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nAchievement, nAffiliation and exposure to media according  
to the sexes.

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The interaction point of view has come to be accepted in mass media research ever since Schramm, Lyle and Parker /1961/. This replaces an examination of the one-directional effect of the mass media themselves by an emphasis on the active role of the public in selecting the content of mass media, making use of them in terms of its own needs. True enough, the one-direction model survives, though in a more sophisticated form, for instance in Gerbner's cultivation theory /1969/, but an approach which allows some scope to personal strategies in running one's lives, and cognitive expectations and decisions, in addition to the conditioning power of mass media is more in keeping with the recent discoveries of motivational schools. /Bauer 1964/

If we then take as our starting point not only the mass media, which "spray" this or that kind of effect on the population, but persons as well who make use of this or that of the choice offered, according to their own needs, then the research model will depict the sort of intersystem which needs well identified, and carefully measured explanatory variables not only on the mass media

side, but that of personality as well.

Persons with a certain defined motivational structure favour some of the contents of mass media more than others, to put it more precisely, a certain defined structure of material chosen from that offered by the mass media corresponds to a particular personal motivational structure. Achievement motivated men, as Rees /1967/ showed, gave preference to magazines that can be graded higher using deferred gratification /DG/ values, that is those useful from the point of view of a strategy of living, as against the merely entertaining, offering immediate gratification, i.e. those with low DG. Within certain limitations this is valid for television programmes as well. In terms of the theories of the achievement motivation school /McClelland et al. 1953; Atkinson, Feather 1966; Heckhausen 1963, 1967 etc/ and deferred gratification pattern research /Mitchell 1958. 1961a, 1961b/ this is explained by the fact that for this personality type an anticipation of the reward was naturally associated, in the course of socialization, with efforts made in the interests of gratification, and

therefore naturally also with the stage which preceded gratification. For people of this kind work is the anticipation of success, and waiting is not an aversive but an attractive state. An obvious preference for immediate gratification is however a sign of disturbed socialization, and indicates an immature personality. Instead of following aims valuable in the long run, they are defenceless when faced with the strongest momentary attractions.

This interconnection between achievement motivation and the deferred gratification pattern /DGP/ suggests the following concrete hypotheses in relation to the broadcast media:

- 1/ Achievement motivated persons see and hear less broadcast material both per day and per week than those not so motivated. This presumption is derived from the fact that viewing and listening are entertainments, even in the case of serious programmes, that is immediate gratification, of which achievement motivated persons need less than others not so motivated with a measurable intensity. An added point is that those in whom other

kinds of motivation are particularly strong, such as an unsatisfied need for affiliation, are likely to consume a greater amount of media material to console themselves.

2/ Achievement motivated persons will consume those broadcast programmes, both sound and sight, to a greater proportion which, according to some objective criterion, such as the judgement of a Thurston jury, have greater DGP values, than these are consumed by those who are not achievement motivated. In other words those who are achievement motivated not only consume less media material, but even within what they consume pure entertainment, offering immediate gratification appears in a smaller proportion still. Those on the other hand who are plagued by unsatisfied affiliational motivation, and others who need entertainment, will not only be exposed to the media for longer periods, but also a greater proportion of what they listen to or view will offer immediate gratification, than is the case with the achievement motivated.

These two rough hypotheses only bear in mind an abstract construction of motives or inner needs, there is no refinement in terms of such important points as the social role-set of the given person, attached to the age, sex and occupation. The sex seems particularly important in this context since the dual ties of the majority of women, the shift they put in at their place of employment, and a second shift they work at home, create a peculiar sort of life for them, one which, in interaction with the structure of motives, must have a palpable effect on aspects of behaviour connected with media that are here discussed.

