greatest threat indicates that the classification probably is valid in contemporary urban societies where nature has been subdued; however, since internals watch more television than externals when nature is perceived as the greatest threat, watching television at this stage (especially in an emerging or traditional society) might be seen by the former as an active endeavour which allows them to collect vital information that could not only help them prepare for assimilation within a consumer, materialist society, but

TABLE 16

(Results of H14a: interaction effects of psychological variables locus of control and threat orientation on amount of time spent watching TV)

ANOVA results using aggregate sample

		LOCUS OF CONTROL		
		INT	MIDDLE	EXT
T H R E A T	NATURE	4.66 (n=32)	4.89 (n=27)	4.17 (n=77)
	MIDDLE	4.41 (n=34)	4.22 (n=18)	4.3 (n=63)
	SOCIETY	4.0 (n=34)	3.72 (n=18)	4.45 (n=60)

-- a mean score of 6 indicates that the respondent watches television for more than 3 hours on a typical day; a mean score of 1 indicates that the respondent watches television for less than 15 minutes on a typical day.

F=2.67; probability of F=.035*

* indicates probability level accepted as significant

** though ANOVA was performed on data from the aggregate sample, cross-national differences on the independent variable were eliminated by using country-specific cut-off points in the assignment of respondents into appropriate categories of the independent variable.

ultimately illustrate ways by which nature can be domesticated.

Finally, H15, which anticipated that the three psychological variables, locus of control, threat orientation and dominant value profile, and the two sociological variables, the respondent's rural/urban status and country of residence, interact to influence communications and media behavior, and reaction toward television commercials was not supported (p=.081, F=2.23). It is possible, though, that a study with a larger number of respondents (ensuring that an adequate number of people fill each of the ANOVA categories) might reveal that the

interaction effect between threat orientation, value profile and country of residence, and reaction to television commercials suggested by this study is indeed significant.

At this point it may be helpful to provide an overview of this study's findings. Table 17 lists the outcome of each hypothesis; where national subgroup analyses were performed (specifically, on the psychological oriented hypotheses), the outcome of each hypothesis is given for each country as well as overall.

TABLE 17A: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

PIVOTAL SOCIOLOGICAL HYPOTHESES

H5: no significant differences between nations on locus of control. Therefore, rejected.

H6: significant differences between nations on threat orientation. U.S.A., Canada, and Jamaica: progressive society threat orientation. Montserrat: neutral or mixed threat orientation. Therefore, qualified support.

H7: significant differences between nations on dominant value profile. U.S.A., Canada, and Jamaica: materialist. Montserrat: humanist. Therefore, qualified support.

TABLE 17B: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

INDIVIDUAL/MICRO LEVEL/PSYCHOLOGICAL HYPOTHESES

	supported	not significant, but correct direction	rejected
H1	United States Canada		Jamaica Montserrat
H2a(i)	Canada	Montserrat United States Jamaica	
H2b	Canada United States Montserrat		Jamaica
H2c(i)	Canada Montserrat		Jamaica United States
H3a	Canada United States	Jamaica Montserrat	
H3b	Jamaica	United States Canada	Montserrat
H3c	Jamaica		Canada United States Montserrat
H4a		Jamaica (partial support) United States (partial support) Canada (partial support)	Montserrat

H2a(ii), H2c(ii), and H4b were rejected in all four nations.

TABLE 17C: SUMMARY OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

CROSS-NATIONAL/MACRO LEVEL/SOCIOLOGICAL HYPOTHESES

H8: significant differences between nations on reaction towards TV commercials; therefore, supported as stated.

H9(i): no significant differences between nations on amount of time spent patronizing "active" media; therefore, rejected.

H9(ii): significant differences between nations on amount of time spent watching television. However, direction of the means not consistent with that anticipated; therefore, rejected.

H9(iii): no significant differences between nations on amount of time spent talking with other people; therefore, rejected.

H10: significant differences between nations on preferred vision of paradise; therefore, supported.

H11: no significant differences between ruralites and urbanites on threat orientation; therefore, rejected.

H12: significant differences between ruralites and urbanites on reaction toward television advertising: ruralites more favourable than urbanites. Therefore, supported. However, theoretical framework of H12 may not be valid.

H13: no significant differences between ruralites and urbanites on preferred vision of paradise; therefore, rejected.

H14a: interaction effect of threat orientation and locus of control on amount of time spent watching television; therefore, supported.

H14b: psychological variables did not interact to influence amount of time spent patronizing "active" media; rejected.

H14c: psychological variables did not interact to influence reaction towards television advertising; therefore, rejected.

H15a: psychological and sociological variables did not interact to influence amount of time spent watching television; rejected.

H15b: psychological and sociological variables did not interact to influence amount of time spent patronizing "active" media; therefore, rejected.

H15c: psychological and sociological variables did not interact to influence reaction towards television advertising; rejected.

CHAPTER THREE: CONCLUSIONS AND EPILOGUE

CONCLUSION

Overall, it appears that the individual/micro-level/psychological hypotheses forwarded in this study were more successful than the cross-national/macro-level/sociological hypotheses. Though evidence supporting the former rarely was produced in all four countries, generally speaking, dominant value profile, locus of control, and threat orientation seem to be useful predictors of (stated) media/communications behaviour, and reaction toward television commercials, moreso among North Americans and Jamaicans than Montserratians. Dominant value profile is related to reaction toward television advertising in that materialists are more likely than humanists to state that they like television advertising, believe it is both important to them, and desire the materialist, egocentric lifestyle it typically presents. In addition, dominant value profile influences amount of time spent watching television: materialists tend to watch more television than do humanists.

Locus of control influences the amount of time spent engaging in two forms of media behaviour: patronizing "active media" like books and newspapers, and watching commercial prime-time television. Internals tend to spend more time than externals reading books and newspapers. Regarding the amount of prime-time commercial television one watches, another psychological variable, threat orientation, must be considered along with locus of control. Among those who perceive nature as the greatest threat, internals watch more television than do externals; however, among those who perceive progressive society as the greatest threat, the inverse is true. This finding, as pointed out earlier, suggests that watching television might not always constitute a "passive activity". While this classification may be valid among those having a progressive society threat orientation, internals who perceive nature as the greatest threat might watch television not so much for escapist entertainment, but

rather to acquire invaluable information about the accepted values and norms of consumer/industrial society, and indirectly, how nature can be vanquished through science and technology.

Aside from predicting amount of time spent watching prime-time commercial television, threat orientation accounts for differences in reaction toward television commercials, and in dominant value profile. Those who perceive nature as the greatest threat are more likely than those who are progressive society threat-oriented to favour television commercials and its underlying materialist "ideology of progress". Moreover, at least among North Americans students, those who perceive nature as the greatest threat tend to be materialist in value orientation, while those viewing progressive society as the greatest threat tend to have predominantly humanist values.

Despite the success of the three psychological variables in accounting for variance in media/communication behaviour and attitudes toward television advertising, only dominant value profile seems to be associated with a variable believed to be conceptually related to reaction to television commercials, preferred vision of paradise. Among Americans and Jamaicans, humanists are more inclined to prefer a paradise characterized by social, natural, and psychological peace and harmony, a finding which is consonant with the hypothesis. Yet, contrary to what was expected, materialists (or those with nature threat orientation) are not any more likely than humanists (or those with a progressive society threat orientation) to desire a purely hedonistic vision of heaven.

