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GIFT-GIVING BEHAVIOR. PART A.

Russell W. Belk

#449

College of Commerce and Business Administration
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign



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ABSTRACT

This paper provides a discussion of the various functions which gift-giving may serve in modern U.S. society. Results are also presented from two exploratory studies of gift-giving patterns and correlates. Issues for gift-giving research are discussed in light of these findings and several theories relevant to the study of gift-giving.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

- I. Introduction
 - A. Dimensions of Gift-Giving
 - B. Functions of Gift-Giving
 - 1. Gift-Giving as Communication
 - 2. Gift-Giving as Social Exchange
 - 3. Gift-Giving as Economic Exchange
 - 4. Gift-Giving as Socializer
- II. Results from Two Studies
 - A. Study One
 - 1. Gift/Recipient and Gift/Occasion Relationships
 - 2. Gift Characteristics by Occasion
 - 3. A Joint Typology of Gifts, Givers, and Occasions/Recipients
 - 4. Relative Strengths of Associations Between Gift Characteristics and Person Characteristics
 - B. Study Two
 - 1. Patterns of Present Toy Ownership Via Parental and Non-parental Givers
 - 2. Effects of Parental Sex Role Preferences on Evaluations of Toys for Son or Daughter
 - 3. Children's Sex Role Preferences Related to Toy Ownership and Parental Sex Role Preferences
- III. Issues for Gift-Giving Research

GIFT-GIVING BEHAVIOR*

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I. INTRODUCTION

Gift-giving is a largely unexplored context of consumer behavior. This is rather surprising in light of the prominence of gifts in the purchases of many products such as clothing and accessories, small appliances, dinnerware, colognes, and toys. It has been conservatively estimated that gifts account for ten percent of retail sales in North America (Belshaw, 1965, p. 50). In modern U. S. society the process of exchanging gifts often begins with prenatal "baby shower" gifts and continues through life and even beyond with gifts of money and flowers to memorialize the dead. In between, the array of ritualized gift-giving occasions includes birthdays, bar/bath mitzvahs, graduations, weddings, wedding anniversaries, Christmases, Valentine's Days, Mother's Days, Father's Days, and others.

As the nature of such occasions suggests, gifts are generally given to others in order to symbolize and celebrate important life events, religious history, and family relationships. It also appears that by means of the selection and transference of gifts on these occasions, important symbolic messages are conveyed between the giver and recipient. But while anthropologists have examined the functions and determinants of gift-giving in primitive societies (e.g., Benedict, 1960; Mauss, 1954; Malinowski, 1932), there is little published consumer research about gift-giving in modern society. As one small step toward improving our present knowledge of gift-giving and encouraging further research in this area, this paper outlines several concepts and issues relevant to the study of gift-giving and presents results from two exploratory pieces of field research focused on certain aspects of gift-giving.

A. DIMENSIONS OF GIFT-GIVING

Although gift-giving is a universal and ancient phenomenon, several variations of gift-giving exist, dependent upon the types of: givers, gifts, recipients, and conditions involved. The givers may be individuals, families, or organizations (e.g., corporate charitable donations). Recipients may also be individuals, families, or organizations, including organizations such as the Salvation Army which redistribute gifts to other recipients. The gifts may be monetary, purchased products and services (including greeting cards and accompanying wrappings), personally crafted objects, personal services, previously owned products and property, or even body organs and blood. And the situational conditions of gift-giving may differ according to characteristics of the gift-giving occasion, whether the presentation of the gift is public, private, or anonymous, and whether the gift is conveyed directly or contingent upon some event such as the death of the giver or performance of agreed upon activities by the recipient. Because of their unique character, the present discussion will exclude gifts to and from organizations, gifts of body organs and blood, and gifts which are not conveyed directly to the recipient. In order to further specify the scope of the present inquiry, it is useful to consider the different functions which the process of gift-giving may serve. These functions and our present theoretical and empirical knowledge of them are considered briefly below.

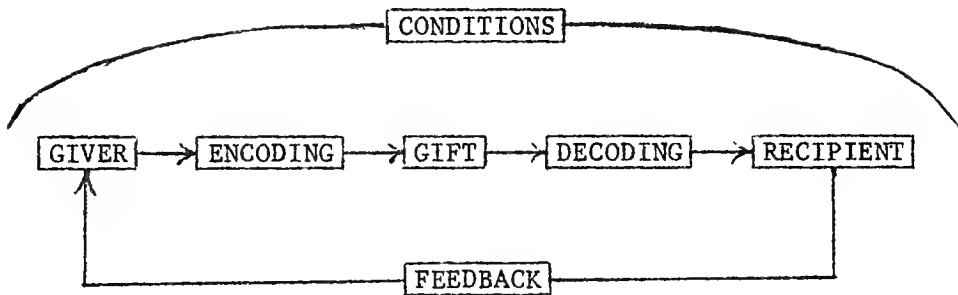
B. FUNCTIONS OF GIFT-GIVING

1. Gift-Giving as Communication

Perhaps the most general function which gift-giving serves is to act as a form of symbolic communication between the giver and recipient. As Figure 1 illustrates, gift-giving can be viewed in terms of the

FIGURE 1

GIFT-GIVING AS COMMUNICATION*



*This paradigm parallels many models of the communication process, such as those by DeFleur (1970), Cherry (1966), and Laswell (1948).

traditional models of communication by simply replacing the message and channel with the gift. Since the gift is able to act as both message and channel for delivering the message to the recipient, there is less opportunity for distortion and slippage in this part of the paradigm. However, because meaning must be conveyed through the composite features of the gift object rather than through the more flexible features of words, there is an increased opportunity for encoding and decoding errors.² That is, the giver may have difficulty finding a gift selection which adequately expresses an intended message, and the recipient may misinterpret messages presumably conveyed by the gift. It is because of the indirect nature of the messages conveyed by gifts that the communication function of gift-giving may be regarded as symbolic. The feedback loop of the paradigm is somewhat more direct in that it usually involves immediate verbal expressions of thanks by the recipient, and may also involve the selection of reciprocal gifts by the present recipient for the present giver. However, even though this feedback is often immediate and concrete, it only indirectly indicates how the recipient decoded the meaning of the gift.

In seeking to understand what messages gifts are normally intended to convey, Mauss concluded from his studies of gifts in archaic societies that gift-giving is often a means of showing honor and respect for the recipient (Mauss, 1954). Whether the honor and respect is due to affection, admiration, deference, or appreciation, the importance of the recipient to the giver is established and confirmed through the presentation of the gift. The recipient of a gift undoubtedly recognizes this basic meaning of gifts as well. In fact, Levi-Strauss (1965) has noted that an individual who displays Christmas cards on a fireplace mantle may be saying in effect, "See how important I am." And where

anticipated gifts supporting self-worth are not forthcoming, the would-be recipient is likely to be understandably upset. Anyone who has failed to note the passage of a spouse's birthday or wedding anniversary has doubtless heard some echo of these sentiments.

Goffman (1961) theorized that the fact that a gift is given is sufficient to convey the importance message, and that therefore the particular gift selected is irrelevant. While the cliché that "It's the thought that counts" is common, in the U. S. it tends to be offered more as a rationalization of an inappropriate gift than as an accurate statement of social values. It would be highly misleading in most cultures to assume that gift selections have no bearing on the meaning of the gift transaction. Not only can gift selection further define the degree of recipient importance that is communicated, but as Schwartz (1967) noted, the gift selection characteristics help to portray a more complete picture of:

1. The giver's perception of the recipient; and
2. The giver's self-perception.

That is, a gift may communicate the giver's impressions about the identities of both parties to the exchange.