As against the position of men, a home is not, for a working women, purely, or to the same extent, a place of relaxation, regeneration of "labour force" rest and freely chosen cultural activity, in other words the location of leisure, but a second work-place as well. If the type of employment and work done at the work-place as well as ambitions on the job, are not treated as dynamic independent variables, but taken as constants, then it can be presumed that an achievement motivated

women, who always shows herself more receptive to the demands made by work, will do more and better work at home as well than one who is not achievement motivated, better than someone whose other needs, such as those for affiliation and recognition, direct her towards other aims and objectives, and not work.

These circumstances however, the facts of the "second shift" and the desire to do a good job there, necessarily find themselves in opposition to the model outlined above. If this time at home is reckoned as time at work, then they cannot turn towards mass media products offering deferred gratification, that is needing greater concentration, since these would divert their attention from doing a perfect job. If, on the other hand, we look at that stage of this period, when they have finished work on the "second shift" as well, the law that more work demands more and more intensive rest and relaxation is likely to assert itself more strongly than the hypothesis outlined above. To put it bluntly, a woman thoroughly exhausted by the double shift she worked will not feel like concentrating on difficult

and useful mass media products, her vital interests turn her towards immediate gratification, and all this, let me emphasize, precisely because of the particular woman's achievement motivation, and the seriousness and diligence she brings to bear on her domestic duties.

Though Rees, who conducted her survey amongst men, does not offer empirical confirmation of the latter hypothesis, what has been said refers to such generally known interrelationships, that we can be bold enough to derive the following hypotheses from them:

- 3/ The DGP hypothesis, that is the argument that an achievement motivated person is likely to prefer high DGP programmes will not find confirmation with women to the same extent as with men, not even, or rather particularly not if the relationship is examined using the same instruments and the same design for both sexes.
- 4/ The same abstract construction which, given the appropriate nomological network /Cronbach and Meehl 1955/ predicates a preference for high DGP mass media contents in the case of men, predicates low ones for

women. This theory therefore leads one to expect marked contrasts between the sexes as regards their behaviour connected with the mass-media. This contrast can be hypothesized not only for programme choice, but also for the duration of media-exposure, at least as far as the radio is concerned. Having the radio on, while working around the house, listening as a secondary category appears to be fairly important. An achievement motivated woman, doing diligent and devoted work around the house, cannot attend to programmes which would attract her attention away from her job, this does not however exclude her easing her situation by listening to the sort of music while working which had no such diversionary effect. In this case, what is permitted is also postulated: the more housework a highly achievement motivated woman will do, the more radio programmes offering immediate gratification, such as half-listened to radio-music, we expect to find in her time-budget. One expects to find greater exposure to that type of radio-music in her case than in that of one who is not achievement motivated, but e.g. plagued by affiliational tensions.

Let me emphasize that all this applies to the radio only, at least in our culture where there is no pattern of secondary television viewing as yet. The second, refined hypothesis can therefore be made even more precise by putting forward the view that the media exposure of an achievement motivated woman which was presumed to be of a lower DGP value / in hypothesis 3./ than that of a woman not so motivated, will be longer as well, as far as the radio is concerned, but this is not likely to apply to television.

An empirical survey was carried out to control these hypotheses.<sup>1/</sup> Only those results will be here

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<sup>1/</sup> This survey was initiated at the Sociological Research Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as part of an international project coordinated by the UNESCO Centre in Vienna. The subject of the survey was the effect of the educational system of various countries on values and attitudes. In Hungary that of the mass media on the same dependent variables was added, and value and attitude systems so treated were extended by the variables of the various systems of motivation, in particular achievement motivation. What is here reported on can also be regarded as a study of the impact on individual motivational systems of the mass media as important factors of secondary socialization that are accorded a differential receptivity. This Hungarian supplementary project was the first part of the Hungarian section of this survey to be completed. This is largely due to the fact that the Mass Media Research Centre of Hungarian Radio and Television lent both financial and operational support. /Varga 1973a/ Those sections which are being jointly investigated by a number of countries, are under way.

discussed which relate to motivation and the quantitative aspects of media exposure. A second part, discussing the relationship of motivation and the DGP values of programmes will follow.