This could mean one of two things: either that having a hedonistic vision of heaven is distinct from reacting favourably toward television commercials (and thus may not be related to threat orientation or dominant value profile in the same ways), or that measurement problems prevented the expected relationships from being detected. The latter seems more likely, since problems arose when classifying responses into three possible categories, hedonistic paradise, harmonious paradise, and mixed

hedonistic/harmonious paradise. For instance, a desire for natural peace was thought to be similar to a desire for social or psychological peace; however, it may be more related to a desire for an egocentric paradise characterized by, among other things, human supremacy over nature.

While the modest success of the psychological variables in explaining variance in the dependent variables could jeopardize the credibility of the proposed theoretical model, it is heartening to note that analysis of residual scatterplots did not reveal any linear relationships between predicted values and residual values. In other words, no significant predictor was overlooked; the various "mundane" variables which were excluded would have only marginally increased the predictability of the model. It is believed that much of the insignificant findings can be attributed to random sampling error or measurement error, since the hypotheses were not rejected in a systematic fashion in the four countries of concern.

The cross-cultural, macro-level, sociological findings were generally not significant, or were problematic in their interpretation. Surprisingly, there were no significant differences between post-secondary students from Canada, the US, Jamaica, and Montserrat on locus of control. Perhaps the assumption that Caribbeans are relatively more passive, fatalistic, and external locus of control oriented than North Americans may not hold among post-secondary students even if it does apply to the general populations of those nations: to succeed at the post-secondary level requires, among other things, much self-confidence.

The expectations that there are cross-national differences in threat orientation and dominant value profile were confirmed. Specifically, American students most strongly believe that progressive society is the greatest threat; Canadians and Jamaicans also perceive progressive society as the greatest threat, only to a lesser degree. It is more difficult to interpret the neutral mean threat score of Montserratian students, though analysis of the subgroup's distribution on two of the

items which in part constitute the threat orientation index suggests that they are at a transitional point where progressive society and nature are equally threatening. (see Table 18).

Specifically, the mode for the question asking respondents to state whether or not they agree with the statement "the forces of nature are a greater threat to me than humanity/society" was 4, which is associated with a progressive society threat orientation; for the question asking respondents to state whether or not they agree with the statement "society should use every means possible to control the forces of nature", the mode was 2, which is associated with a nature threat orientation.

TABLE 18

(Distribution of Montserranian students on two constituent items of the Threat Orientation Index)

Mean scores for the statement "The forces of nature are a greater threat to me than humanity/society."

score	frequency	percent
1	8	7.5
2	20	18.9
3	21	19.8
4	35 (mode)	33.0
5	18	17.0
n=102		

Mean scores for the statement "Society/humanity should use every means possible to keep the forces of nature under control."

score	frequency	percent
1	15	14.2
2	43 (mode)	40.6
3	14	13.2
4	22	20.8
5	9	8.5
n=103		

-- a score of 1 indicates that nature is perceived to be the greatest threat, while a score of 5, progressive society.

In terms of dominant value profile, the American students are most materialistic, followed by Canadians and Jamaicans; on the other hand, Montserratian students are overwhelmingly humanist. Using the Transformation of Values and Threat Orientation Theorem posited earlier, one could locate the US, Canada, and Jamaica at the third step of the sequence (time 3: materialism/progressive society threat orientation), while Montserrat arguably could be placed at the end of the time 1 phase ("instrumental" humanism/mixed threat orientation). Thus, for the purposes of this study, the US and Canada can be treated as one conceptual unit, North America; Jamaica and Montserrat, on the other hand, must presently be viewed separately rather than as one unit (the Caribbean).

Cross-national differences were also found in the amount of time respondents watched prime-time commercial television: Montserratians watched the most television, followed by Canadians, Americans, and Jamaicans. Unfortunately, the direction of the differences defied any theoretical rationale provided by the proposed psychological model; it was concluded that perhaps an unaccounted for (non-psychological) variable could better explain the variance on the dependent variable.

With regard to reaction towards television commercials, Montserratians reacted most favourably, followed by Jamaicans, Americans, and Canadians. This is almost a total reversal of the direction of cross-national means on dominant value profile (the most salient determinant of the dependent variable), which suggests that either Values theory as it stands may not be able to fully account for reaction towards television commercials and assumably, related "progressive" and "anti-progressive" attitudes, or that the application of values theory at the cross-cultural level has been faulty. It seems that the latter possibility is most likely: when the influences of threat orientation (and related historical factors) are acknowledged, one gains a better insight into a given country's predominant

value profile, and indirectly, into the typical (national) reaction towards television commercials. For instance, by tentatively concluding that Montserratians possess predominantly "instrumental" humanist values (deduced from the observation that nature is still regarded as a threat by this group), it is no longer surprising that they react more favourably toward television commercials than those from the three nations, the United States, Canada, and Jamaica.

Although rural/urban status is related to reaction toward television commercials, such that ruralites regard them more favourably than do urbanites, ruralites are not, as was expected, more nature threat oriented and more materialistic than urbanites. This is puzzling, considering that rural/urban status would seem to be a more revealing explanation of variance in attitudes toward the "ideology of progress", and psychological variables like dominant profile and threat orientation than respondent's country of residence. Perhaps the objective measure of rural/urban status used in this study is confusing and prone to inaccuracies if respondents do not possess sufficient geographical know-how; the use of a subjective measure of rural/urban status may be more fruitful.

While acknowledging the tentative nature of the sociological findings, especially with regard to the Montserratian subgroup, it is tempting to hazard a guess on whether or not Jamaica and Montserrat will follow the path of their consumer/industrial neighbours to the north. Based on the study's findings that the Jamaican subgroup generally perceives progressive society as the greatest threat, yet paradoxically, possesses materialistic values, it appears that Jamaica --- or at least the elite of that nation --- is presently very much like North America, in that it has already tasted the fruits of progress (albeit, only a nibble), and is suffering from a crisis, a crisis where it sees progressive society as the greatest threat, but hasn't yet made the connection between excessive production, consumption and materialism on the one hand, and the perpetuation of the institu-

tions of progress it fears on the other. If it can grasp the Paradox of Progress in the near future, and acquire "terminal" humanist values, its society may emerge relatively unscathed, since the progressive institutions long in place in North America will have had relatively less time to take root.

The prognosis for Montserrat is much more difficult. If the Montserratian subgroup is representative of the island's elite, there is a strong possibility that Montserrat may buy into the "ideology of progress" or embrace progressive institutions like the Jamaicans have already done. Though the Montserratian respondents presently retain humanist values, they are most favourably disposed toward the materialist advertising of commercial television and watch the most prime-time commercial television. Moreover, since they still perceive nature as a threat, (even though progressive society is equally threatening) the "ideology of progress" may be all that much more alluring.

On the other hand, if the emerging perception among Montserrations that progressive society constitutes a threat becomes more pronounced than the perception that nature is a threat, their presently "instrumental" humanist value profile may evolve into a "terminal" humanist value profile consistent with the time 4 phase cited in the Transformation of Values and Threat Orientation Theorem. Presuming that such a psychological transformation is incompatible with an acceptance of the "ideology of progress", the present enthusiasm that Montserrations have for commercial television and television advertising might very well diminish. Furthermore, Montserrat potentially could lead the way in laying the foundation for a post-progressive society. However this is only speculation: until future research determines whether Montserrations perceive nature or progressive society as the greatest threat, it is uncertain whether the Montserratan elite will embrace the value profile and threat orientation of time 3 or those of time 4.

QUESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this study suggest many areas of investigation which should be pursued in future research. Particularly useful would be to further develop conceptually, and operationally, the notion of threat orientation. Using the present index, it is unclear whether a "neutral" score indicates that the respondent simultaneously views both nature and progressive society as threats, or is not threatened by either. Perhaps the introduction of a measure that would tap into the degree to which one desires to control nature and humanity (a variable which is included in the proposed theory, but for the reason outlined earlier, was not represented in the questionnaire), might solve this dilemma, if the assumption is granted that those who demand great control over their environment view both nature and society as potential enemies, while those who have little desire to control their environment are not threatened by either of these entities, or are more accepting of reality.

It is also crucial that the threat orientation index be tested in a wide range of countries, from those with a harsh natural environment to those with a benign natural environment, from traditional societies to transitional and progressive, urban societies. In traditional societies, the opposition between nature and progressive society is probably invalid (unless they have some sort of contact with progressive society); consequently, questions referring to technological, consumer/industrial society like question 8, page 12 of Appendix A should be accompanied by questions referring to situations encountered in both pre-technological and technological societies.

The Transformations of Values and Threat Orientation Theorem should also be studied in greater detail. In particular, the question of what makes a given nation gravitate toward another threat orientation/dominant value profile time phase--another psychological variable like locus of control, or desire to control external entities; changing sociological contexts (ie., the introduction of advanced technology and the ascendancy

of science); or an interaction of psychological and sociological factors -- must be addressed. At the individual/psychological level, whether dominant value profile is derivative of threat orientation or is independent of threat orientation is another important topic for subsequent investigation.

A more detailed look at the relationship between locus of control and desire for exerting self-imposed control over external entities is also warranted. Is the latter derivative of the former, or is it possible that internals could have a low desire for exerting self-imposed control on nature and humanity, and externals a high desire for exerting self-imposed control on nature and humanity as presumed in the proposed psychological model? The suggestion that locus of control, desire for imposing control over external entities as well as threat orientation and dominant value profile may interact to influence attitudes toward the "ideology of progress" and anti-progressive or pro-progressive behavior is one of the major innovations of this study, but much work in clarifying these relationships needs to be done¹⁹.

The immediate purpose of this study was to determine how effectively the proposed psychological model could explain and possibly predict (stated) communication/media behavior, and attitudes towards television commercials (and indirectly, the materialist "ideology of progress" contained therein); the ultimate goal of this study, however, was to lay the foundations for a more general, psychologically oriented model of development capable of complementing other models of development with a political, historical, sociological, and/or technological orientation. Attempts should be made to apply the model on a broader scope, by first, quantifying other attitudes and behaviors which are instrumental in maintaining the machinery of progressive society or bringing about its downfall, with an emphasis on behavior, since it is of greater consequence than attitudes. With these as dependent variables, the model could then be used as a prognostic tool for determining the likelihood

7

that certain individuals or nations will i) actively bring about progressive institutions ii) accept the imposition of progressive institutions iii) actively resist the introduction of progressive institutions iv) actively bring about the acceleration of progress v) maintain the status quo, or vi) actively bring about the dismantlement or transformation of exploitive, economic progress.

To enhance the accuracy of such prognoses, future applications of the model should focus on influential members of both the non-elite and the elite; while the elite of a given nation controls most of the country's resources and are thus most likely to make the key decisions which determine whether or not that country goes on a pro-progressive or anti-progressive path, there will be instances when the non-elite will play a critical role in determining their nations future²⁰. This study attempted to focus solely on the elite, and even here, it is not certain that the post-secondary students selected as respondents can be seen as future members of their respective nations' elite.

It is believed that one of the strengths of the proposed model is that it focuses primarily on psychological variables, while at the same time, acknowledging the possible influence of important socio-historical factors. In the past, most development models were based on principles of technological determinism or the Marxist proposition that changes in the economic infrastructure would result in changes in the superstructure (i.e., the dominant attitudes, values, and beliefs of a culture), and had ignored important social and psychological characteristics of the populace which their originators had hoped to change. Thus, attempts to radically change a society through the introduction of new technologies, or radical restructuring of the economy often met with limited success.

The psychological model developed in this study suggests that meaningful and lasting changes in a society can be made only when members of a society undergo fundamental changes in their attitudes, values, beliefs vis-a-vis nature and humanity,

followed by behavioral change. While much more difficult to accomplish than imposing technological or institutional change from the outside, this strategy in the long-term seems most productive. Two broad questions relating to this issue which should be addressed are: how can change in locus of control, threat orientation, dominant value profile, and degree to which self-imposed control over nature and humanity is desired, be accomplished in both individuals and groups?; and most important, which psychological changes are needed in order to put humanity on a less destructive path, to where individuals seek harmonious adjustment to nature and fellow humans?

EPILOGUE

While it is beyond the scope of this presentation to investigate possible strategies for accomplishing change in such variables as locus of control, threat orientation, dominant value profile, and desire for exerting self-imposed change over external entities (besides, this has already been done to some degree by other researchers), an attempt will be made to address the question of which psychological changes are needed to ensure the survival of our race and the planet from the standpoint of the present consumer, post-industrial society of North America and Western Europe.

Earlier, I refuted the widespread belief propagated in an industrial, consumer society that progress -- or in its most general sense, evolution imposed by society which is purported to ultimately benefit the individual -- is the sole means for individuals having an adversarial relationship with nature and humanity to achieve three long-term goals: absolute control over external entities, the abolition of mental and physical labour, and the creation of an egocentric, self-determined state of perpetual equilibrium. The first psychological change that is needed, then, is that individuals must come to the realization that progressive society is the greatest threat to their survival by understanding, at both the cognitive and emotional levels, the

implications of the Paradox of Progress.

In addition, if it hasn't already been accomplished, society must undergo a transformation of its dominant value profile, from dominantly materialist to dominantly humanist. As suggested by Inglehart, perhaps our materialist, consumer society should be allowed to continue unabated, at least until the majority of society is comprised of those who, having lived their formative years in relative affluence, take for granted that their sustenance needs will be met; for it is this group which, unlike previous generations, will have the most opportunity (and desire) to pursue less materialistic goals and a higher quality of life (Inglehart, 1977).

Yet, rejecting the "ideology of progress" and progressive institutions at the cognitive and emotional levels, and possessing a dominantly humanist value orientation alone are not sufficient to ensure the survival of this planet; active steps to dismantle or at least radically transform the machinery of progress must also be taken²¹. If the populace predominantly holds a belief in external control, or worse, possesses little desire to exert control over its external environment, however, such action is unlikely: instilling both a desire to exert control over external entities (with progressive society now being seen as the predominant threat, the target for control would presumably be progressive society), and a belief in internal locus of control will be a necessary prerequisite.

Once the long battle to end progressive society has been won -- ironically by those with the same desire to control external entities and the same belief in internal control as those who sought to establish a progressive society -- the most crucial psychological transformation remains to be accomplished: humanity will have to abandon two of the three long-term (unachievable) goals which initially led it to embrace progress, namely the attainment of absolute control over all external entities, and the creation of an egocentric, self-determined paradise. This will be possible only if our adversarial

relationship with nature and humanity is altered to one characterized by harmony, accommodation, and unification, where neither nature or humanity is seen as a threat. Otherwise, there is the danger that the vicious cycle will repeat itself, that a future generation will commit the past mistakes of its progress-minded forefathers, especially if the perception that nature is the greatest threat reemerges²².

Since most of humanity have for centuries perceived both nature and fellow humans as hostile, it is tempting to conclude that an adversarial world view is instinctive and thus, immutable. Yet, even though there may be a strong tendency in humans to seek to master external entities, this is by no means the only available strategy for survival. In Civilization and its Discontents Freud postulated that humans have two basic drives: to eliminate or at least minimize pain and suffering (which Freud saw as a negative drive), and to maximize pleasure (which Freud saw as a positive drive). Since the unbridled gratification of every desire is impossible to achieve, the avoidance of suffering becomes the main motive in life for most people, especially those with an adversarial world view. The various (negative drive oriented) strategies for survival which exist, Freud believed, can be differentiated by identifying the source or sources of suffering against which they are directed: the natural world, fellow humans, or our own body.