Selecting a gift based on impressions about the recipient involves more than simply seeking a gift which the recipient will like. A person might very well like a cordless power drill and a mystery novel equally well, but would still assume that the givers of each of these gifts have very different impressions of the recipient. Although there are selections of gifts which have become traditionally acceptable and are therefore relatively "safe" gifts (e.g., an innocuous birthday card or a conservative tie), there are probably no gifts which are completely devoid of any message about the recipient. And to the extent that the

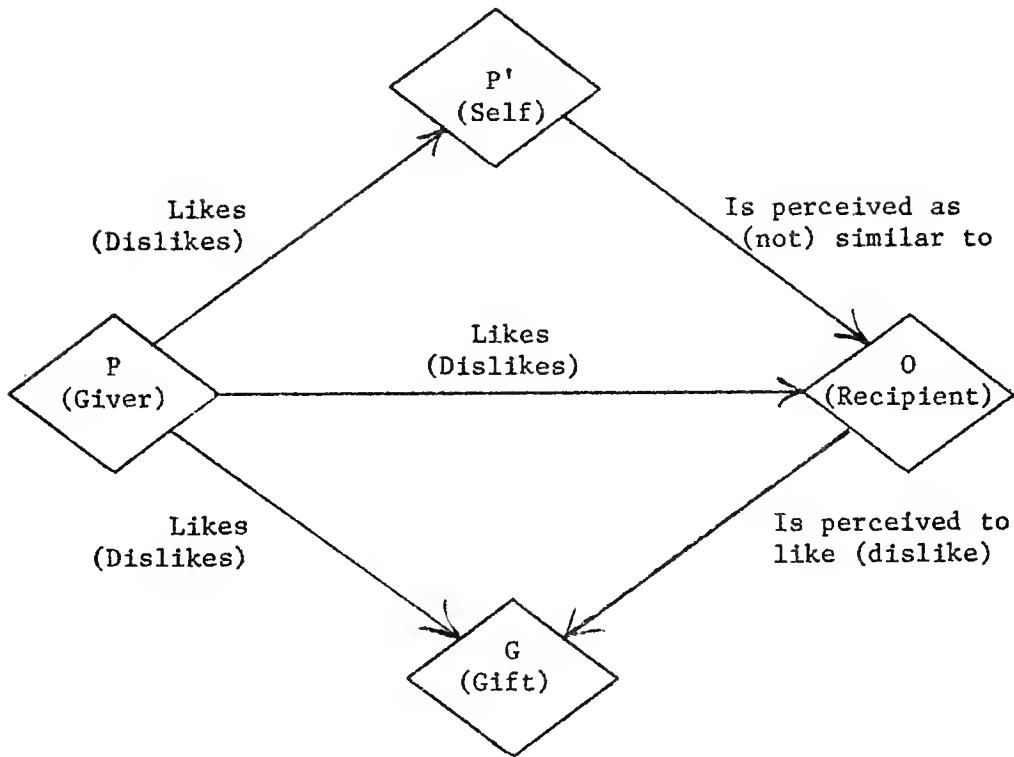
giver and recipient are thought by the giver to be dissimilar, the choice of gifts cannot merely be an extension of the giver's tastes.

In one earlier study examining the process of gift selection (Belk, 1976), data was presented supporting the balance theory model shown in Figure 2. All relationships in the model were measured and coded as either positive or negative (reflecting the words in parentheses). One case of a "balanced" structure would be where all five of these relationships are positive. In this case the giver likes his or her present self concept, perceives the recipient as similar, likes the recipient, likes the gift selected, and also perceives that the recipient likes the gift selected. Such balanced states were predicted to be preferred over less balanced states, and balance was defined to occur when the products of the signs of the top (P-P'-O) triangle, the bottom (P-O-G) triangle, and the outer (P-P'-O-G) diamond are all positive. Such complete balance would therefore occur when each of these loops has 0, 2, or 4 negative relationships. While in the example above this was achieved by choosing a gift which the giver liked and perceived the recipient to like, there are other balanced examples in which a gift which is disliked by one or both parties is predicted to be chosen. The results generally confirmed these predictions, but suggested also that many instances of "imbalanced" gift-giving exist. These instances of imbalance were found to be most common when no prior mutual gift-giving between the parties had taken place and when the recipient was not a close relative of the gift-giver. The fact that balanced cognitions about gift-giving were also found to be associated with greater satisfaction concerning the gift exchange is compatible with the cognitive consistency principal.

Although these findings may provide some insight into the conditions

FIGURE 2

GIFT-GIVING DIGRAPH*



*Modified from Belk (1976).

under which gifts which are pleasing to either the giver, the recipient, or both are chosen, they do nothing to indicate which of the possible gifts fulfilling these criteria are selected. These findings also provide no insight into what particular message about the giver and the giver's impressions of the recipient are conveyed. The data to be presented in the empirical portion of this paper are partially directed toward answering these questions.

Whereas the message which a gift communicates about the recipient is often, "This is the type of person you are" (or possibly "should be"), the message which the gift communicates about the giver may be either assertive or inquiring. In the more active assertive form, the giver is attempting to demonstrate a particular self trait to the recipient (e.g., "I am generous", or "I am artistic"). This would be done by selecting a gift which is clearly expensive or artistic respectively. In the more passive inquiring form of self-presentation in gift-giving, the giver seeks to obtain consensual validation of personal tastes and traits as reflected in the gift. This validation is hopefully obtained through the recipient's approval of the gift. The feedback sought in such cases might be, "You certainly are clever", or "My, what remarkable taste you have". In many respects this active assertion or passive affirmation of the giver's self concept is similar to the messages conveyed and feedback sought from visible or conspicuous personal consumption, except that objects which are not normally conspicuous may become so by choosing them as gifts. Grubb and Grathwohl (1967) have presented a parallel model of visible personal consumption. In both cases the success of the communication depends upon the similarity of symbolic interpretations of a consumption object by two parties. In the case of visible personal consumption the two parties are the consumer and

another to whom this person's consumption is apparent. In the case of gift-giving the two parties are the giver and receiver. Thus the one advantage that a gift-giver may have in successfully communicating is that the other party to the transaction is fixed and known. Because the perceptions of a single known individual may be anticipated much more accurately than the perceptions of people in general, there is in fact a great opportunity for successful communication in the process of gift exchange.

2. Gift-Giving as Social Exchange

In addition to gift-giving's role in interpersonal communication, the exchange of gifts also aids in establishing, defining, and maintaining interpersonal relationships. This is a somewhat broader symbolic function than communication because it involves not only interpreting the meaning of gift-giving, but also predicating future behaviors on these interpretations. From the point of view of the gift recipient this often requires interpreting the gift-giving motives of the giver. For instance, suppose a college instructor receives a gift from a student of the opposite sex. One motive might be that the student is merely expressing courtesy, appreciation, or respect. This practice is more common in the Orient, but runs a risk of being misinterpreted in U. S. culture. Another possible interpretation would be that the student is expressing attraction and affection. And a third motive might be that the student is attempting to bribe in return for subsequent favors in grading or student evaluation. Obviously the interpretation of the gift-giver's motives in this instance might make the difference between condemning and graciously accepting the gift.