### The Sample

It follows from the nature of the question that, two interacting universes of research being involved, two samples were needed which very much differed in their nature, but nevertheless referred to each other: a sample of the public, and one of radio and television programmes. The sample of the public was made up of 112 members of a Budapest radio and television panel that had been active earlier but placed in abeyance for some months. These had voluntarily responded to an advertisement in the radio paper, agreeing to enter the programmes they saw and heard on a pre-printed sheet, marking the degree to which they liked them, and doing so without changing their viewing and listening habits. The given period was one week. The programmes seen or heard by this "tired" panel in the designated week /3 - 9 May 1971/

were treated as the sample within the universe of material offered by the mass-media. Tables showing parameters of the "programme-sample" will however be only published as part of the continuation of this study in connection with motivation and programme preference.

The sample public. The panel consisted of 69 men /61 per cent/ and 43 women /39 per cent/. The educational standards of 45 men are known: 21 are graduates and 24 hold a secondary school leaving certificate. Educational data are available for 27 of the women, figures for them being 10 and 17 respectively. Both these levels divide four specialities: trade and commerce, technical, teaching and others. Technical trades and professions are in the majority amongst the men /25/, and the fewest women /4/ belong to this category. In the age they extended from 26 to 40, the median being 34 for men and women alike.

The Instrument.

Data for both samples, those of persons and of the programmes listened to or viewed by them were obtained through the mails. Despatched envelopes contained

what was called<sup>a</sup> programme sheet on which the subject could enter the programmes seen or heard, marking them with the degree of approval each of them elicited, using a scale of five. They also contained two disguised projective tests: half were given the French Test of Insight /French 1958/ A series with the Rees disguised questions test /Rees 1967/; the other half were given the B series together with a sentence completion test compiled on the basis of Mitchell /1961/, Morrison /1964/ and Rogers /1969/. In two thirds of the envelopes manipulative instructions were added to the French projective test which was disguised as a test of understanding men. 62 S were asked to fill in the questionnaires to the very best of their knowledge, and were told that their regularly supplied opinions on programmes acted as a contributory factor when certain decisions on cultural policy were made, something that was indirectly true of the panel as a whole, but that it was necessary to test their ability in judging men, so as to be able to tell to what extent their opinions are of general validity. 40 of these 62 questionnaires were returned, as against 52 out of 63 for those sent out without instructions. The proportion of returned question-

naires was even smaller where "relaxing" instructions were added, i.e. where it was called a playful quiz sent out as a reward for having diligently supplied opinions up to then. Of 62 questionnaires so equipped only 20 /32.4 per cent/ were returned.

Three coders, working independently, using a simplified version of the McClelland - Atkinson method /McClelland et al. 1953/ scored material returned through the mails /see Hayashi and Habu, 1962/ The coded motives were: achievement, power, affiliation, recognition, material possessions, entertainment and justice. McClelland - Atkinson partial coding categories were only made use of as motives to the extent of establishing whether the respective image is positive or negative /doubtful/ in mood. E.g. joy because of reaching the achievement objective, or sorrow owing to falling short of it.

The values of coding agreements used as controls /Feld and Smith, 1958/ moved around 90 per cent. Nevertheless the average of three coders, and not a single coder's points, were treated as basic figures.

Validity was checked in the spirit of Cronbach-Meehl construct validity on the one hand by the inner consistency as shown by item-test correlation /Edwards 1957/, on the other hand by the situation manipulating method which is frequently employed in achievement motivation tests. /McClelland et al. 1953/. An item-analysis applied to achievement motivation showed that 6 of 10 stimulus sentences in the French A test reached a criterium of discriminatory force  $/p < 0.05/$ . The other motives showed similar results.