Progressive society, under the guidance of science, attempts to secure survival and minimize suffering for its members by attacking the natural world. There are other life strategies as well: in Freud's opinion, the most interesting (and least often adopted) are those which aim to influence the organism's internal, bio-psychological processes. Of the latter, he argued that Love may be the best way to both keep suffering at bay and win happiness (which, strictly speaking, relates only to the experience of pleasure). By embracing the external world, rather than fleeing from it, and by dissolving the distinction between Ego (self) and the external world, the individual -- having

changed his or her internal processes so that suffering is not so readily felt -- is able to achieve pleasure, even under adverse conditions (Freud, 1961a: Chapter II). The external entities which once were seen as hostile threats thus become sources of gratification.

Freud's belief that Love might be not only the most constructive strategy for survival, but also the best means to maximize pleasure was elaborated upon by Marcuse in Eros and Civilization. According to Marcuse, our adversarial world view stems from the perception that the world is too impoverished for us to attain instantaneous self-gratification; however, he believed that this perception is largely misleading. In contemporary society, production is at such an advanced stage that basic sustenance needs can be easily filled: actual scarcity is not as problematic as the artificially imposed organization of scarcity. Yet, the myth of actual scarcity has been used in both transitional and progressive societies to justify the implementation of controls above and beyond those necessary to ensure the survival of human civilization, controls which Marcuse termed "surplus repression".

Liberation -- as reflected in Phantasy -- would entail that we free ourselves from the oppressive yoke of surplus repression, the reality principle, and its concomitant manifestations, privatization of property (the ultimate tragedy), possessiveness, excessive productivity, specialization of labour, the suppression of emotions in favour of intellect, domination and exploitation, and genital/monogamic supremacy -- in short, the cornerstones of progress -- and allow ourselves to be guided by the Pleasure Principle. And while the performance of work could not be realistically eliminated outright, only that necessary for the fulfillment of individual biological needs should be performed. This would leave a substantial amount of time for individuals to engage in play -- that is, activities that are "non-functional" and inherently gratifying.

More important, we could then undergo a transformation of

our life-force, Eros, so that pleasure could be derived from not only all zones of our body, but also from all societal relations and from the natural world. In other words, Marcuse emphasized a return to polymorphous perversion and pan-sexuality; he recognized that in order to change our relationship with nature and humanity, we must first liberate our bodies from the suppressive constraints that we have encumbered them with, for it is through our bodies that we relate to the external world. The body must be seen as an instrument of pleasure, rather than an instrument of alienated labour. An individual with such a perspective will no longer see himself or herself pitted against nature and humanity in a struggle to achieve absolute mastery over these entities; he or she will be receptive to their influences and will seek to contribute to the harmonious relationship which binds them. While the need for sublimation, and hence, culture, would still exist, "this sublimation would proceed in a system of expanding and enduring libidinal relations" (Marcuse, 1974: 212).

It is plausible that the human race currently enjoys a historically unprecedented advantage in that at least a modicum of happiness can potentially be achieved on earth as Marcuse (and to a lesser extent, Freud) believed. However, contrary to the position taken by Marcuse, the role of Phantasy in a liberated society may dwindle, since the very act of engaging in Phantasy implies both a desire to escape the here-and-now, and an adversarial relationship with nature and humanity. Though Phantasy initially may serve the crucial function of providing those who have rejected progress the impetus for building a liberated society, it is anticipated that such other-worldly yearnings will be rendered obsolete once liberation has arrived. The "struggle" for existence will no longer demand the suffocation of instinctual freedom; instead, it will resuscitate non-repressive social life and peaceful co-existence with nature. Perhaps centuries of costly gains will not have been in vain.

ENDNOTES

1. Others-- for instance Hobbes in his Social Contract Theory, and Freud in his Theory of the Primal Horde-- have implied that civilization arose because individuals wanted primarily to control other humans. While physically weak individuals may have felt it more urgent to collectively control the physically strong to prevent the latter from dominating and exploiting them, the physically strong (whose actions were then of the greatest consequence) probably felt the need to dominate and exploit others solely out of insecurity and the perception that scarcity prevented everyone from attaining the satisfaction of basic, biological needs without having to compete with others.

In other words, the need to impose social control ultimately derived from the need to impose control over nature.

2. Assuming that the individual's desire to impose control over other humans stems from the desire to impose control over nature (see endnote 1), and that the desire to control nature would diminish if nature is no longer perceived as threatening to human survival, logic dictates that once it is generally perceived that society has controlled nature to the point that humanity's basic, biological needs can be met (and Marcuse, among others, believes that our present progressive society has long been in this position), social domination and human exploitation should diminish. Yet, if anything, the opposite appears to have occurred. I believe the contradictory tendency to desire increased self-imposed control over humans as the need to control nature has diminished supports my contention that progressive society strives to attain absolute mastery over nature, or at least mastery over nature above and beyond that needed to ensure human survival; as long as the need to control nature is infinite and insatiable, so too will the need for individuals to control other humans.

3. The former tendency has been referred to as authoritarian aggression; the latter, authoritarian submission.

4. For instance, the need to hand wash clothes was eliminated only after the invention of the automatic washing machine; however, a great amount of mental and physical labour was invested by many people, such as researchers, product engineers, assembly line workers, advertisers, retailers, in the realization of such an invention.

5. At one time, mathematical operations could only be performed mentally; however, increasingly complex mathematical operations can now be performed by sophisticated calculators and computers rather than by humans.

6. Atrophy may not occur if as Marcuse suggests, we replace alienated labour with non-functional, inherently gratifying activities (play).

7. This is my own term for a concept based on the synthesis of work by Freud and Marcuse that I undertook.

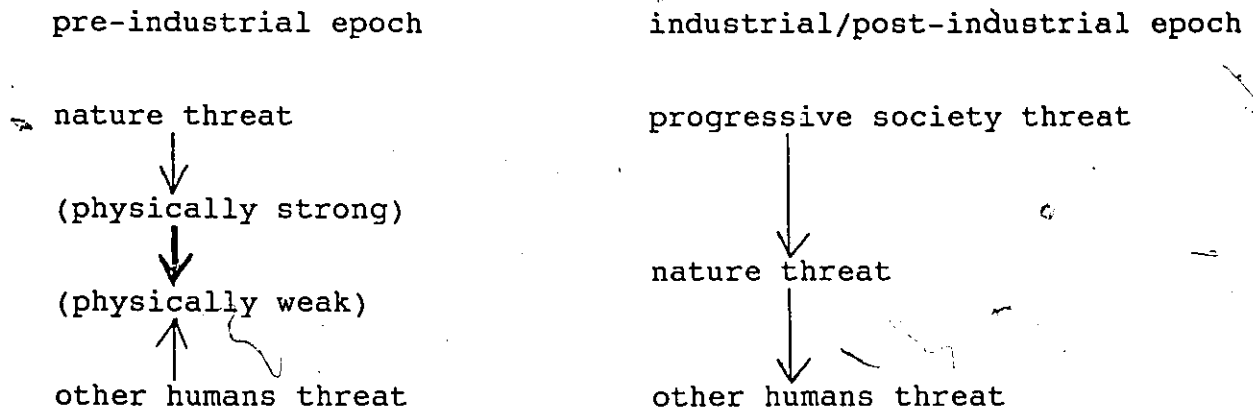
8. It should be noted, however, that according to Freud and Marcuse, "The death instinct is destructiveness not for its own sake, but for the relief of tension. The descent towards death is an unconscious flight from pain and want. It is an expression of the eternal struggle against suffering and repression" (Marcuse, 1974:29).