After a relationship between two people has been established, by gifts or other means, the mutual exchange of gifts can help to perpetuate

and clarify the relationship between these people. It is normally important that this gift exchange is reciprocal rather than only one-sided. In established gift-giving relationships and for gift exchange on occasions such as birthdays which do not occur for giver and receiver simultaneously, this mutuality is fairly easily achieved if both parties are interested in maintaining the relationship. But where the relationship is in its earlier stages and where the gift-giving occasion occurs simultaneously for both parties, such as Saint Valentine's Day, the risk of one-sided exchanges is greater. One-sided exchanges are probably less consequential for relationships which are strongly defined by other means such as employment or family ties, or where the recipient is exempted from reciprocating by virtue of age, health, or resources, but normally one-sided "exchanges" create tension and are not continued.

The ability of a gift to clarify the nature of a relationship depends upon the particular gifts selected. One apparent relationship defining property of gifts is their cost to the giver. Generally, the dearer the cost, the dearer the relationship desired. However, a gift may be inappropriately or embarrassingly expensive as well. In their work with latitudes of acceptance in social judgment theory, the Sheriffs (1963) found evidence supporting the existence of both upper and lower limits on acceptable gift prices in a gift of wearing apparel for a loved one. They also found that these ranges differed between the Whites, Blacks, Navajo Indians, and Oklahoma Indians tested. Another characteristic of gifts which may help to define the nature of a relationship is the degree to which the gift is intimate. As used here, an intimate gift is one which is appropriate to the needs and tastes of the recipient rather than being suitable for virtually anyone. Again, the more intimate the gift, the more intimate the desired relationship.

It may also be that the closer the gift is to the recipient's body (e.g., perfume, undergarments), the more intimate it is judged to be. Such intimate gifts would be inappropriate for a casual acquaintance, just as an overly functional gift like a new mop bucket would be inappropriate as a gift for an occasion such as a wedding anniversary which institutionalizes intimacy. The present data provides some evidence of such relationships.

The relationship-defining function of gift selection is modified to a degree by the nature of the occasion. For instance, a less frequent gift-giving occasion such as a high school graduation, usually makes more expensive gifts acceptable. The direct relationship between cost and affection is still present, but the range of acceptance has shifted upward. Similarly, a gift which is suitably personal to describe a relationship as a Christmas gift may be inadequate to represent affection as a Valentine's Day gift. Also, while the general appropriateness of gifts may be predicted from the absolute levels of cost and intimacy of the gift, the specific appropriateness of a gift between two particular people also depends upon the cost and intimacy of the gift relative to the prior history of gift-giving between these people. Homans' (1961) "distributive justice theory" and Adams' (1963) "equity theory" also suggest that the cost of a gift should be interpreted relative to the resources of the giver. There is also likely to be less doubt over the meaning and sincerity of the giver where the gift represents an obvious sacrifice relative to the giver's available time and money.

A related social purpose in gift-giving is the ceremonial recognition of social linkages. Gift-giving, or accurately, gift receiving, provides tangible proof of being an integral part of other's lives or society. It may also be true that gift-giving aids in defining status within the society, but again it is the reception of gifts (e.g., Bar

Mitzvah presents, Father's Day presents, graduation presents) which most helps to confer status. Inasmuch as gift rejection is generally unthinkable, it is the receipt of such gifts rather than the presentation of them which affirms status, roles, and achievement in society. This differs from the "Potlatch" custom of the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia (Benedict, 1960), which involved gaining status by giving away or even destroying one's possessions. Although Mauss (1954) has referred to modern Christmases as "a Giant Potlatch", Veblin (1934) and Schwartz (1967) suggest that we have turned to a more hedonistic means of achieving social status by out-consuming others rather than by out-giving them.

Another extended ceremonial function of gift-giving may be to serve as symbols of social support in various rites of passage from one life stage to another. Gift-giving occasions such as graduations, engagements, religious confirmations, and weddings are among those for which such support is customarily offered. As might be suspected given the supportive intent of such gift-giving, the gifts given are frequently those needed for the new life stage which is being entered. Lowes, Turner, and Wills (1971) find for instance that household goods are the predominant wedding gift. However, generally little is known about the correspondence between gifts, occasions, and recipients. The data to be presented provides tentative comment on such patterns.

The preceding discussion of the social exchange function of gift-giving has assumed that gifts essentially facilitate the expression of sentiments about a relationship. Jones (1964) has presented a theory of ingratiation in which gifts may play a more strategic role in modifying at least the apparent sentiments of recipients.

Where the recipient of gifts is able to respond in kind or with reasonably comparable gifts, no change in attitude toward the giver is.

required. But when the recipient is unable to reciprocate in kind, Jones (1964, pp. 43-44) specifies that the recipient's attraction toward the giver will increase provided that this is a result apparently valued by the giver. If gratitude may be taken as a surrogate for attraction, Tesser, Gatewood, and Driver (1968) have found evidence to support this hypothesis in subjects' estimates of gratitude in scenarios of various favors performed by another. They also found support for Jones' prediction that ingratiation increases with the cost of the gift and its value to the recipient. Dillon (1968), however, has argued that foreign aid between nations may fail to successfully ingratiate the giving action because the benefits sought are perceived to be too costly to the receiving nation's autonomy.

3. Gift-Giving as Economic Exchange

Typical definitions of the term "gift" stress that (a) it is something voluntarily given, and that (b) there is no expectation of compensation. Thus, it may seem strange to consider gift-giving a medium of economic exchange. However, because of the previously noted tendency of most gift-giving to be reciprocal, it is not difficult to conceive of one gift being exchanged for another gift. This interpretation is central to Mauss' (1954) thesis that gift-giving is a series of obligatory reciprocal exchanges which have become institutionalized as gift-giving occasions which further enforce and reinforce the tradition of exchange.

This is not to say that the economic exchange function alone is enough to sustain gift-giving. Since gifts may recognize recipient needs and desires imperfectly at best, it would be more economically rational to agree to stop exchanging gifts and to instead devote the liberated time, effort, and funds to the direct satisfaction of personal needs. However, the other functions of gift-giving together with possible

added benefits from anticipation and surprise, allow an expanded view of the rewards of gift-giving which better balance its costs. This is the basis for Kerton's view that a gift-giver "...makes transfers to another so long as the reward for so doing is greater than the costs, adjusted for the cost of social disapproval" (Kerton, 1971). The sources of giver utility are four according to Kerton:

1. The "social security benefit" of being able to expect return gifts from others (e.g., children) when they are needed (e.g., in old age);
2. The "humanitarian utility" of helping the gift recipient or giving them pleasure through the gift;
3. The "donor's utility" deriving from fulfilling the socially desirable role of giver; and
4. The "prestige utility" accruing from the display of wealth and power inherent in a costly gift which the recipient is obliged to accept.

The list is probably not exhaustive, but it illustrates some of the added satisfactions in gift exchange which can make the exchange compelling even though the "pure" economic satisfaction from quid pro quo is probably less than that which could be provided by applying gift funds to personal consumption.