The hypothesis regarding the validation of the manipulation of situations was that, supposing the test truly measures the quality postulated by the theory, then the frequency of the achievement image in the three situations, Relaxed, Neutral and Aroused, must shape as follows:

$$R < N < A$$

In fact the following formula was obtained

$$R > N < A$$

In other words relaxing instructions, far from lowering the frequency of achievement images, raised it.

For men: between R and N:  $t = 1.96$ ,  $f = 10$ ,  
 $p < 0.05$ ; between A and N:  $t = 1.64$ ,  $f = 15$ ,  
 $p = 0.06$ .

For women between R and N:  $t = 2.66$ ,  $f = 8$ ,  
 $p < 0.02$ ; between A and N:  $t = 1.48$ ,  $f = 10$ ,  
 $p = 0.10$ .

I interpret this to mean that the theoretical postulate is in fact confirmed, though in a manner that differs from expectations. The relaxing instructions, providing as they did a faint hope of actual appearance on television, turned out to be arousing instructions in fact, at least for those 32 per cent who bothered to return the questionnaire manipulated with such instructions. The higher achievement motivation point score of this minority agreed with the spirit of the hypothesis, though it contradicted its letter.

#### Results I: Motivation and the quantity of media exposure

Table 1 shows how persons scoring high or low in the two dimensions of achievement motivation /"optimists" and "pessimists"/ arranged their listening and viewing in

the course of the determined week; that is how many radio and television programmes they saw and heard, and of what duration these were. The hypotheses were confirmed in their original form as regards men, and in their modified form as regards women, though it is true that the connections are systematic although not strong. The difference between the two sexes is however significant in respect to the effect which achievement motivation had on media exposure.

An achievement motivated man spends three hours a week less in the company of the electronic media than the not so motivated, in the case of optimists, and five hours less in the case of pessimists. The difference is disproportionately distributed amongst the two media. Achievement motivated men only view half an hour less television, in the case of optimists, and 90 minutes less in the case of pessimists than those not so motivated. They however two and a half and four hours respectively less time listening to the radio.

Table 1. Viewing and listening time for a week's radio and television programmes and the number of programmes attended to in relation to /the two mood directions of /achievement motivation, for men and women.

Achievement motivation	/N/	Programme Time			Number of Programmes		
		/Hours, Tenths	of Hours/	Both together	Radio	Television	Both together
Men							
"Optimists"							
high	/23/	11,6 <sup>1/</sup>	12,2	23,8	19,1	16,3	35,4
low	/35/	14,1 <sup>1/</sup>	12,8	26,9	21,5	16,1	37,6
"Pessimists"							
high	/26/	11,0 <sup>2/</sup>	11,7	22,7	18,3	14,7	33,0
low	/32/	14,9 <sup>2/</sup>	13,3	28,2	22,5	17,4	39,9
Women							
"Optimists"							
high	/23/	16,9	10,7	27,6	20,9	14,6	35,5
low	/18/	13,7	10,8	24,5	18,2	13,9	32,1
"Pessimists"							
high	/13/	16,9	9,7 <sup>3/</sup>	26,6	18,9	12,9	31,8
low	/27/	14,7	11,2 <sup>3/</sup>	25,9	20,1	15,0	35,1

1/ t = 0,90, p = 0,18, f = 28, one-tailed test  
 2/ t = 1,47, p = 0,08, f = 28, one-tailed test  
 3/ t = 0,79, p = -

This regularity only applies to women in the case of television, but here as well the effect is confined to the "pessimist" mood dimension. Achievement motivated women of a "pessimist" mood see 90 minutes less television a week than those not so motivated. The position is reversed in the case of radio. Achievement motivated women, given a positive mood disposition listen to the radio for three hours a week longer than those not so motivated, given a negative mood disposition the difference is two hours.

Within the achievement motivated the difference between men and women in time spent listening to the radio is therefore between 5 and 6 hours a week.