9. Admittedly, even some aspects of economic progress (for example efficiency, or better yet, conservationism) are probably desirable if they are geared toward the elimination of alienated labour and the exploitation of the natural environment. Moreover, to ensure that our basic sustenance needs can be met, those aspects of progress allowing the partial attainment of one of the progressive goals, control over the natural environment, might also be retained (see Epilogue for more details).

10. While progress-minded individuals perceive both nature and progressive society as personal threats, it is assumed that at a specific point in time, the threat posed by one of these entities will be perceived as more salient than the threat posed by the other. I recognize that by saying this, a contradiction seems to have arisen: in endnotes 1 and 2, I stated that nature ultimately poses the greatest threat to the individual's survival, and that the threat posed by humanity should diminish once the threat posed by nature was eliminated.

However, the contradiction may not be as serious as expected if "humanity" and "progressive society" are seen not as one, but two distinct constructs: the latter could refer to a system of institutions more powerful than even nature, whereas the former could refer to an aggregate of individuals less powerful than progressive society and nature. Thus, as seen in the diagram below, the relationship between a nature threat

orientation and a humanity threat orientation cited in the first two endnotes might still hold as it did in the times of pre-industrial society; however, what distinguishes our civilization from previous ones is that a third, more formidable threat to human survival has emerged: progressive society.



10. Although alienation is a malaise generally associated with progressive, industrial and post-industrial societies, it is believed to exist even in agrarian societies.

11. Throughout this discourse, several references have been made to constructs like "values", "materialism", and "dominant value profile"; now would be a good time to formally define what is meant conceptually by such terms. In general, "Values are global beliefs that transcendently guide actions or judgements across specific situations": they are the root of attitudes and behavior (Squire, 1986: 21). Rokeach has made a distinction between instrumental and terminal values, with the former referring to preferable modes of conduct and the latter referring to preferable end states of existence (Rokeach, 1973: 77).

Squire has, in turn, made the added distinction between materialist values-- those which are "primarily related to goals in the material realm, and those values that relate to oneself and one's private world"-- and social (or humanist) values-- those which are "primarily related to humanistic, non-material goals, and those values that relate to the collective experience and relations with others" (Squire, 1986: 24). After an extensive survey of research on values, Squire tentatively concluded that the instrumental values "ambitious", "capable", "independent", "responsible", and "self-controlled", as well as the terminal values "comfortable life", "sense of accomplishment", "pleasure",

and "social recognition" should be classified as material values, while the instrumental values "broadminded", "cheerful", "forgiving", "helpful", "imaginative", and "loving", as well as the terminal values "world of peace", "world of beauty", "equality", "inner harmony", and "wisdom" should be classified as social (or humanist) values. Dominant value profile, then, refers to whether materialist values or humanist values are the most important guiding principles in one's life.

12. This time sequence, prior to the advent of progressive society, was linear; however, it is now plausible that transitional and even traditional societies can not only pass through each stage much quicker than the pioneering progressive societies ever could, but also skip stages of the sequence. For instance, due to the increasing penetration of mass media in even the most remote outposts of the world, along with increasing contact with members of the "First World" and the "Second World", an emerging or even traditional society without a firmly entrenched tradition of science and technology could acquire a progressive society threat orientation previously associated with only time 3 and time 4 societies by observing the detrimental effects of progress in progressive societies. Still, it is believed that a progressive society threat orientation is most salient only after the negative effects of progress have been experienced, rather than merely observed-- and even then, when the contradictions inherent within the ideology of progress have been exposed, there is no guarantee than those who fully understand it will actively oppose the continuation of progress.

13. Since it constitutes a voluntary act, not one done out of necessity, it appears that the adoption of humanist values at time 4 is more genuine than the adoption of humanist values at time 1. Perhaps Rokeach's distinction between "instrumental" values and "terminal" values could apply here: humanism at time 1 could be labelled "instrumental humanism", while at time 4 (and similarly, at pre-time 1) it could be labelled "terminal humanism". Whether or not "terminal humanism" would be permanent once it was generally adopted may depend on a particular society's fundamental relationship with nature and humanity: if a harmonious world view is acquired and vigilantly transmitted to subsequent generations, then the humanism of time 4 could be lasting; if such a society maintains an underlying adversarial relationship with nature and humanity, however, then it could risk undergoing a regressive transformation of values (especially if nature reemerges as the greatest threat). This scenario could have tragic consequences for the planet, since the human race-- having been propelled back to an earlier time frame-- would most likely be doomed to repeat the mistakes of past generations. 7

14. While H7 and H6 seem to contradict H1, application of the Transformation of Values and Threat Orientation Theorem developed earlier may eliminate the apparent contradiction: Canada and the US might be presently located at time 3, while Jamaica and Monserrat might be located at either the pre-time 1 stage or the time 1 stage of the sequence.

15. Of the 448 respondents, 130 were from the University of Windsor in Windsor, Canada, 118 were from Canisius College in Buffalo, United States, 92 were from the College of Arts, Science, and Technology in Kingston, Jamaica, and 108 were from Montserrat Technical College in Montserrat.

16. It should be acknowledged that post-secondary students from the Caribbean nations are more likely than those from North America to become members of the elite. This expectation is based on the observation that unlike the situation in North America, the demand for educated, skilled labour is greater than the indigenous supply in the Caribbean.

17. The design, administration, and coding of the questionnaire was carried out by Steve Pellarin, Dr. Stuart Surlin, Patricia Collins, in addition to me. June Degia also assisted in coding the questionnaires. As with all collaborative endeavors, many compromises had to be made; many question items had to be omitted to keep the questionnaire to a reasonable length.

18. When interpreting the scores of the Rokeach value survey (or other rank ordered measures) one must keep in mind that a low score implies that a particular survey item was ranked high in importance by the respondent, whereas a high score implies that the survey item was ranked low.

19. Moreover, it goes without saying that another major task for subsequent research will be the operationalization of "progressive" and "anti-progressive" behaviors and attitudes.

20. This is most likely when the non-elite is comprised predominantly of individuals with an internal locus of control, who possess a great desire to control external entities, and most important, whose threat orientation differs from that of the elite. If the elite similarly possesses a great desire to exert control over external entities and have an internal locus of control, then serious conflict between the two will arise. If, on the other hand, the elite is more passive-- in other words, it has a predominantly external locus of control and low desire to control external entities-- then the non-elite, in this case, may be the more influential force from the standpoint of national development.

21. Whether this means a return to a pre-industrial agrarian society, or the continuation of a technologically-oriented society (similar to our own, except that it would operate in harmony with, not in opposition to, nature and humanity), is open to debate.

22. Assuming that nature is seen as a threat only by those who perceive that their natural environment prevents them from satisfying their basic sustenance needs without great difficulty, the likelihood that nature would reemerge as the greatest threat will be greatest if progressive society is completely dismantled. The ability of an agrarian, pre-scientific society to satisfy basic sustenance needs would be significantly less than that of a humanist society which retains "constructive", "non-adversarial" technology and is sheltered from the full impact of nature.

APPENDIX A
International Mass Communication Research Questionnaire

Please read carefully:.

We are requesting your spontaneous, open, and honest responses to the items contained in this questionnaire. Your answers are anonymous, therefore do not put your name on this page.