Despite the strengths of the last three added benefits of gift-giving in the list above, we note again that gift-giving must generally be reciprocal. Furthermore, the exchange must be "fair". As Belshaw (1965) points out, the norm of fair exchange inspires recollections of what the other party last gave as a gift, evaluations of whether a contemplated gift would be too lavish or meager by comparison, and even considerations of whether or not a greeting card should be sent to an individual dependent upon whether or not one was received from this person. Ryan's (1977) findings that those buying small appliances as gifts were more likely to begin shopping with a pre-specified price range than were those buying small

appliances for personal use, also supports the notion that gift-giving participants seek fair exchange. However, as noted earlier in examining the messages conveyed by gifts, the principle of fair exchange may be tempered by the reciprocating person's ability and resources so that the value of a particular gift from someone with small resources may be greater than the value of the same gift from someone with large resources.

The principle of fair exchange may also be applied to seemingly one-sided gift-giving instances. In fact, when a gift of money is offered with the expectation of favors from the recipient, this is very close to a normal purchase transaction, even though the expectation of the return favor may not be made explicit. When the gift is instead a bottle of liquor to a purchasing agent or free merchandise to a consumer (e.g., Seipel, 1971), the transaction is still less direct, but the assumption that the gift will somehow be reciprocated still weighs on the recipient unless the gift can be construed as being given in return for prior favors of fair value. Because the data to be presented in Study 1 was obtained from givers and not recipients, the economic function and fair exchange principle in giving is not directly considered in this paper.

A principle somewhat related to fair exchange which might be termed "fair distribution" has been suggested by various authors (e.g., Andrews, 1953) as a basis for another economic function of gift-giving: the redistribution of wealth. According to such authors, the recognition of uneven and perhaps inequitable resource ownership, creates feelings of guilt among those possessing greater assets. Gift-giving is then seen as a way to assuage this guilt to some degree. While such an expiation of wealth is probably more symbolic than real, it does result in some redistribution of resources and is commonly recognized as a motive which might be tapped in appeals for charitable contributions. Levi-Strauss

(1959) has even speculated that the need to alleviate guilt is a master motive behind all giving.

4. Gift-Giving as Socializer

Although the nature of gifts received may have little lasting effect on the self concept and behavioral patterns of an adult, children are likely to be much more susceptible to this sort of influence. Gifts from respected adults who know the child well are potentially very powerful in helping the child to interpret who he or she is as well as what they should be like.

Besides its effect on children's identities, the selection of gifts to children may affect the formation of values regarding materialism, personal property, giving, receiving, aggression, competitiveness, education, and aesthetics. Gifts are not the sole determinants of these values, but they are a powerful means of communication at ages when the child is likely to be highly suggestable. The presentation of gifts is also a means of rewarding children for "good" behaviors. For instance, Santa Claus is endowed, according to song and story, with the ability to monitor the child's behavior and to give or withhold gifts dependent upon behavioral propriety. Schwartz (1967) notes that the Jewish Hanukkah gelt typically exercises less control over a child than does the Christian Christmas present, because the former is usually a cash gift which the child can spend as desires warrant. But in all cases the socializing function of gifts is potentially very strong and only vaguely understood or appreciated.

The present data will present some evidence of the sex-role socialization function of gifts of toys to pre-school children. Toys gain their power in the sex-role socialization process not only because they are visible symbols which may communicate adult views of "appropriate" sex-role identity, but also because toys often provide the scaled-down

implements with which to practice adult sex-associated role behaviors such as house care, child care, and various career possibilities. While toys are not the sole component of sex-role training in U. S. culture, their use is an integral part of the learning process as well as testing device which reflects what has been learned. Children's choices of and preferences for various toys have been found to be highly related to both biological sex (e.g., Ross and Ross, 1972; Fagot and Paterson, 1969), and to sex-role preferences (e.g., Fling and Manosevitz, 1972; Green, Fuller, Rutley and Hendler, 1972). Preferences for playing with stereotypically "male toys" (e.g., hammer, truck, gun) or "female toys" (e.g., bracelet, iron, doll) have been found to be aligned with biological sex in children as young as 20 months (Fein, Johnson, Kosson, Stork, and Wasserman, 1975). In fact, toy preferences are the basis for measuring children's sex-role concepts in several popular tests (Brown, 1956; DeLucia, 1963; Rabin, 1950).

Because of the obvious involvement of toys in sex-role socialization, and because of the dependence of pre-school children on their immediate families to provide them with toys, it is surprising that there has been almost no investigation of parental evaluations and selections of toys for their children. If we assume that parents either give or approve the gifts of toys to their children, the toys which children possess provide some clue to their parents' expectations. One study of the contents of the rooms of affluent children found that males were more likely than girls to have toy vehicles, military toys, sports equipment, and educational toys (Rheingold and Cook, 1975). Girls were found to be more likely than boys to have dolls, doll houses, and domestic toys. Girls were also found to have fewer toys than boys, especially at the younger age levels. In a study with upper and middle class children in

Montreal, girls were found to be more likely than boys to receive clothing, musical instruments and jewelry for Christmas and boys were more likely than girls to receive non-interactive toys and competitive toys and games (Caron and Ward, 1975). However, because older children tend to have more of a voice in the items purchased for them (Ward and Wackman, 1972), and because peer pressure increases when a child enters school, the susceptible pre-school years are probably when parents have the greatest opportunity to influence children's sex-role definitions through gift-giving.

II. RESULTS FROM TWO STUDIES

A. Study One

While the preceding comments have attempted to be comprehensive in their selection of gift-giving functions for review, the research undertaken was exploratory and considered only selected aspects of the functions. The first study was primarily concerned with the communication and social exchange functions of gift-giving and presents some evidence of the effects of giver, recipient, and occasion characteristics on the nature of the gifts selected. The second study focused on the socialization function of gift-giving in exploring the association between parent and child sex role concepts and their preferences and choices among toys with sex role connotations. Thus, the first study examines potential determinants of gift selection, while the second begins to consider the consequences of gift reception in a particularly significant context.

The first study was an intensive study of 219 gift-giving instances by 73 Philadelphia area residents, designed to gain some descriptive understanding of the process of gift selection and to test some of the tentative hypotheses noted in the foregoing discussion of gift-giving functions. The respondents were recruited from several community

TABLE 1

FREQUENCY OF GIFT-GIVING OCCASIONS REPORTED

<u>Occasion</u>	<u>Number of Reports</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Birthday	76	34.70%
Christmas	61	27.85
Wedding/Wedding Shower	15	6.85
Anniversary (Wedding)	11	5.02
Graduation	10	4.57
No Occasion	8	3.66
Mother's Day	7	3.20
Father's Day	6	2.74
Valentine's Day	5	2.28
Hanukkah	3	1.37
Housewarming	3	1.37
Thank-you Gift	3	1.37
Other	<u>11</u>	<u>5.01</u>
Total	219	100.0%

organizations during May and June of 1973. Participants provided detailed accounts of three gift-giving instances in the past year, completed an inventory of responses to hypothetical gift-giving situations, described themselves, evaluated the outcomes of the gift-giving instances reported, and characterized the gifts given; in that order. The questionnaire booklet was returned by mail and a 64 percent response rate netted 73 usable questionnaires.

