

正念和物质主义的关系及其机制探析

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摘要

物质主义一般被看作是一种强调物质财富对个人生活重要性的价值观念，它一方面激发了人们的经济或工作动机，但另一方面，物质主义会降低个体的幸福感，还可能带来亲社会行为减少、生态环境恶化等一系列社会问题。已有研究发现正念和物质主义及其有关概念呈负相关，本文提出正念可能是降低物质主义水平的重要途径，并且从正念的感知和情绪机制出发，说明了去自动化、价值澄清和非评判式的情绪调节的重要作用。未来研究应当增加对正念与物质主义间因果关系、内在机制的探讨，以及提升现有研究成果的应用价值。

关键词

物质主义，正念，去自动化

An Exploration of the Relationship between Mindfulness and Materialism and Its Mechanisms

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Abstract

This electronic document defines the standard format of the Chinese academic journals published by the Hans Publishing. The elements such as the paper title, author, affiliation, abstract, section title, main text, figure, table and references are defined, and this document is formatted according to the Hans standard, which illustrates all the formats. Materialism is generally viewed as a value

that emphasizes the importance of material wealth to an individual's life, which on the one hand stimulates economic or work motivation, but on the other hand, materialism reduces an individual's well-being, and may also bring about a series of social problems such as a reduction in pro-social behaviors and ecological degradation. It has been found that mindfulness and materialism and its related concepts are negatively correlated. The present paper suggests that mindfulness may be an important way to reduce the level of materialism, and illustrates the important role of de-automatization, value clarification, and non-judgmental emotion regulation in terms of the perceptual and emotional mechanisms of mindfulness. Future research should increase the exploration of the causal relationship and internal mechanisms between mindfulness and materialism, as well as enhance the applied value of the existing findings.

Keywords

Materialism, Mindfulness, De-Automatization

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1. 引言

物是自我的延伸，物也是情感的载体。物除了满足衣食住行等基本生活需求，它还表达了人的个性和风格，同时帮助我们与他人建立连接。但在当下这个消费社会，物质至上的观念似乎在告诉人们现在拥有的还远远不够，继续追逐我们的生活才会变得更好。可是真的会更好吗？美国心理学家 Tim Kasser 告诉我们为物质主义付出的高昂代价不止是金钱，还会损失我们对幸福的感受、对周围人和环境的关怀之心(Kasser, 2003)。既然如此，我们如何才能破除对物质的过分迷恋、减少物质主义的消极影响？Tim Kasser 提出了很多涉及个体行为、媒体宣传到公共政策的干预措施，其中正念就是一个从个体层面可以践行的方法(Kasser & Kanner, 2004)。正念是一种公认的科学治疗方法，它不仅广泛用于临床精神问题的治疗或改善，也同样用于发展性心理品质的调节并且效果显著。本文将探讨正念和物质主义之间的关系，分析为什么正念会对降低物质主义产生积极影响，一方面对今后该领域的研究提供参考，另一方面进一步完善正念疗法，提高正念在生活的应用价值，使其成为提高国民生活满意度、主观幸福感的一个重要治疗方法。

2. 物质主义

2.1. 物质主义的内涵

物质主义(materialism)在社会伦理学中是指强调物质利益的极端重要性、主张致力于物质享受的一种价值观。将这一领域纳入到心理学研究范畴的，则要追溯到上世纪 80 年代对消费者行为与心理的研究。Ward 和 Wackman 认为，物质主义是个体强调以物质财富的占有来获取快乐和提升其社会地位的一种价值观(Ward & Wackman, 1971)；Belk 最早使用心理测量工具，认为物质主义者具有以下三个方面的人格特质：占有(possessiveness)，不慷慨(non-generosity)以及嫉妒(envy) (Belk, 1985)；Kasser 和 Ryan 认为物质主义代表了对“外部目标动机”(extrinsic goals, 如财富、形象和名声上的成功)的追逐而忽视了“内部目标动机(intrinsic goals, 如自我成长、和谐的人际关系)的满足(Kasser & Ryan, 1993)，两者的一个重要区别就是外部目标的实现依赖于外部世界，而内部目标的实现不依赖于他人评价，目标本身就能提供心理