It seemed advisable to establish the variable of media time exposure in the form as well in which those who viewed and listened "much" i.e. more than the median differed from those who did so less than the median, /"little"/. This procedure also allows for an examination of the exposure configuration that apply to the two media. The connection apparent on Table 1 is also

outlined as follows: the number of those men who spent a lot of time viewing and listening is small in proportion amongst the achievement motivated, but this applies only to television as regards the women. In the case of radio the position is reversed here as well.

In the case of men achievement motivation is negatively associated with much radio listening, both in the "optimist" dimension  $/C = -0,26, p = 0,05/$  and the "pessimist" dimension  $/C = -0,23, p < 0,10/$ . The relationship with much television viewing is similar, only weaker. On the other hand the "pessimist" that is unsatisfied type of affiliation motivated shows a strong positive correlation with much radio listening.  $/C = 0,38, p < 0,01/$ .

In the case of women the relationship between "much" listening and achievement motivation is a positive one, though it is not significant  $/C = 0,10/$ , the relationship between achievement motivation and "much" viewing is however negative  $/C = -0,29, p < 0,10/$ . It is interesting that in the case of women unsatisfied /unsuccessful/ affiliation in the "pessimist" mood is

positively related not with "much" listening, but with "much" viewing. /C = .0,21/

The configurations of exposure to the two media

The differing effect of the achievement and the affiliation motive on viewing and listening comes out better than heretofore if the configurations of viewing and listening are established, that is if we examine the motivation structure of those who listen "much" but view "much" at the same time, as against "much" listeners who view "little" and so on.

Table 2. The percentage of the highly achievement motivated according to both mood dimensions and of high affiliation motivated on the "pessimist" scale in the four configurations of listening and viewing, for men and women

Listens to Radio	Views Television	"Optimist" Achievement motivated in per cent		"Pessimist" Affiliation mot. in per cent
		"Optimist" Achievement motivated in per cent	"Pessimist" Affiliation mot. in per cent	"Pessimist" Affiliation mot. in per cent
<u>Men /N = 57/</u>				
Much	Much	25 <sup>1/</sup>	31	75 <sup>2/</sup>
Much	Little	36	36	63
Little	Much	68 <sup>1/</sup>	56	18 <sup>2/</sup>
Little	Little	42	54	50
<u>Women /N = 41/</u>				
Much	Much	75 <sup>3/</sup>	25	50
Much	Little	57	36	43
Little	Much	33 <sup>3/</sup>	0 <sup>4/</sup>	83 <sup>5/</sup>
Little	Little	67	56 <sup>4/</sup>	22 <sup>5/</sup>
1/	t = 2,6	p < 0,05	f = 3	one-tailed test
2/	t = 2,7	p < 0,05	f = 3	one-tailed test
3/	t = 2,6	p < 0,05	f = 3	one-tailed test
4/	t = 2,7	p < 0,05	f = 3	one-tailed test
5/	t = 2,8	p < 0,05	f = 3	one-tailed test

Two sharply defined types of media behaviour became outlined in the case of men, and three in the case of women. The formula is relatively simple for men:

- 1/ if much listening is associated with much viewing the group of low achievement motivation with high affiliation motivation is present;
- 2/ if on the other hand much television viewing is associated with little radio listening the diametrically opposite group is present, that is those with a high achievement and a low affiliation motivation.

Both sub-groups of those who see little television are placed between these two extremes, that is both those who view little but listen much, and those who both view and listen little. They both only score medium values for both achievement as well as affiliation motivation.

These data can be harmonized with the rough time-figures on Table 1 as follows. There it was shown that achievement motivated men used both media less than those not so motivated, here it becomes clear that the achievement motivated show the configuration of

much viewing and little listening. The solution lies in the fact that men generally view much, regardless of motives, that is two hours a week more than the women. Viewing is relatively inelastic for men, it is a rigid magnitude from which achievement motivation can detract very little. The media exposure reducing effect of achievement motivation is three times as strong in the case of radio for men, than it is as regards television. "Much viewing is therefore the standard, which allows the shift in radio listening to show the degree of achievement motivation present. As we saw, given "little" viewing, "much" or "little" listening does not indicate high or low achievement motivation.