Respondents were 41 percent males, 56 percent married, and ranged in age from 14 to 65. They were both urban and suburban residents and the income distribution was bimodal with 29 percent each in the \$0 to \$5,000 and \$15,000 to \$25,000 categories. This represents some over-sampling of both groups. This sample estimated having given an average of between 26 and 27 gifts in the previous year, with a total average annual expenditure of \$280.43. The data reported in the remainder of this discussion, however, concerns only the three gift-giving instances the respondents chose to describe in detail.

Since there is no assurance that the gift-giving occasions which respondents chose to report were a random sample of those for which they gave gifts, it is informative to consider the array of occasions reported. As Table 1 indicates, birthdays and Christmas were clearly the favorite occasions reported.³ Bussey (1967) reports the same finding for a British sample which was asked about specific gift-giving occasions, except that in that study Christmas gifts were slightly more prevalent than birthday gifts, while here the opposite is true. After these first two occasions however, probable cultural differences begin to emerge. In Bussey's study for instance, the third most prevalent gift-giving occasion was holidays (trips), whereas in the current study there were only two reported gifts of this type.

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF GIFT RECIPIENTS REPORTED

<u>Recipient</u>	<u>Number of Reports</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Friend	73	33.33
Parent/Parent-in-Law	43	19.63
Child/Child-in-Law	27	12.33
Sibling/Sibling-in-Law	27	12.33
Spouse	17	7.76
Nephew/Neice	12	5.48
Grandparent	5	2.29
Miscellaneous Relative	5	2.28
Other	<u>10</u>	<u>4.67</u>
Total	219	100.0%

A second major descriptive index of gift-giving is the relationship between the giver and the recipient. As shown in Table 2, the four most popular gift recipients were friends, parents (and parents-in-law), children (and sons- and daughters-in-law), and siblings (and brothers- and sisters-in-law). These findings also are paralleled by Bussey's (1967) British sample, although the order of prevalence of these groups of gift recipients is slightly different. Nevertheless, in both samples approximately one-third of the reported gift recipients were unrelated to the gift-giver. This percentage was slightly higher in the present sample than in the British sample.

A third major index of gift-giving behavior is the type of gift selected. These results are presented in Table 3. The clear favorite among these gifts is clothing, which constituted over one-fourth of the gifts selected (when accessories are included). Of these items of clothing, just under one-half were casual or sportswear. No comparable data is available in the Bussey study, but Lowes, Turner, and Wills (1971) report results from three years of Gallup Poll surveys of Christmas gifts in which clothing was also found to be the most popular gift. After clothing, the results differ substantially between the two studies, but it is unclear how much of this is due to the fact that the Gallup studies only looked at Christmas gifts, how much is due to the different cultures and times involved, and the non-representativeness of the present sample.

Before examining relationships between giver, gift, and recipient characteristics, several other descriptive findings should be noted. First, gift-giving appears to be pleasurable. Only 19 percent of the gift-giving instances reported were rated as less than very enjoyable, and less than two percent were actually rated as disliked activities. It also was found that gift selection was often aided by others. In

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY OF GIFTS REPORTED

<u>Gift</u>	<u>Number of Reports</u>	<u>Percent</u>
Clothing	54	24.66
Jewelry	23	10.50
Sporting Good	13	5.94
Personally Made Item	12	5.48
Phonograph Record/Tape	10	4.57
Home Furnishing Accessory	9	4.11
Appliance (minor)	7	3.20
Cologne/perfume	6	2.74
Dinnerware/houseware	6	2.74
Electronic Entertainment Equipment	6	2.74
Book	5	2.28
Cash/Stock/Bond/Gift Certificate	7	2.28
Craft Kits/Equipment	5	2.28
Flowers	5	2.28
Home Maintenance Equipment	5	2.28
Keepsake (e.g., music box)	5	2.28
Plant	5	2.28
Alcohol	4	1.83
Clothing Accessory	4	1.83
Game or Toy	4	1.83
Linen	4	1.83
Novelty (e.g., Poster)	4	1.83
Luggage	3	1.37
Personal Care Product	3	1.37
Other	<u>12</u>	<u>5.48</u>
Total	219	100.0%

38 percent of the gift selections either the recipient provided hints or requests or else the giver was previously aware of the recipient's desire for a specific gift. In terms of gift-giving functions, these aids, which were more common among closer relatives, may help to improve the economic efficiency of gift exchange at the expense of the pleasure derived from the element of surprise. In about one-third of the gift-giving instances reported, the giver received other suggestions about appropriate gift selections, most commonly from a mutual friend or relative. These suggestions frequently overlapped with hints or requests by the recipient, so that only 40 percent of the givers had made up their minds about a particular gift before shopping. Nevertheless, nearly two-thirds of the gift selection decisions were described as "very easy" or "fairly easy". And less than one-third of the gift selections required more than one hour of shopping time. This time may also have been shortened by the fact that over three-fourths of the gift-giving instances involved a recipient with whom the giver had exchanged gifts previously. This also provides support for the reciprocity principle in gift-giving. Finally it should be noted that while the term giver will continue to be used to describe the gift purchaser, in just under one-half of the reported instances of giving, the gifts were given jointly, usually with other members of the purchasers family. (However, respondents reported only instances in which they personally selected the gift.)

1. Gift/Recipient and Gift/Occasion Relationships

In describing the interaction facilitating function of gift-giving, it was hypothesized that more costly and more personal gifts would be given to those toward whom the giver has the greatest affection. As a surrogate for affection, gift recipients were divided into those who could be regarded as close family members of the giver, and more distant

family members or non-family. As Table 4 indicates, more expensive gifts were given to closer family members, although the relationship is not as strong as anticipated. A clearer determinant of the cost of the gift appears to be the nature of the occasion. As shown in Table 4, the occasions for which gifts were the most expensive were weddings, anniversaries, and Christmases. The fact that the two occasions celebrating marriage are those associated with the most expensive gifts, may also lend support to the notion that gift prices are greater when the interpersonal affection being recognized is greater. Table 5 compares the frequencies of several common personal gifts (clothes, personally made items, and jewelry) and impersonal gifts (sporting goods and phonograph records or tapes) selected as Christmas or birthday presents. Opposing patterns of gift selections appear between recipients of the same sex as the giver and those of the opposite sex. For recipients of the same sex, Christmas gifts were more personal than birthday gifts, whereas for recipients of the opposite sex, birthday gifts were more personal than Christmas gifts. The apparent explanation is that it is normally more socially acceptable to display affection toward those of the opposite sex, especially when this person is an unrelated friend. If this is true, a gift of affection given to a person of the same sex is easier for a Christmas occasion since it does not single out the gift to a lone recipient, does not involve the conspicuous risk of a one-sided exchange, and provides a generally affectionate mood which encourages personal gifts.

2. Gift Characteristics by Occasion

Table 6 compares the giver's perceptions of the attributes of the items selected as Christmas, birthday, and wedding gifts. Birthday gifts were uniquely personal and fun compared to Christmas and wedding

TABLE 4

GIFT PRICE CATEGORIES BY TYPES OF RECIPIENTS AND OCCASIONS

<u>Relationship With Recipient</u>	<u>Price of Gift Selected</u>		<u>Total</u>
	<u>Under \$10</u>	<u>\$10 or more</u>	
Close*	57 (39%)	88 (61%)	145 (100%)
Distant	38 (51%)	36 (49%)	74 (100%)
<u>Occasion</u>			
Christmas/Hanukkah	25 (39%)	39 (61%)	64 (100%)
Birthday	39 (51%)	37 (49%)	76 (100%)
Graduation	4 (40%)	6 (60%)	10 (100%)
Anniversary	3 (27%)	8 (73%)	11 (100%)
Wedding	1 (7%)	14 (93%)	15 (100%)
Mother's/Father's			
Day	7 (54%)	6 (46%)	13 (100%)
Other	16 (53%)	14 (47%)	30 (100%)

*Giver's Child, parent, spouse or intended spouse, sibling, grandparent, or grandchild.