满足(Kasser, 2016)。也有研究者重新将物质主义界定为对身份目标动机的追求(identity goal pursuits)，个人通过对具有象征价值的产品、服务、体验以及关系进行占有和消费，从而建构与维持自我身份(Dittmar, 2007; Shrum et al., 2013)。总体而言，上述定义都说明了两种内涵：一种是认为金钱、财富等物质性利益的重要性高于其他生活利益的状况；一种是延伸的含义，代表能够获得成功、权力、地位等其他方面利益的一种价值观。

2.2. 物质主义的测量

在物质主义的测量上，使用最广泛的是物质主义价值观量表修订版(Material Values Scale, MVS) (Richins & Dawson, 1992)，共 15 个题目，分为三个维度：一是物质占有的中心性(Acquisition Centrality)，代表对财物的占有和追寻成为了生活的中心；二是物质占有是对幸福的追求(Acquisition as Pursuit of Happiness)，代表将物质的占有视为幸福的本质；三是财富定义了成功(Possession-defined Success)，代表通过财富积累的数量和质量来判断自己和他人成功与否。欲望量表(aspiration index, AI)也能够配合物质主义价值观量表使用，它可以测量外部目标动机或内部目标动机的倾向(Kasser & Ryan, 1993)。修订版共 35 个题目，包括 7 个因子，分别是自我接纳(Self-acceptance)、归属感(Affiliation)、团体情感(Community feeling)、经济成功(Financial success)、身体健康(Physical fitness)、有吸引的外表(Appealing appearance)和社会认同(Social recognition)。

2.3. 物质主义的影响

物质主义可以作为应对压力和不安全感的手段，以及物质主义作为一种社会信号能够起到维持自我形象的作用(Shrum et al., 2013; 李静等, 2017)。但对个体而言看物质主义是一种不良的应激反应(coping response) (Chang & Arkin, 2002)，它会带来的一些消极影响。Dittmar 等人通过对 753 个幸福感指标的效果量进行元分析，发现物质主义不但不能增加人们的幸福感，反而削弱了人们对幸福的体验，物质主义与生活满意度、积极情感之间存在显著负相关，与消极情感呈显著正相关(Dittmar et al., 2014)，且这种影响机制具有跨文化和跨人群的稳定性，来自中国的纵向研究也获得同样的结果(Wang et al., 2017; Wang et al., 2022)。另一项国内研究表明暴露在物质主义的线索下会增加个体的相对剥夺感及相应的情绪反应(Teng et al., 2016)。除此之外，物质主义还可能助长强迫性购买(Donnelly et al., 2013; Harnish & Bridges, 2015; Zerach, 2016)和不道德行为(Gentina et al., 2016)。

从社会层面来看，物质主义与亲社会态度和行为呈负相关。物质主义可以作为一种社会态度和偏见的预测因素(Roets et al., 2006)；物质主义者更倾向于认为帮助他人是“浪费自己的时间”，从而有更低的亲社会行为(Li et al., 2015)；在一项资源困境任务中，物质主义者更多地展示出不合作行为(Sheldon & McGregor, 2000)；物质主义还会减弱民众对社会问题的关心，导致更少的慈善捐赠的发生(Chaplin et al., 2014)。在环境保护方面，物质主义者对环境保护持消极态度，并且更不愿意参与到环境保护行为中，如减少资源损耗、节约行为、增加绿色消费等(Hurst et al., 2013)。