Please do not look at any pages other than the first two. You may now begin responding to the first two pages. After you've finished, wait for further instructions.

On this page are 18 values listed in alphabetical order. Please arrange them in order of their importance to you, as guiding principles in your life.

First study the list carefully and pick out the one value which is most important to you and put a "1" beside it. Then pick out the value which is second most important to you and put a "2" beside it. Continue to rank, in descending order of importance, each of the remaining values until you put an "18" beside the value least important to you.

If you change your mind about your rankings, feel free to change your answers. The end result should show how you really feel.

A Comfortable life (a prosperous life)

An exciting life (a stimulating, active life)

A sense of accomplishment (lasting contribution)

A world at peace (free of war and conflict)

A world of beauty (beauty of nature and the arts)

Equality (brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)

Family security (taking care of loved ones)

Freedom (independence, free choice)

Happiness (contentedness)

Inner harmony (freedom from inner conflict)

Mature love (sexual and spiritual intimacy)

National security (protection from attack)

Pleasure (an enjoyable, leisurely life)

Salvation (saved, eternal life)

Self-respect (self-esteem)

Social recognition (respect, admiration)

True friendship (close companionship)

Wisdom (a mature understanding of life)

For the 18 values listed on this page, use the same procedure you used on the previous page. Please arrange the values in order of their importance to you, as guiding principles in your life. Put a "1" beside the value that is most important to you, and continue to rank in descending order of importance until you put an "18" beside the value that is least important to you.

Ambitious (hard-working, aspiring) _____

Broadminded (open-minded) _____

Capable (competent, effective) _____

Cheerful (lighthearted, joyful) _____

Clean (neat, tidy) _____

Courageous (standing up for your beliefs) _____

Forgiving (willing to pardon others) _____

Helpful (working for the welfare of others) _____

Honest (sincere, truthful) _____

Imaginative (daring, creative) _____

Independent (self-reliant, self-sufficient) _____

Intellectual (intelligent, reflective) _____

Logical (consistent, rational) _____

Loving (affectionate, tender) _____

Obedient (dutiful, respectful) _____

Polite (courteous, well-mannered) _____

Responsible (dependable, reliable) _____

Self-controlled (restrained, self-disciplined) _____

STOP

Do not go any further in this
questionnaire: Put down your
pencil and await further instructions.

Based upon your viewing of this television program segment from The Cosby Show, which of the following values do you think are being either supported or discouraged. If you don't think the value was at all represented then check "value not depicted".

Values	(Check only one response per value)		Values	(Check only one response per value)	
	Supported	Discouraged		Supported	Discouraged
1. A comfortable life	—	—	1. Ambitious	—	—
2. An exciting life	—	—	2. Broadminded	—	—
3. A sense of accomplishment	—	—	3. Capable	—	—
4. A world at peace	—	—	4. Cheerful	—	—
5. A world of beauty	—	—	5. Clean	—	—
6. Equality	—	—	6. Courageous	—	—
7. Family security	—	—	7. Forgiving	—	—
8. Freedom	—	—	8. Helpful	—	—
9. Happiness	—	—	9. Honest	—	—
10. Inner harmony	—	—	10. Imaginative	—	—
11. Mature love	—	—	11. Independent	—	—
12. National security	—	—	12. Intellectual	—	—
13. Pleasure	—	—	13. Logical	—	—
14. Salvation	—	—	14. Loving	—	—
15. Self-respect	—	—	15. Obedient	—	—
16. Social recognition	—	—	16. Polite	—	—
17. True friendship	—	—	17. Responsible	—	—
18. Wisdom	—	—	18. Self-controlled	—	—

STOP

Do not go any further in this
questionnaire. Put down your
pencil and await further instructions.

Based upon your viewing of this television commercial, which of the following values do you think are being either supported or discouraged. If you don't think the value was at all represented then check "value not depicted".

(Check only one response per value)

<u>Values</u>	<u>Supported</u>	<u>Discouraged</u>	<u>Value not depicted</u>
1. A comfortable life	_____	_____	_____
2. A sense of accomplishment	_____	_____	_____
3. A world at peace	_____	_____	_____
4. A world of beauty	_____	_____	_____
5. Equality	_____	_____	_____
6. Inner harmony	_____	_____	_____
7. Social recognition	_____	_____	_____
8. Ambitious	_____	_____	_____
9. Broadminded	_____	_____	_____
10. Cheerful	_____	_____	_____
11. Forgiving	_____	_____	_____
12. Helpful	_____	_____	_____
13. Imaginative	_____	_____	_____
14. Independent	_____	_____	_____
15. Loving	_____	_____	_____
16. Responsible	_____	_____	_____

We would like to ask about your attitude toward prime-time television entertainment programs. On a scale of 1-10, rate your attitude, where:

- | | <u>Your rating score</u> |
|---|--------------------------|
| (A) 1 is "bad" and 10 is "good" | _____ |
| (B) 1 is "like" and 10 is "dislike" | _____ |
| (C) 1 is "important to me" and
10 is "unimportant to me" | _____ |
| (D) 1 is "presents a lifestyle I want
for myself" and 10 is "presents
a lifestyle I don't want for
myself" | _____ |

Now, please rate your attitude toward advertising shown on prime-time television. On a scale of 1-10, rate your attitude, where:

- | | <u>Your rating score</u> |
|---|--------------------------|
| (A) 1 is "good" and 10 is "bad" | _____ |
| (B) 1 is "dislike" and 10 is "like" | _____ |
| (C) 1 is "unimportant to me" and
10 is "important to me" | _____ |
| (D) 1 is "presents a lifestyle I
don't want for myself" and
10 is "presents a lifestyle
I want for myself" | _____ |

Now, we would like to ask a few questions about your communication activities.

On an average day of an average week, how much time do you spend:

(check only one response for each medium)

	less than 15 min.	15 min. to ½ hr.	½ to 1 hr.	1-2 hrs.	2-3 hrs.	more than 3 hrs.
(A) Reading a newspaper	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(B) Watching TV	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(C) Listening to radio	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(D) Reading for enjoyment (e.g., magazines, books, etc.)	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(E) Listening to records/tapes	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(F) Talking to people	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

When watching television:

(check only one response for each question)

	0%	More than 0% to 25%	More than 25% to 50%	More than 50% to 75%	More than 75% to almost 100%	100%
(A) What percent of your TV viewing consists of news, information, and education programming.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(B) What percent of your <u>TV news viewing</u> is from a U.S. television station.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
(C) What percent of <u>your entertainment</u> <u>TV viewing</u> is produced in the U.S.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

The following questions refer to society and culture. Please check only one response per question.

	<u>Strongly Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree nor Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly Disagree</u>
1. There is a unique culture in this country.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. (If you "agreed" with question #1): This culture is worth preserving.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Commercial TV content undermines the development of this country's culture.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Commercial TV content undermines close personal relations with friends and family.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Commercial TV content undermines personal relationships with others; such as acquaintances, strangers, customers, public employees, etc.	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

Please match each value to the most appropriate defining statement about human behavior.

(Write the letter corresponding to the appropriate value in the spaces below)

1. A person who has a house, car, new furniture, and lives in a nice neighborhood _____
2. Feeling good about yourself _____
3. Someone who considers all people's ideas _____
4. Helping build a new recreation center for youth _____
5. Someone who can be depended upon to get the job done _____
6. A person who always smiles and offers a happy hello _____
7. A person who puts alot of energy in setting and achieving high goals _____

Value

- (A) Responsible
- (B) A comfortable life
- (C) A sense of accomplishment
- (D) Broadminded
- (E) Self-respect
- (F) Cheerful
- (G) Ambitious
- (H) Social recognition
- (I) Independent
- (J) Happiness

Now, we would like to ask some general questions concerning your attitudes.