TABLE 5

FREQUENCY OF CERTAIN PERSONAL AND IMPERSONAL
 BIRTHDAY AND CHRISTMAS GIFTS
 TO SAME SEX AND OPPOSITE SEX RECIPIENTS

<u>GIFT TYPE</u>	OCCASION:	RECIPIENT			
		Opposite Sex		Same Sex	
		<u>Christmas/ Hannakkuh</u>	<u>Birthday</u>	<u>Christmas/ Hanukkah</u>	<u>Birthday</u>
Personal*		13 (39%)	20 (59%)	16 (52%)	11 (26%)
Impersonal**		5 (15%)	4 (12%)	3 (10%)	12 (29%)
<u>Other</u>		<u>15 (46%)</u>	<u>10 (29%)</u>	<u>12 (38%)</u>	<u>19 (45%)</u>
Total		33 (100%)	34 (100%)	31 (100%)	42 (100%)

*Clothing, Personally made items, or jewelry

**Records or tapes, Sporting Goods

TABLE 6

MEAN CHARACTERISTICS OF GIFTS
FOR THREE DIFFERENT OCCASIONS

CHARACTERISTIC	Mean Rating*			Significant Differences		
	Christmas	Birthday	Wedding	Christmas vs. Birthday	Christmas vs. Wedding	Birthday vs. Wedding
	Practical	3.33	2.74	4.14	**	**
Entertaining	2.78	2.47	1.57		**	**
Prestigious	2.06	1.77	2.07	**		**
High Quality	3.61	3.25	3.93	**	**	**
Unusual	2.18	2.24	2.36			
Intellectual	1.56	1.39	1.07		**	**
Inexpensive	2.06	2.33	2.07	**		
Sporting	1.98	1.64	1.07	**	**	**
Personal	3.06	3.44	1.50	**	**	**
Fashionable	3.48	2.80	2.29	**	**	**
Fun	2.35	2.51	1.50		**	**
Lasting	3.81	3.49	3.93	**		**

* 5-point scale; 5 = applies very highly ... 1 = does not apply at all

** Means differ at $p < .05$ via Sheffé's tests on pairwise differences.

gifts, and were also judged to be lower quality, less expensive, less prestigious, and less lasting. It is clear that practical wedding gifts were chosen and that these items were virtually devoid of intellectual, sporting, or entertainment appeal. Christmas gifts shared high ratings on "High quality" and "lasting" dimensions with wedding gifts, but were more likely to be seen as "fashionable."

3. A Joint Typology of Gifts, Givers, and Occasions/Recipients

In order to gain some additional insight into the characteristics of gifts selected for different respondents on different occasions, respondents rated the desirability of these same 12 characteristics in each of 15 gift-giving scenarios involving different occasions and recipients. These ratings were then analyzed using three-mode factor analysis in order to simultaneously classify types of givers, types of recipients/occasions, and types of gift characteristics, as well as show the inter-relationships among the factors of these three modes of response.⁴ These inter-relationships may then be interpreted as the characteristics of gifts chosen for different types of occasions and recipients by different types of givers. The 15 occasions (each of which specified a recipient) yielded five factors which accounted for 28%, 15%, 11% 9%, and 8% of the total variance. The first factor is represented by wedding, anniversary, and housewarming gift-giving occasions to someone other than a spouse. These might be described as occasions of special social significance. The second factor has high positive loadings for graduation occasions and negative loadings for birthdays, and might be termed nonrecurring achievement occasions. The third factor seemed to be characterized by recurring gift-giving occasions in which the giver's children are the recipients. Factor 4 seemed to represent gifts to recipients with whom the giver has only a non-parental and platonic

relationship (e.g. brothers, sisters, same-sex friends). And factor 5 was clearly gifts to a spouse. Thus, the first two factors were characterized by the nature of the occasion and the last two factors focused on the type of recipient, while the third factor reflected the nature of both the occasion and the recipient. The factor analysis of the second mode found four gift characteristic factors. These factors were able to account for 43%, 10%, 7%, and 6% of the total variance and were labeled "unique" (e.g. unusual, personal), "imposing" (e.g. prestigious, intellectual), "useful" (e.g. practical, lasting), and "fun" (e.g. entertaining, sporting).

The three mode factor analysis also obtained factors describing two types of gift-givers based on the similarities in their response profiles on the inventory. The best way to interpret these factors as well as obtain an impression of the relationships between types of givers, occasion/recipients, and gift characteristics, is to examine the core matrix in Table 7. This matrix may be thought of in an approximate way as the factor scores of the two types of givers for each combination of a type of gift characteristic and a type of occasion. The higher the positive entries in the core matrix, the more likely it is that a gift chosen by the corresponding type of person on the corresponding type of occasion will possess the type of characteristic indicated for that column. The higher the negative entries, the more likely it is that such a person will choose a gift for this situation which lacks that characteristic. Overall, the pattern of gift characteristics preferred for different gift-giving situations are quite similar between the two types of individuals, but type two persons are more inclined to give useful gifts on all occasions. Both types of givers judged that "fun" gifts were most appropriate for child recipients and so

TABLE 7

GIFT-GIVING INVENTORY CORE MATRIX
(VARIMAX ROTATIONS)

<u>PERSON AND SITUATION FACTORS</u>	<u>GIFT CHARACTERISTIC FACTORS</u>			
	<u>Unique</u>	<u>Imposing</u>	<u>Useful</u>	<u>Fun</u>
Person Type I				
Socially Significant Occasion	6.1	-12.4	16.4	-20.0
Achievement Occasion	.8	-2.0	2.4	-2.5
Recurring Occasion/ Child Recipient	2.7	-14.0	1.4	3.0
Friends/Sibling Recipient	-2.7	-14.4	1.3	-7.4
Spouse Recipient	10.9	-9.9	8.3	-7.5
Person Type II				
Socially Significant Occasion	8.2	-3.1	28.0	-3.8
Achievement Occasion	-.2	1.2	5.3	.5
Recurring Occasion/Child Recipient	6.8	-6.9	13.7	12.4
Friends/Sibling Recipient	4.1	-3.9	16.9	6.8
Spouse Recipient	13.6	-4.4	15.2	3.5

achievement occasion, and that gifts for spouses should be the most unique. Neither type of giver found "imposing" to be a very desirable gift characteristic.

The pattern of specific gift suggestions made to each scenario by the inventory respondents who were closest to being type I or type II givers, generally supported the implications of this core matrix. These suggestions are likely to be highly correlated with core matrix patterns since the ratings and suggestions were collected almost simultaneously. More rigorous validation of differences in gift-giving patterns requires more extensive data on actual gift-giving patterns for different occasions and recipients. The data presented earlier in Tables 4 and 5 is a step in this direction, but cell sizes become too small for analysis when a breakdown comparable to the core matrix is attempted.