In this particular configuration "much" viewing is not the only fact that ought to be emphasized, "little" listening must be underlined as well. The importance is fully recognized if the configurations are studied in terms of various times of day. Non-achievement but affiliation motivated men who both view and listen much, do so all day, hour by hour, from Tuesday to Friday as well, and see more television

between 8 and 10 p.m. as well than the non-affiliative motivated. The achievement motivated only listen somewhat more after 10 at night than the non-achievement motivated, and only view more after 10 and between 6 and 8. Anticipating the later analysis of contents it ought to be said that the two editions of television news are broadcast at these times. The period between 8 and 10, the prime time of peak viewing, preferred by the non-achievement motivated is generally given over to programmes offering immediate gratification. "Much" viewing in itself therefore certainly does not point to achievement motivation, but only when found in conjunction with "little" listening. A man who exhaustively listens to the wireless all day, and then settles in front of his television set between 8 and 10 at night, is less likely to be achievement motivated, the more television he views. Given considerable periods of listening to the radio, achievement motivation is inversely proportional to the quantity of television viewing.

Let us now examine the position of women. Men see two hours more television a week than women, achievement motivated men do not particularly differ

from the not so motivated. Looking at the sample of women as a whole, regardless of motivation, it became clear that they listened to the radio for two hours more a week than the men, but with one major difference. More television viewing is truly independent of motivation and appears as a property of the male sex as such, but much listening only apparently belongs to the condition of women. In fact only the achievement motivated women listen more, as a sort of background to their diligently performed domestic duties. This "plus" in their listening shows in the extra listening done by the whole female sample.

Let us look at the first female column of figures on table 2 bearing this in mind. There the relationship of "optimist" achievement-motivation with the two medium exposure configurations is shown. There the figures for women are the mirror image of those for men. The configurational group where most "optimist" achievement motivated men were found, that is the one of "little listening, much viewing", there the lowest frequency of women occurred, and where the fewest "optimist" achievement motivated men were found,

that is in the "much listening, little viewing" configuration, most "optimist" achievement motivated women are found to be present. "Little" listening proved to be the chief index for achievement motivated "optimist" men, and "much" listening was that for women.

The effect of the affiliation motive in women is however no longer a mirror image of "optimist" achievement motivation as it is in the case of men.

As the 2. table also beautifully indicates, given "pessimist" affiliational tensions, in respect to the two media configurations, "pessimist" achievement motivation in the case of women creates precisely opposed effects. The mirror-image is just about perfect in this respect. Amongst women of "grave" disposition, those that is who produced negative imagery on their projective tests, an anticipation of not achieving their goals, of a negative instrumental outcome of action etc, those who only did so in respect of affiliational objectives, and not at all in relation to achievement objectives, viewed "much", and listened "little", those

on the other hand who produced such imagery in relation to achievement objectives, and none, or hardly any in relation to affiliational ones, both listened and viewed very little. To put it plainly: "fravelly" disposed achievement motivated women neither listened nor viewed, those with unsatisfied affiliational drives on the other hand listened very little, but viewed all the more.

Distribution according to time of day explains these data by showing that achievement motivated men postpone extra listening to hours of rest, but achievement motivated women are so saturated by radio as a background to their work by the time they wish to rest, that they look to some other way of filling their leisure. "Pessimist" affiliational women on the other hand, that is those who only had negative associations with warm human feelings and companionate life, did not switch the radio on during the day, which permitted some other activity, but television instead submerging herself in what the screen offered. Women who settle in front of the box for hours certainly do not create the

impression of busy little women, much less so anyway than the fellow members of their sex who half-listen to the radio, meanwhile doing this and that, moving in and out, remaining with the duties posited by this world, without submerging in the events transmitted from a "second reality".