(check only one response per statement)

	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Neither Agree</u> <u>nor Disagree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Strongly</u> <u>Disagree</u>
1. The forces of nature are a greater threat to me than humanity/society.	—	—	—	—	—
2. Society/humanity should use every means possible to keep the forces of nature under control	—	—	—	—	—
3. It is important to follow the latest trends in society.	—	—	—	—	—
4. Unfortunately, an individual's worth often passes unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.	—	—	—	—	—
5. Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right place at the right time.	—	—	—	—	—
6. People are smart enough to make good decisions on their own.	—	—	—	—	—
7. This world is run by the few people in power, and there is not much the average person can do about it.	—	—	—	—	—

(check only one response per statement)

Strongly Neither Agree Strongly
Agree Agree nor Disagree Disagree Disagree

8. Progress, in our modern industrial/consumer society, should be allowed to continue without restriction.

9. Many times we might just as well decide what to do by flipping a coin.

10. If, or when, the end of the world arrives, it will most likely result from:

- (A) the actions of humans
 - (B) the actions of nature
 - (C) the actions of a God-like or spiritual force
 - (D) the actions of aliens from another planet
- (circle one of the above)

11. Briefly describe how you picture "paradise":

Now, a few last questions about yourself:

12. Male _____ Female _____

13. Occupation of head of household (please be as specific as possible):

14. Country where you've lived most of your life:

15. In what type of area have you lived most of your life? (please check only one)

Rural (farm - 10,000 people) _____

Town (greater than 10,000 - 25,000) _____

Small City (greater than 25,000 - 100,000) _____

Medium City (greater than 100,000 - 500,000) _____

Large City (greater than 500,000 people) _____

That completes the questionnaire. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

APPENDIX B
Fedak's Psychological Model of "Progressive" Attitudes and Behaviour

		LOCUS OF CONTROL		
		INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	
D E S I R E F O R S E L F I M P O S E D C O N T R O L	L	-neutral/slightly favourable attitudes toward "ideology of progress" (complacence)	-neutral/slightly favourable attitudes (complacence)	N A T U R E T H R E A T S O C I E T Y T H R E A T
	W	-maintains status quo (passive behaviour)	-maintains status quo (passive behaviour)	
	H	-highly favourable attitudes toward "ideology of progress"	-highly favourable attitudes	
	G	-actively seeks establishment or acceleration of progress	-maintains status quo (passive behaviour) -experiences greatest alienation in non-progressive society	
I M P O S E D C O N T R O L	L	-neutral/slightly favourable attitudes toward "ideology of progress" (complacence)	-neutral/slightly unfavourable attitudes (complacence)	S O C I E T Y T H R E A T
	W	-maintains status quo (passive behaviour)	-maintains status quo (passive behaviour)	
	H	-highly unfavourable attitudes toward "ideology of progress"	-highly unfavourable attitudes	
	G	-actively resists establishment of/ seeks dismantlement or radical transformation of...	-maintains status quo (passive behaviour) -experiences greatest alienation in progressive society	

--When this model is applied at the macro level to groups of people (i.e., the elite and the non-elite) or countries, it is assumed that the psychological processes apply universally; groups or countries differ only in terms of distribution of members within cells.

--As previously mentioned, one of the variables which appears in this model, the degree to which self-imposed control over external entities is desired, has not been incorporated into the research instrument used in this study.

APPENDIX C
The Transformation of Values and Threat Orientation Theorem as
Applied to Attitudes toward Television Advertising
(Fedak and Surlin)

DOMINANT VALUE PROFILE

		MATERIALIST	HUMANIST
T H R E A T O R I E N T A T I O N A L	N A T U R E	(time 2 materialism) -most favourable attitudes toward television advertising	(time 1 "instrumental humanism") -somewhat favourable or neutral reaction toward television advertising
	S O C I E T Y	(time 3 materialism/ post-materialism) -somewhat unfavourable or neutral reaction toward television advertising	(time 4 "terminal humanism") -most unfavourable attitudes toward television advertising

--Of the two independent variables, threat orientation is believed to be the most salient determinant of reaction toward television advertising.

--This model, unlike that depicted in Appendix B, was directly applied and tested in this study. However, while one of its components, dominant value profile, plays an important role in this study, unless it is demonstrated that i) the interaction of threat orientation and dominant value profile produces a combined effect different from the effects produced by both variables independently, or ii) dominant value profile does not derive from threat orientation, the independent variables which are included in the Appendix B model (once sufficiently operationalized) will be able to predict "progressive" and "anti-progressive" attitudes and behaviour as effectively with or without the inclusion of dominant value profile. In other words, dominant value profile may be a redundant variable in terms of predicting "progressive" and "anti-progressive" attitudes and behaviour.

APPENDIX D Construction of Indices

1. LOCUS OF CONTROL INDEX (Rotter 1966) constituent question items

var122**: Unfortunately, an individuals worth often passes
unrecognized no matter how hard he tries.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly	agree	neither	agree	disagree
agree		nor	disagree	strongly
				disagree

--reliability: $r=.6045$, $p=.000$

var123**: Getting a good job depends mainly on being in the right
place at the right time.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly	agree	neither	agree	disagree
agree		nor	disagree	strongly
				disagree

--reliability: $r=.6826$, $p=.000$

var125**: This world is run by the few people in power, and there
is not much the average person can do about it.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly	agree	neither	agree	disagree
agree		nor	disagree	strongly
				disagree

--reliability: $r=.6725$, $p=.000$

--LOCUS OF CONTROL was determined by calculating the mean of at least 2 of the 3 constituent question items. A low mean score (one which is equal to or lies below either the aggregate 33.3 percentile, 2.67, OR the national subgroup 33.3 percentiles, which are 2.43 for Canada, 2.67 for the US, 2.22 for Jamaica, and 2.67 for Montserrat is associated with an external locus of control, whereas a high mean score (one which is equal to or lies above either the aggregate 66.7 percentile, 3.33, OR the national subgroup 66.7 percentiles, which are 3.24 for Canada, 3.33 for the US and Jamaica, and 3.57 for Montserrat) is associated with an internal locus of control. As previously mentioned, which percentile cut-off points -- the ones based on data from the aggregate sample or the ones based on data from the four national subgroups -- are used to categorize respondents according to locus of control, threat orientation, and dominant value profile depends on the outcome of the pivotal hypotheses, H5, H6, and H7.

** var123, var124, and var125, correspond to statements 4b, 11b, and 12b of Rotter's Internal-External Locus of Control Scale, except for one difference: Likeart scaling was applied to each of these statements to produce ordinal level data necessary for the statistical analyses that were to be used in this study.

2. THREAT ORIENTATION INDEX
constituent question items

var119: The forces of nature are a greater threat to me than
humanity/society.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly	agree	neither	disagree	strongly
agree		nor disagree		disagree

--reliability: $r=.7091$, $p=.000$

var120: Society/humanity should use every means possible to keep
the forces of nature under control.

1	2	3	4	5
strongly	agree	neither	disagree	strongly
agree		nor disagree		disagree

--reliability: $r=.7067$, $p=.000$

var121: If, or when the end of the world arrives, it will most
likely result from:

- a) the actions of humans
 - b) the actions of nature
 - c) the actions of a God-like or spiritual force
 - d) the actions of aliens from another planet
- (circle one of the above)

--recoded into an "interval" level variable, "endworld", where
response (a) was assigned a value of 1 and any other response, 0.