4. Relative Strengths of Associations Between Gift Characteristics and Person Characteristics

The final analysis from Study One to be reported is a comparison of the similarities between the giver's perceptions of the characteristics possessed by the gift and:

1. The giver's self concept;
2. The giver's ideal self concept; and
3. The giver's perception of the recipient.

The intent of this analysis was to provide an exploratory assessment of which symbolic messages appear to dominate gift selections. If the giver's self concept is most similar to the gift characteristics (as the giver perceives them), the more passive form of self presentation and approval-seeking through gift-giving would seem most plausible. If instead, the giver's ideal self concept appears to be most reflected in gift selection, the more assertive form of symbolic self-presentation through gift-giving would appear more likely. And if the giver's

perception of the recipient is found to be most closely related to the giver's impression of the gift, then the explanation of gift selection based on communicating impressions of the recipient would appear most plausible.

In order to test these hypotheses, the giver's perception of gifts given were measured on the same 12 adjectives discussed previously and on three more objective ratings of:

1. The amount of time spent shopping for the gift;
2. The amount of time spent making, assembling, or wrapping the gift; and
3. The cost of the gift.

Giver self concept and ideal self concept data were collected using a modified version of the Bills, Vance, and McLean [1951] Index of Adjustment and Values. Subjects rated themselves on a series of 40 adjectives (see Belk, 1976) using five point scales ranging from "seldom is this like me" to "most of the time this is like me" (self concept), and from "seldom would I like this to be me" to "most of the time I would like this to be me" (ideal self concept). Giver perceptions of the recipients were obtained by applying the same 40 adjectives to gift recipients using scales similar to those for measuring self concept. In addition to the 40 adjective ratings included in these three data sets, 5 more objective ratings have been used in the present analysis: Sex, years of education, occupation (2-digit census categories), age, and income. While these five characteristic measures do not differ between the actual and ideal self concept sets, they have been included in order to maintain comparability in the number of variables in each data set.

From the data just described, the gift characteristic measures consisting of 15 variables may be thought of as a criterion set of data; and each of the three groups of personal characteristic measures consisting of

45 variables each may be thought of as predictor sets of data corresponding to the three hypotheses under investigation. Because of the multivariate criterion, canonical correlation was chosen as the method of analysis. But the scores in the predictor sets involving self concept and ideal self concept, are invariant across three different gift-giving instances in the criterion set, which causes a heightened multicollinearity problem [see for instance, Lambert and Durand, 1975]. That is, because of the artificially high correlations of variables within each of these two predictor sets due to "triple counting" the same giver characteristics for three different gift-giving occasions, unstable variable weights would be the likely result. In order to avoid this problem, the two analyses involving actual and ideal self concepts were preceded by separate correlations of all variables in the predictor and criterion sets for the first, second, and third gift-giving instances reported by the subject. The means of these three sets of correlation coefficients were then used for the canonical analysis, thus avoiding the correlation-inflating feature of "triple counting".

Table 8 presents the canonical analysis results testing hypothesis 1, that giver perceptions of recipient characteristics are related to the perceived characteristics of the gift chosen for this recipient. Altogether five canonical functions were extracted which had probabilities of .05 or less of occurring by chance according to a Chi-squared test approximation for the Wilks' lambda ratios. Both this fact and the canonical correlation coefficients of from .50 to .75 are sufficient to establish that there are significant relationships between recipient characteristics and gift characteristics.

While the squared canonical correlation coefficients show the proportion of variance of one variate (weighted linear composite) which

TABLE 8

CANONICAL ANALYSIS FOR GIFT CHARACTERISTICS
VERSUS RECIPIENT CHARACTERISTICS

		Canonical Weights by Function				
Variable		1	2	3	4	5
Recipient Characteristics	Sex (male = 0)	-.03	.11	.18	.62	-.21
	Age	-.39	-.18	-.22	.15	-.18
	Income	-.18	-.17	.01	.08	-.36
	Occupation	-.02	.05	.37	-.15	.19
	Appreciative	.35	.20	.00	.22	-.03
	Artistic	-.35	-.05	-.01	-.18	-.10
	Attractive	-.07	.10	-.49	.12	-.12
	Broad-minded	.23	.27	-.39	.06	.20
	Busy	-.25	-.02	-.27	-.19	.46
	Calm	-.02	.19	-.51	-.10	-.04
	Competitive	.13	.06	-.03	.31	-.33
	Confident	-.14	-.02	-.32	-.21	-.08
	Considerate	-.16	.09	.61	-.42	-.30
	Cruel	.25	-.18	.06	-.17	.39
	Emotional	.04	-.16	-.80	-.49	.24
	Energetic	.21	-.17	.37	-.07	-.23
	Fault-finding	.10	.34	-.14	-.11	-.05
	Fun-loving	-.10	-.33	-.41	-.26	.13
	Generous	.38	.06	-.28	-.03	-.27
	Informal	-.14	-.12	.17	.43	-.03
	Interesting	.28	-.20	.16	.36	-.21
	Kind	-.03	.00	-.10	-.05	.31
	Merry	-.63	.32	.25	-.22	-.10
	Outgoing	.31	.18	-.32	.24	.08
	Poised	.28	-.16	.19	-.48	.14
	Reckless	-.08	.15	.05	.39	.14
	Sarcastic	.04	-.09	.19	.08	-.30
	Selfish	-.18	.18	-.08	-.11	-.10
	Stubborn	-.53	-.07	-.22	.14	-.52
	Successful	-.17	-.25	.37	-.16	-.17
	Thrifty	.05	.53	.02	.00	.05
	Gift Characteristics	Shopping Time	-.35	-.10	.21	.08
Making Time		-.13	-.14	-.78	.32	.22
Price		.24	.65	-.01	.50	.12
Practical		-.59	-.09	-.06	-.48	.32
Entertaining		-.01	-.53	-.29	-.49	.11
Prestigious		.12	.12	-.13	-.50	-.32
High Quality		-.51	-.16	-.02	.05	-.43
Unusual		-.35	-.22	.26	-.09	-.06
Intellectual		-.10	.19	.19	-.30	-.03
Inexpensive		-.29	.14	.50	.16	.22
Sporting		.25	-.14	-.14	-.36	.05
Personal		.05	-.06	-.53	-.09	-.21
Fun		.08	-.21	.37	.53	-.05
Lasting	.37	.10	.02	-.25	.74	
Canonical R		.75	.60	.57	.53	.52
Significance		.002	.035	.006	.001	.001
Redundancy		.038	.023	.035	.034	.024

Total Redundancy: .154

can be explained by the other variate, they do not reveal the amount of shared variance in the two raw data sets. For this purpose the Stewart and Love redundancy index has been calculated at the bottom of the table [Steward and Love, 1968; see also Alpert and Peterson, 1972, and Lambert and Durand, 1975 for a discussion]. This index reveals that only 15 to 16 percent of the variance in the raw data sets can be accounted for jointly without the benefit of the canonical functions. This is still a meaningful relationship, but it leaves open the possibility that one of the remaining hypothesized relationships may dominate perceptions of recipient characteristics as a determinant of the perceived characteristics of the gift selected.