青少年正处于价值观形成的关键阶段，此时不合理的价值观可能会造成更大的负面影响(Zhang et al., 2014)，具体而言，在青少年的个体发展方面，高物质主义青少年往往自尊水平低(Chaplin & John, 2007; Kasser, 2005; Nairn et al., 2007)，容易有焦虑(Kasser, 2005; Schor, 2004; Sweeting et al., 2012)和抑郁情绪(Schor, 2004)；对学校持有消极的态度，缺乏学习的内在动机，学业成绩不佳(Froh et al., 2011; Goldberg et al., 2003; Ku et al., 2014)。过去 30 年间，美国青少年物质主义水平呈逐年增长趋势(Twenge & Kasser, 2013)，而在中国，改革开放为我们带来了丰硕的经济和物质成果，物质主义不论在成年群体还是青少年群体中也都极为流行(张红霞, 王晨, 2003; 李原, 2014)。这可能是因为在经济快速发展和倡导消费的国家中，

人们的物质主义水平较高(Kasser et al., 2007)。在一项对中国样本的元分析研究中发现，物质主义与主观幸福感总体上呈中等程度负相关，并且发现了出版时间的调节效应显著(周开济等, 2018)。这表明随着时代的发展，物质主义与主观幸福感的负相关逐渐升高，这可能是由于越来越浓烈的商业化氛围使物质主义者产生了更多的自我冲突。

研究者认为媒体广告与青少年的物质主义价值观密切相关(Moschis & Moore, 1982; Greenberg & Brand, 1993; Opree, et al., 2014)广告利用图像、声音、文字等符号将商品包装一种理想的生活方式乃至社会等级与地位的符号象征，激发人们对物质的欲望和享乐的追求。并且青少年时期看电视的时间越多，成年期的物质主义水平越高，这一结果具有跨文化的一致性(Benmoyal-Bouzaglo & Moschis, 2010; Moschis et al., 2011)。如今快速发展的互联网让广告在生活中无处不在，越多接触社交媒体广告将会增加青年群体的物质主义倾向，并且这种作用在中国存在地区差异：深圳地区受调查者的物质主义倾向要明显高于黑龙江地区(李原, 2014)，相较于南方地区/二、三线城市/高文化亲密度地区，北方地区/一线城市/低文化亲密度地区的青年群体的社交媒体广告接触对物质主义倾向的强化影响更显著(宣长春, 王小莉, 2024)，出现这种差异和我国“南强北弱”的经济格局有很大关系。

3. 正念

3.1. 正念的起源与发展

正念(mindfulness)最早来源于佛教禅修，古印度巴利文为“Sati”，意为“止”和“保持对某个对象的觉照”，禅修者通过练习来保持思虑的稳定、不飘荡。正念在西方的普及受到嬉皮士运动(the Hippie Movement)的影响，20世纪60年代，东方佛教因其注重心灵体验的特性受到嬉皮士的喜爱，随后正念在加州硅谷流行起来，成为主流精英们认同的健康生活方式。在中国，正念在COVID-19疫情期间更是被国家卫生健康委员会推荐为情绪调节的有效练习。Kabat-Zinn是西方最早接触正念的心理学家之一，他弱化了冥想中的宗教神秘色彩，在1979年创建了正念减压疗法(Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction, MBSR)以减轻病人的疼痛和压力，他将正念定义为“个体对此时此刻的经验进行有目的、不加评判地注意过程”(Kabat-Zinn, 2003)。随后也衍生出和正念有关的心理疗法，例如正念认知疗法(Mindfulness-based Cognitive Therapy, MBCT)、辩证行为疗法(Dialectical Behavior Therapy, DBT)和接纳承诺疗法(Acceptance Commitment Therapy, ACT)(Chiesa & Malinowski, 2011)。此外，正念与具体工作领域结合产生了大量的应用型发展，例如正念教学、正念领导力、正念育婴与分娩和正念癌症康复等。