--reliability: $r=.6045$, $p=.000$

--THREAT ORIENTATION was determined by calculating the mean of
at least 2 of the 3 constituent question items. A low mean score
(one which is equal to or lies below either the aggregate 33.3
percentile, 3.17, OR the national subgroup 33.3 percentiles,
which are 3.5 for Canada and the US, 2.83 for Jamaica, and 2.5
for Montserrat) is associated with a nature threat orientation,
whereas a high mean score (one which is equal to or lies above
either the aggregate 66.7 percentile, 3.83, OR the national
subgroup 66.6 percentiles, which are 3.83 for Canada, 4.17 for
the US, and 3.5 for Jamaica and Montserrat) is associated with a
progressive society threat orientation.

3. MATERIALIST INDEX (Squire 1986)
constituent question items

--respondent ranked from most important to him/her (associated
with a score of 1) to least important to him/her (associated with
a score of 18):

var2 (a comfortable life, a prosperous life)

--reliability: $r=.5747$, $p=.000$

var3 (an exciting life, a stimulating, active life)

--reliability: $r=.3548$, $p=.000$

var4 (a sense of accomplishment, lasting contribution)

--reliability: $r=.4260$, $p=.000$

var14 (pleasure, an enjoyable, leisurely life)

--reliability: $r=.4874$, $p=.000$

var17 (social recognition, respect, admiration)
--reliability: r=.4070, p=.000
var20 (ambitious, hard-working, aspiring)
--reliability: r=.4925, p=.000
var22 (capable, competent, effective)
--reliability: r=.5075, p=.000
var30 (independent, self-reliant, self-efficient)
--reliability: r=.5410, p=.000

--MATERIALIST ORIENTATION was determined by calculating the mean score of at least 4 of the constituent question items.

4. HUMANIST INDEX (Squire 1986) constituent question items

--respondent ranked from most important to him/her (associated with a score of 1) to least important to him/her (associated with a score of 18):

var5 (world at peace, free of war and conflict)
--reliability: r=.5631, p=.000
var6 (a world of beauty, beauty of nature and the arts)
--reliability: r=.4915, p=.000
var7 (equality, brotherhood, equal opportunity for all)
--reliability: r=.4641, p=.000
var23 (cheerful, light-hearted, joyful)
--reliability: r=.3874, p=.000
var26 (forgiving, willing to pardon others)
--reliability: r=.5598, p=.000
var27 (helpful, working for the welfare of others)
--reliability: r=.4500, p=.000
var33 (loving, affectionate, tender)
--reliability: r=.4136, p=.000

--HUMANIST ORIENTATION was determined by calculating the mean score of at least 4 of the constituent questions.

--a respondent's dominant value profile (MATHUM ORIENTATION) was determined by subtracting his/her mean score on the humanist index from his/her mean score on the materialist index. A positive score indicates that the respondent is predominantly a humanist, while a negative score indicates that he/she is predominantly a materialist. The aggregate 33.3 and 66.7 percentiles for MATHUM ORIENTATION were -20.05 and 18.44. The national subgroup 33.3 percentile cut-off points were -32.80 for Canada, -21.74 for the US, -32.74 for Jamaica, and 2.00 for Montserrat; the national subgroup 66.6 percentiles were 1.20, 13.24, 12.75, and 31.44 for Canada, the US, Jamaica, and Montserrat respectively.

5. REACTION TOWARD TV COMMERCIALS INDEX (COMREAC)
constituent question items

--respondent rated his/her attitude toward advertising shown on prime-time television on a scale of 1 to 10, where:

var103: 1 is "good" and 10 is "bad"

--recoded so that 1 is "bad" and 10, "good"

--reliability: $r=.6548$, $p=.000$

var104: 1 is "dislike" and 10 is "like"

--reliability: $r=.7175$, $p=.000$

var105: 1 is "unimportant to me" and 10 is "important to me"

--reliability: $r=.6818$, $p=.000$

var106: 1 is "advertising presents a lifestyle I don't want for myself" and 10 is "advertising presents a lifestyle I want for myself"

--reliability: $r=.6565$, $p=.000$

--REACTION TOWARD TV COMMERCIALS was determined by calculating the mean of at least 2 of the constituent question items; a low mean score indicates an unfavourable reaction toward TV advertising, whereas a high mean score indicates a favourable reaction toward TV advertising.

6. REACTION TOWARD PRIME-TIME COMMERCIAL TELEVISION INDEX
constituent question items

--respondent rated his/her attitude toward prime-time commercial television on a scale of 1 to 10 where:

var99: 1 is "bad" and 10 is "good"

--recoded so that 1 is "good" and 10, "bad"

--reliability: $r=.6854$, $p=.000$

var100: 1 is "like" and 10 is "dislike"

--reliability: $r=.7047$, $p=.000$

var101: 1 is "important to me" and 10 is "unimportant to me"

--reliability: $r=.7207$, $p=.000$

var102: 1 is "prime-time commercial television presents a lifestyle I want for myself" and 10 is "prime-time commercial television presents a lifestyle I don't want for myself"

--reliability: $r=.6822$, $p=.000$

--REACTION TOWARD PRIME-TIME COMMERCIAL TELEVISION was determined by calculating the mean of at least 2 of the constituent items; a low mean score indicates a favourable reaction toward prime-time commercial television, while a high mean score indicates an unfavourable reaction toward prime-time commercial television.

This index was found to be negatively correlated with the REACTION TOWARD TV COMMERCIALS INDEX ($p=.000$, $r=-.2021$).

7. ACTIVE MEDIA USAGE INDEX (ACTMED)
constituent question items

--respondent indicated how much time he/she spent on "an average day on an average week":

var90: reading a newspaper	less than	15 min.	1/2hr.
	15 min.	to 1/2hr.	to 1 hr.
	1	2	3
	1-2hrs.	2-3 hrs.	more than
			3 hrs.
	4	5	6

--reliability: $r=.7824$, $p=.000$

var93: reading for enjoyment	less than	15 min.	1/2hr.
(ie., books, magazines, etc.)	15 min.	to 1/2hr.	to 1 hr.
	1	2	3
	1-2hrs.	2-3 hrs.	more than
			3 hrs.
	4	5	6

--reliability: $r=.7824$, $p=.000$

--ACTIVE MEDIA USAGE determined by calculating the mean of both constituent question items.

--VAR128, the open-ended question which asked respondents to describe how they picture "paradise", was recoded in the following manner:

- 1 represents responses indicating a desire for a hedonistic paradise (characterised by luxury, excitement, sexual activity)
- 2 represents responses indicating a desire for a harmonious paradise (characterised by psychological peace, and/or natural harmony, and/or absence of social conflict and war)
- 3 represents responses indicating a desire for a mixed hedonistic and harmonious paradise.

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The Metro Times (Detroit), July 11-July 18, 1988.

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Marc Fedak was born on March 19, 1963 in Windsor, Ontario, Canada to George and Jeannette Fedak (nee Beneteau). He attended Vincent Massey Secondary School (in Windsor), whereupon he earned a B.A. in Communication Studies and Psychology, and an Honours B.A. in Communication Studies while studying at University of Windsor. An active participant of the local underground music scene, he has been a member of Resolution, the Prehistoric Cavestroke, the Screaming Daisies, the Global Citizens, and the Folk-ups, in addition to having performed ~~as~~ a soloist. On a related note, he has served as both a volunteer and a paid employee at an alternative, community/campus radio station, CJAM-fm, for the past seven years. Other interests or favoured activities include writing music and poetry/prose; reading works pertaining to history, art and literature, philosophy, and the social sciences; playing soccer and volleyball; and sleeping.