Engaging in activities demanding visual attention is self-evident for one group of women, it however creates problems for the other one. A woman with a healthy achievement motivation accepts with her whole being that our modern culture and society determines that her home is not merely the place where she "reproduces her labour-power" but that of new tasks as well, from which she does not try to escape. Those showing unsatisfied affiliation however suffer such basic tensions and disturbances of a chronic nature in the economy of their psyche, that these are likely to affect their relationship to their tasks in a discernible way.

The following five types are obtained if the sharply outlined configurations of exposure to both media are summed up for both sexes:

	Men		Women
"Optimist" achievement motivation	Little listening and much viewing		Much listening and much viewing
"Pessimist" achievement motivation			Little listening and little viewing
"Pessimist" affiliational disposition	Much listening and much viewing		Little listening and much viewing

Discussion and further outlook

The above figure shows that radiomindedness, which was identified in the pre-television age as a characteristic of lonely people, chiefly of women who were perhaps not alone, but certainly psychologically

lonely /Herzog, 1944/ showed certain identical and certain modifying properties in the sample here examined. Men with an unsatisfied affiliation who are tense for that reason, certainly turned to the radio. /A most significant relationship exists in the case of men between "pessimist" affiliational disposition and much listening:  $\chi^2 = 9.46$ , most significant  $p = 0.002$ / Women on the other hand with unsatisfied affiliation, that is who are alone or lonely, suffer as a result, and show themselves unable to effect a breakthrough by social or objective activity, escape to television and not to the radio.

The danger of exaggerated and escapist consumption of mass media products, that is consumption on a disfunctional scale and character, which is becoming real in Hungary as well as the country is coming to be saturated with receivers, appeared in the data of this survey. Present data, that is the simplest quantitative parameters of media behaviour suggest the classical radio-mindedness for men, and television-mindedness for women.

Three dimensions were accorded major roles in the course of this study, it is they which are used to explain much:

- 1/ determination through social role - this in practice meant only an examination of sexual differentiation;
- 2/ the personality system dimension /two significant basic social motivations, achievement and the need for affiliation, and their configuration/<sup>2/</sup>
- 3/ the special modalities of the two media, television's ability to tie down visual attention which to a certain extent takes viewers out of their actual and social environment, on the one hand offering relaxation for the reproduction of their labour-power, but on the other it handicaps them in carrying out work that

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<sup>2/</sup> The role-set associated with each sex which has its own peculiar effect on the time-budget, was treated as a sociological factor in the present research report. This is formally a controlling factor of personality factors, but it has so much explanatory power in the present context that it can be considered as of equal status with the motivation systems. The motivation systems are here treated as psychological factors, but not as final explanatory principles. In much the same way as the Iadov team treated the personality system as the collector and transmitter of general and specific social effects /Zdravomyslov et al 1970/ I have also looked for the typical determinants and origin of achievement motivation in Hungarian society. /Varga, 1973b/

equally demands visual attention; and the auditive modality of radio which makes it possible to listen as a secondary occupation at the side of certain types of work /domestic duties/; and finally the interaction of the two media, their mutual "absorptive" power as a determinant of the typical time of day distribution of the audience.

The DGP hypothesis, that is the aspect of personality and motivation structure was only able to provide a partial explanation of de facto phenomena. The other group of factors, that of social roles, is certainly needed. These modify results predicted on the basis of the DGP hypothesis particularly for women, to such an extent what is more that connections of the opposite direction are arrived at, as indicated by crossing arrows on the diagramme. "Little listening and much viewing" and "much listening and much viewing" configurational categories turned in the opposite direction in the magnetic field of social roles indicate not only a different but a reversed motivational effect in the case of women and men.

As against this, in the case of men, a type of mentality that can rise above affiliative problems and other emotional effects that disturb performance, actually demands the sort of absorbing relaxation which television offers, after a day's concentrated work, together with all those political and other items of information which, as the continuation of this study makes clear, particularly attract achievement motivated men.