3.2. 正念的内涵与测量

心理学家们从不同角度看待正念，正念既是一种特质，也是一种状态。正念特质(Trait Mindfulness)是指所有个体都拥有不同程度的正念冥想能力，无论是否有正念的经验(Brown & Ryan, 2003a)。最广泛使用的五因素正念量表(Five Facet Mindfulness Questionnaire, FFMQ)将正念特质分为有觉知地行动(acting with awareness)、不反应(nonreactivity)、描述(describing)、观察(observing)和不评判(nonjudging)五个因素(Baer et al., 2006)。其他量表还有正念注意觉知量表(Mindfulness Attention Awareness Scale, MAAS) (Brown & Ryan, 2003b)。正念状态(State Mindfulness)是指通过正念练习培养个体的正念冥想意识，进而诱发关注当下、身心放松和不评价的正念状态(Bishop et al., 2004)，常用量表有多伦多正念量表(Toronto Mindfulness Scale, TMS)、弗莱堡觉知量表(the Freiburg Mindfulness Inventory, FMI)和状态正念量表(State Mindfulness Scale, SMS)等(Lau et al., 2006; Walach et al., 2006; Tanay & Bernstein, 2013)。状态正念与特质正念两者并不冲突，经过长期的正念练习，个体的感知、认知和自我参照意识可能出现持久性改变，形成正念特质(Davidson, 2010)。

3.3. 正念的影响与机制

正念对个体的影响主要体现在认知和情绪功能两方面。从认知功能来说，正念可以提高个体的持续性注意力、选择性注意力、注意效率、认知灵活性、工作记忆容量和自我控制能力等(贺淇, 王海英, 2020; Good et al., 2016)。从情绪功能来说，由于正念让个体聚焦于当下的体验，而非反刍过去或忧虑未来，因此正念可以降低诸如焦虑、忧虑和痛苦等负面情绪(Parmentier et al., 2019)。元分析也发现正念可以减少消极情绪，增加积极情绪体验(Eberth & Sedlmeier, 2012)，并且正念练习降低了和负面情绪加工的杏仁核的激活程度，因此正念可能降低会降低情绪反应性(陈语等, 2011; Kral et al., 2018)。另有研究发现，当被试的负面情绪被唤起之后，高正念的个体能更快地将负面情绪从最大唤醒程度恢复到基线水平(Keng et al., 2013)。

许多研究者从不同角度提出理论模型以解释正念带来的效用(陈语等, 2011)，主要有以下四种理论：一是再感知模型，正念涉及到的注意加工会产生“再感知”(reperceiving)，即思维的转变，这种转变是对心理内容如思想、情绪、和感觉进行去自动化、分离的加工(Shapiro et al., 2006)；二是正念应对模型，它指出以正念方式对应激情况采用去中心化的适应性反应，有助于扩展注意并加强认知的灵活性(Garland et al., 2009)；三是推动性上升螺旋模型，根据正性情绪扩展和建设理论，情绪与认知之间存在相互联系(Fredrickson & Joner, 2002)，所以推测正念也能激发正性情绪；四是正念情绪调节模型，该模型认为通过对觉察(awareness)和无反应性(nonreactivity)进行系统化训练从而消除对困扰情绪产生自动化评价的过程(Chambers et al., 2009)。

4. 正念和物质主义的关系

Tim Kasser 认为物质主义是“美国梦”这一文化的黑暗面，消费带来的快乐是一个易碎的泡沫，他鼓励人们可以通过正念破除物质主义带来的负面影响，并从中获得真正的幸福(Kasser & Ryan, 1993)。正念强调个人成长和人际连接等内在目标，而不是财富和社会地位等代表物质主义价值观的外在目标(Brown & Kasser, 2005)。Salter 在 *Mind your life: How mindfulness can build resilience and reveal your extraordinary* 一书中介绍了许多将正念融入生活的练习方法，比如在做消费决策时，Salter 建议明确自己的目标和愿景，在每一次消费前问自己这些问题：为什么要做这个决定？这个决定会更靠近你的目标吗？我会为此高兴多久？这些问题有助于培养对消费意识的有意注意，从而降低物质主义水平(Salter, 2017)。