The results presented in Table 9 test the hypothesis that the giver's actual self concept is related to the perceived characteristics of gifts chosen. Again five canonical roots were extracted, and based on their size and significance levels, hypothesis two is supported. Furthermore the sizes of canonical correlation coefficients as well as significance levels and redundancy, reveal that giver self concept is more related to the perceived gift characteristics examined than is the giver's impression of the recipient. If this relationship is generally true it would mean that an individual selecting a gift is more concerned with whether the gift is personally appropriate to give than whether it is an appropriate gift for the recipient.

The third hypothesis, that the giver's ideal self concept is related to the perceived characteristics of the gift chosen, is tested in the results presented in Table 10. Again five roots were extracted and again the hypothesis was supported. It may be seen from the sizes of the canonical correlation coefficients, their significance labels, and the total amount of redundancy, that this hypothesis is the strongest of those

TABLE 9

CANONICAL ANALYSIS FOR GIFT CHARACTERISTICS VERSUS GIVER'S ACTUAL SELF CONCEPT		Canonical Weights by Function				
Variable		1	2	3	4	5
Giver's Actual Self Concept	Sex (male = 0)	.06	-.41	-.61	-.26	-.58
	Age	.77	.53	.70	.24	-.73
	Income	-.43	.03	-.74	.15	-.58
	Education	.25	.33	.14	-.46	.58
	Appreciative	.15	-.07	.35	.14	-.15
	Attractive	-.52	-.20	.12	-.01	-.56
	Broad-minded	.64	.32	-.19	.46	.69
	Busy	-.11	.39	-.42	.31	.04
	Calm	-.11	-.50	.58	-.22	.18
	Clever	-.41	-.03	.01	.08	.01
	Competitive	-.34	.15	-.61	.13	-.41
	Considerate	-.78	.05	.38	-.02	.11
	Dependable	.59	.10	-.24	.06	.48
	Emotional	.19	.02	.11	-.67	.27
	Fashionable	-.08	.10	.38	.20	.51
	Friendly	.42	-.14	.02	.37	-.33
	Fun-loving	-.50	.01	.36	-.49	-.28
	Helpful	-.84	.08	-.24	-.18	-.29
	Imaginative	.31	-.66	.12	.54	.48
	Informal	.48	.08	-.16	-.12	.10
	Intelligent	-.66	.04	.25	.03	-.16
	Interesting	-.60	.50	-.26	-.16	-.58
	Mature	.17	-.52	-.25	-.27	.14
	Merry	-.34	.51	.18	-.42	.06
	Outgoing	-.17	-.57	-.50	.03	.65
	Orderly	-.78	.09	-.46	.20	-.17
	Poised	.49	-.21	-.22	.34	.37
	Sarcastic	-.45	.36	-.06	.49	-.04
	Selfish	-.44	.41	-.19	.13	.15
	Sincere	-.06	.31	.28	.39	-.76
Thrifty	-.60	-.08	.08	.54	-.60	
Unconventional	.08	-.23	-.08	.25	-.43	
Gift Characteristics	Shopping Time	.15	.48	-.54	-.26	.11
	Making Time	-.04	-.01	-.05	.32	-.32
	Price	-.02	.28	.82	.45	.30
	Practical	.00	-.22	-.27	.43	-.12
	Entertaining	-.14	.14	-.43	.04	-.10
	Prestigious	-.41	-.63	.07	-.55	-.18
	High Quality	.62	-.22	-.08	-.02	-.15
	Unusual	.60	-.48	-.17	.25	.12
	Intellectual	.51	.39	.38	-.38	.25
	Inexpensive	.06	-.31	-.11	-.11	.48
	Sporting	.15	.22	.43	-.26	-.43
	Personal	-.01	.22	-.07	.40	.55
	Fun	.26	-.04	.23	.35	-.32
	Lasting	-.13	.25	.00	-.43	.28
	Canonical R		.82	.72	.71	.56
Significance		.001	.001	.006	.009	.001
Redundancy		.061	.051	.057	.035	.023

Total Redundancy: .228

TABLE 10

CANONICAL ANALYSIS FOR GIFT CHARACTERISTICS VERSUS GIVER'S IDEAL SELF CONCEPT		Canonical Weights by Function				
Variable		1	2	3	4	5
Giver's Ideal Self Concept	Sex (male = 0)	.07	.12	-.24	-.45	-.43
	Age	.71	.04	-.26	-.47	-.70
	Income	.21	.12	-.79	-.41	.42
	Occupation	-.13	.17	.51	-.12	-.41
	Appreciative	-.81	.44	.28	.04	.12
	Artistic	.24	-.09	-.41	-.60	-.37
	Broad-minded	-.62	-.44	-.60	.12	.38
	Busy	-.29	.80	-.13	-.44	.02
	Calm	-.17	-.23	-.13	.54	.76
	Competitive	.05	-.33	.65	-.26	.17
	Confident	.50	.10	-.19	-.46	.23
	Cruel	-.10	.28	.79	-.13	.24
	Dependable	-.16	.48	.41	.27	.26
	Energetic	.61	.61	-.34	-.39	.04
	Fashionable	-.19	.64	-.16	.18	.23
	Fun-loving	.23	.15	.01	.41	-.50
	Imaginative	.39	.32	-.61	-.44	.04
	Informal	.50	.70	-.19	-.81	-.03
	Intelligent	-.66	-.08	-.82	-.47	-.08
	Interesting	.29	-.04	.11	.50	.05
	Kind	-.78	.16	.37	.05	.48
	Mature	.07	-.37	-.20	.88	-.11
	Merry	.57	.40	.78	-.55	.88
	Outgoing	.11	.05	.89	-.29	-.58
	Orderly	-.24	-.77	-.09	.64	.82
	Poised	.73	.41	-.72	-.75	.30
	Reckless	-.11	-.51	.38	-.03	.22
	Sarcastic	-.57	-.36	.04	-.50	.23
	Sincere	.58	-.48	.44	-.25	-.63
	Tactful	.62	-.25	-.31	.19	.27
Thrifty	.43	.12	-.71	-.11	.44	
Unconventional	-.70	-.28	-.60	.46	-.40	
Gift Characteristics	Shopping Time	.12	-.14	-.53	.19	.32
	Making Time	.14	-.07	-.31	-.07	-.51
	Price	.00	.55	.30	-.29	-.12
	Practical	.29	-.30	-.27	-.33	.02
	Entertaining	.00	.04	-.12	.96	-.11
	Prestigious	.11	-.95	.37	.07	-.03
	High Quality	-.32	-.00	-.12	.13	.18
	Unusual	.16	-.07	-.20	-.62	.41
	Intellectual	-.19	.36	-.26	-.32	.12
	Inexpensive	-.49	-.06	-.14	.12	.49
	Sporting	.33	.04	.12	-.17	.66
	Personal	-.49	-.22	.04	-.23	-.17
	Fashionable	.08	.50	.09	.33	.29
	Fun	-.35	.17	-.11	-.42	-.10
	Canonical R		.86	.81	.81	.77
Significance		.001	.001	.001	.001	.001
Redundancy		.051	.079	.039	.082	.053

Total Redundancy: .303

tested. Thus, it appears that while the giver's actual self concept and perceptions of the recipient are both important to gift selection and the characteristics which the giver believes that the gift conveys, the strongest determinant of this message is the self concept the giver would ideally like to project.



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