At the same time, the compromise of listening to the radio satisfies in an optimum way both the need for a psychological reproduction of labour-power and of doing domestic work which does not need full attention, on the part of achievement motivated women.

Television viewing for men, and radio listening for women therefore offers a functional significance which dispels the suspicion of disfunctional escapism.

This opens up two perspectives. One towards regularities in programme preference examined from the angle of the DGP hypothesis, and secondly, beyond those to general principles of the function of the mass media.

The DGP hypothesis, as regards rough quantitative data relating to the mass-media, was only confirmed for men. Rees's results confirmed the hypothesis for men from the aspect of content preference variables as well. There is no reason therefore why, in this case as well, the confirmation, as regards men, of the DGP hypothesis should not be anticipated in the field of preferences as well. But if the DGP hypothesis truly has construct validity, that is if the particular nomological network is consistent, then it can be supposed that new regularities discovered for women which derive from their social role, will show their effect in the following field of application of the DGP preference as well, that is as regards programme preferences. To put it plainly: if we discerned so far that a woman active in a "second shift" at home will listen to the radio all the more, the more achievement motivated she is, instead of listening less, as achievement motivated men do, then the inner logic of the DGP construct leads one to expect that these women, again in keeping with their high achievement motivation, should consume a larger proportion of low DGP value programmes, that is those offering immediate gratification, such as light

music, or variety shows, instead of consuming programmes of high DGP values as achievement motivated men do. Derivation of hypotheses relating to the connection between DGP and programme preferences is logically so simple at least for radio. I should not like to anticipate the results of the second part of this study, but it can at least be said that the DGP hypothesis was on the one hand more acutely and firmly confirmed in the field of programme preferences, than in pure time-data, that is in the subject of quantitative exposure, on the other, modifying effects discernable in this rougher approach did not lose their force in the field of preferences. Connections observed in the field of preferences, both for radio and television, fit in well with data relating to quantitative media exposure.

As regards the more general problems of the social effects and functions of the mass media, it appears that results obtained to a certain extent reinforce views which emphasize the tension-treating, general "mood servicing" effects of the mass media, and the resulting effects allowing one to influence it, and culti-

vate values, but those as well which put the emphasis on choice by the public. Our data show that specified differentiation derives from the interaction of the personal motivational system and the system of social roles.

A personality integrated in terms of achievement motivation will behave in relation to media in a way that can be better explained by the economist's problem solving model /Cox, 1962; Bauer, 1964/ even if the special effects of the social role-set prompts relaxation producing media programmes of low DGP value as more rational in certain circumstances for these men and women who look for rationality in their lives, and who generally behave in a problem-solving way. Beyond episodes of relaxation this type will basically seek information rather than rewards /Keller et al 1965/when choosing programmes that fit in with their own long-term strategy.

As against this the influence model, and such special variants of it as Gerbner's cultivation model, is very likely tailor-made for the sort of person who owing to emotional disequilibria, or other circumstances

that handicap the organizing of behaviour in terms of strategic long-term objectives, show a continuous and characteristic receptivity for immediate rewards. What in the case of a relaxed achievement motivated person is determined by the situation, is basically derived from the character of this consolation-seeking type.

In the latter case the effect of mass media can be judged in two ways. It can be interpreted as the agent of a social therapy which ensures a mood homeostatis for those sections of society that are frustrated for inner or outside reasons, by entertaining them, thus offering them a better starting point for real problem solving, than the one which would result from reaching a higher degree of emotional tension. On the other hand the often referred to opportunities for mass manipulation on the part of the mass media are present in the case of such men and women, and in practice confined to them.

Such aspects are merely touched on in the present study. More conclusive arguments can be obtained from

a thorough examination of the relationship between the DGP hypothesis and programme preferences. The complexities and the controversial nature of the problem however mean that real clarification needs considerably more research.

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