在市场营销领域，“正念消费”(mindful consumption)越来越受到关注(Milne et al., 2020; Sheth et al., 2011)，它的目标是进行一种适度的消费，是对一个人的幸福和符合一个人的价值观的最佳选择。Milne (Milne et al., 2020)等研究者使用文本分析的方法总结出三类正念消费的视角，第一类主要从个人的经济水平出发，表现为更加关注价格和质量，警惕过度花销；第二类是消费者认为自己有责任考察产品的生产过程是否符合伦理和环境保护要求；第三类消费者基于“消费是给自己所支持的世界投票”的理念，他们会更加清晰地意识到消费不仅对自身产生影响，也会对自己所在的社区乃至全球环境造成影响。正如前文所述，物质主义带来的弊端包括助长过度消费、对不道德行为和周围环境的不关注，基于这三类视角，那么正念有可能克服物质主义带来的不良影响。

当前心理学对该领域的研究较少，但依然有一些相关研究表明了正念对降低物质主义具有潜在的积极作用。正念和物质主义呈负相关(Dhandra, 2019; Watson, 2019; Helm & Subramaniam, 2019)，正念在减少人们在物质主义价值观的坚持、控制他们的思想抑制(thought suppression)和幸福感方面发挥着重要作用(Giacomantonio et al., 2022)；还有研究发现金钱欲望差异(financial desire discrepancy)、炫耀性消费(conspicuous consumption)、社会支配取向(social dominance orientation)等和物质主义相关的概念都和正念

存在负相关(Brown et al., 2009; O'cass & McEwen, 2004; Panno et al., 2018; Bharti et al., 2022)。当人们更加正念时，对特定的营销技巧和说服的易感性将会降低(Pollock et al., 1998; Dong & Brunel, 2006)。而和物质主义相对的环保信念、反消费行为、道德消费和可持续消费等亲环境行为，正念有着促进的作用(Brown & Kasser, 2005; Geiger et al., 2019; Gentina et al., 2021; Joseph et al., 2022; Lin & Park, 2023)，正念和绿色购买意愿、社会意识购买和节俭购买行为呈正相关，这表明正念产生了一种对自我、自然和社会的关怀(Dhandra, 2019)。

5. 正念影响物质主义的心理机制

5.1. 正念通过去自动化效应影响物质主义

Rosenberg 认为物质主义所引起的消费常常是自动的、未经检验的(Rosenberg, 2004)，与这种不留心(mindlessness)相反，正念可以促进一种叫做“再感知”的基本心理视角转变(Shapiro et al., 2006)，它强调减少即时情绪对个体的控制以及随之产生的自动化习惯性反应模式。通过重新感知的过程，正念者对当前的经历有了更清晰、更客观的看法，因此他们的反射性或冲动行为更少(Brown & Ryan, 2003a)。正念的去自动化效应可以用 Stroop 任务和前瞻记忆任务来检验，在 Stroop 任务中，自动化表现为词义对颜色的干扰，正念练习如果可以提高去自动化能力，则表现为这种干扰的减少和反应时加快。在前瞻记忆任务中，通过比较前瞻记忆任务前后的进行中任务反应时，若前段与后段反应时差值大于零，则可认为对前瞻记忆的加工使用了策略控制加工，否则认为是自动化加工。研究结果发现短时的正念练习可以促进 Stroop 和前瞻任务的完成，起到了抗自动化干扰及阻止随任务熟悉加工更为自动化的作用(王岩等, 2012; Sleimen-Malkoun et al., 2023)。那么对于无意识的、自动的消费行为，正念会起到打破习惯性思维的作用，让人对自身的消费行为有更多的觉察，从而降低物质主义水平。Tan 等人根据再感知模型检验正念对炫耀性消费的作用，结果发现正念通过较低的物质主义和较低的地位焦虑与炫耀性消费呈负相关，而地位焦虑的中介作用对已婚男性比对已婚女性更强(Tan et al., 2022)。

5.2. 正念通过价值澄清影响物质主义

价值澄清(Values Clarification)是正念再感知模型中的额外机制之一(Shapiro et al., 2006)，它对于物质主义也具有重要影响。再感知可以帮助人们认识到什么是有意义的和真正的价值，价值观通常受家庭、文化和社会因素左右，却没有反思它在我们自己的生活中是否真正重要。然而当我们能够从自身的价值观分离出来，并更加客观地反思它们时，我们就有机会重新发现和选择对我们来说更加真实的价值观，即那些以自我实现、人际关系为导向内在价值，而不是以经济成功、外形所导向的外在价值(Brown & Kasser, 2005)。研究发现，当被试“正念行事”时，他们的行为方式更符合他们的实际价值观和兴趣(Brown & Ryan, 2003a; Franquesa et al., 2017)，他们更可能做出自我一致的决定(Levesque & Brown, 2007)。在这个充满象征符号的消费社会中，更高正念水平的人可能抱有较低的物质主义价值观，他们更加明确自己的真实需求并忠于真正的价值观。

5.3. 正念通过情绪调节影响物质主义

除了上述感知层面的影响，正念还可能通过情绪调节降低物质主义。正念会促进对当前经验包括不安情绪的不评判，并且可以通过减弱对情绪刺激的反应来促进适应性情绪调节(Chambers et al., 2009; Brown et al., 2012)，这些发现表明正念者倾向于更好地调节情绪。由于物质主义是一种个体应对压力和不安全感的手段，它是负面情绪的缓冲(Richins, 2017)，所以正念应该和物质主义的降低有一定联系。具体来说，强迫性购买者表现出更多的冲动和情绪调节缺陷(Williams & Grisham, 2012)，由于正念对情绪调

节的促进作用，正念可能会减少应对不安心理的必要性或冲动，这将削弱通过物质获取来应对负面情绪的习惯。还有研究发现正念特质和冲动性购买倾向呈负相关，其中情绪智力(emotional intelligence, EI)总分及其组成部分情绪的使用、自我情绪评估和情绪成分调节起到完全中介作用(Park & Dhandra, 2017)，这也表明了正念通过情绪调节影响物质主义的可能。

5.4. 小结

综上所述，已有研究揭示了正念和物质主义的相关联系，正念和物质主义及其相关概念呈负相关，正念和物质主义相对的反消费行为、亲环境行为呈正相关。对于正念是如何对物质主义产生积极影响的，本文基于正念对于感知功能和情绪的作用，探讨它对物质主义产生影响的途径，具体表现在物质主义的消费可能是自动的、未经审视的，正念的去自动化效应将提高人们在消费时的觉察能力；物质主义者的特点是过分追求外在目标而忽视了内在目标，正念可以促进价值澄清从而让人做出符合真实自我的选择；物质主义是人们对压力的一种手段，正念通过非评判的情绪调节缓解人们的不安心理，从而减少通过物质获取应对压力的方式。

6. 研究展望

通过梳理和总结上述理论和实证研究，探析了正念和物质主义的关系和可能的机制，虽然关于正念影响物质主义的研究取得了一定进展，但仍然存在一些尚未解决的问题。未来研究可以从以下三个方面进行拓展：一是深化探索正念影响物质主义的机制，分析正念基本元素对物质主义的差异性影响，且未来研究应该进一步分析正念练习降低物质主义的边界条件；二是已有研究多从正念特质的角度出发，缺乏以正念作为方法的干预研究和教育研究，未来可以相关将研究结果应用实际，对于青少年价值观教育和人格教育具有重大意义；三是需要关注物质主义在新时代的变化，00后、10后接触的经济文化体系与之前相比有着翻天覆地的变化，对物质的认识和价值观体系也发生了改变，物质主义的新内涵应在今后的研究中予以关注。

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