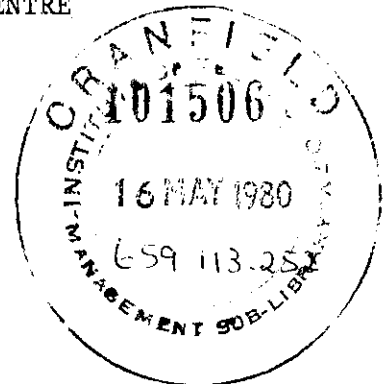


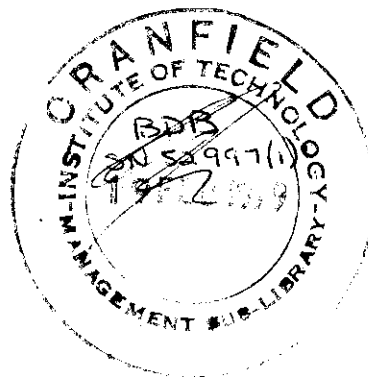
MARKETING COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH CENTRE



MOTIVATIONAL RESEARCH - PASSING PHASE OR

PERMANENT FEATURE?

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PREFACE

This draft represents a review of approximately two-thirds of the available literature on motivational research.

Since a great deal of material was written in the fifties and sixties it is not as readily to hand in most libraries including the National Lending Library

Any interesting case studies belonging to clients would be gratefully received.

I INTRODUCTION

' . . . no one who has to deal in a practical way with human beings, can get along without some notion of motivational force' - Henry Murray

In the first draft version of the paper on the Attitude-Behaviour Relationship (30th September, 1975) it was pointed out to readers that despite researchers' emphasis on understanding the "why" of consumer behaviour in order to complete the attitude-behaviour equation, the first paper would not deal with the subject of motivational research. This was because the history and theoretical bases for understanding the place of motivational research in modern psychological and marketing thinking were significantly different from attitude theories and research techniques to warrant a separate and thorough treatment. Such diverse writers on the attitude-behaviour relationship as the market researchers Bird and Ehrenberg and the philosopher Audi were reported to have concluded their studies by stressing the motivational component as "largely responsible for the behaviour to which an attitude leads and which psychologists are concerned to predict."

As every marketing and research person knows, psychologists have been looking at the "motives" behind consumer behaviour since the mid-thirties. It was in 1935 that Paul Lazarsfeld, founder of the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, wrote a chapter on motivation research for a book published by the American Marketing Association. And, it was in 1939 that one of the first major motivational research projects was undertaken and reported widely - Dr. Dichter's study for Ivory soap in which he states that he "developed the concept of the personality or image of a product". He found that Ivory had a "sombre, utilitarian, thoroughly cleansing character" compared to the more "glamorous" and "sensual" qualities of major competitors such as Cashmere Bouquet. This was quickly followed by his next and most famous study for the Chrysler Corporation in which the concept of the convertible or sports car as mistress was first mentioned. However, it was only one of six new concepts regarding cars to emerge from the study; others included: the first car has the most emotional significance; the influence of women in the purchase situation; most drivers fear changing makes of cars; the type of car one drives advertises how one sees one's self; each make of car has its own individual personality.

Motivational research was by no means immediately embraced - early applications met with considerable resistance in the business world. As Collins and Montgomery, 1969, pointed out - "this was partly because of the twin myths of Economic Man and Rational Man which only gradually became modified by the recognition of psychological factors". Motivational Research did not become significant until after the Second World War; as Markin points out in his book The Psychology of Consumer Behaviour, 1969 - "there was little need for understanding the consumer during the war with rationing and scarcity of goods, manufacturers could not even supply the existing demand . . . as the sellers market ended, however, marketers were faced with the problem of creating demand for their goods . . . advertising had to be effective and products had to appeal to the consumer . . . the seller could not appeal to the needs and desires of the consumer until he knew what they were. In an attempt to find out, attention turned to the behavioural sciences which had developed methods and techniques for the systematic study of behaviour." Of course the war had also stimulated mass production techniques and greater affluence in the States where motivational research had begun. Whether or not the Hitler-Hirohito ego trips provided the principle impetus for the growth and proliferation of Motivational Research (and if someone deserves the blame, who better), by the mid-fifties the hidden persuaders were well entrenched and a source of anxiety to social commentators and philosophers as evidenced by the stir created by Vance Packards book in 1956 - Hidden Persuaders. There were at that time in the States 82 organisations registered with the Advertising Research Foundation who were conducting motivational research.

However, the concept of "motivation" was not discovered in the mid 1930's; in the 1880's the functionally minded psychologists were beginning to come to grips with motives as a separate entity - "the desire that precedes an act and determines it is to be called its moving force, stimulus or motive" - Sully, 1884. Dewey, 1886, added - "A desire when chosen becomes a motive". By 1918 Woodworth was proposing the term "drive" to describe motives and even at the height of its popularity motivation researchers were still wrestling with an exact definition or explanation of "motives" - Schreier, 1957 - "The word motivation is derived from moving, and originally the problem actually was to explain how men are moved without being pushed - physical objects move only when pushed. The question was asked, therefore: Where does the energy come from that makes men move? There must

be something 'within' him that has the power to push him." The traditional definition of motivation created the dilemma that when a person was sitting still he would not be motivated because the theories were dependent on a concept of drives or needs. To resolve this situation Schreier recommended that "we restrict the definition of motivation to the explanation of psychological phenomena by reference to psychological phenomena"; thus excluding behaviour determined by physiological conditions so that motivation "would always include reference to some meaning in the behaviour to be explained". For example, pain from a wound would not be motivated, pain from the loss of a friend would be.

Most definitions have attempted to take into account the unconscious element of motivation such as the one found in the current dictionary of psychology - "An effective-conative factor which operates in determining the direction of an individual's behaviour towards an end or goal, consciously apprehended, or unconscious". A more marketing oriented definition, Dichter, 1964 - "Motivation can be defined as all those factors which make people act and move toward certain goals. Human beings are guided by many motivations, some intrinsic, some extrinsic, coming from within and without".

II THEORIES AND MODELS OF MOTIVATION

A. First Origins.

Any definition of motivation is dependent on the specific model of man which the theorist holds; the history of psychology is basically a history of various cause and effect models of human behaviour since as Bolles points out (Theory of Motivation, 1967) - "We attribute a man's behaviour to events going on in his mind".

Therefore in order to understand behaviour we must construct a model of how the mind works. Western philosophy has provided numerous theories of human behaviour and motivation varying from the mystical such as Plato's concept of "the psyche as that which moves itself, has laws of its own being and needs no others", to the 18th century Deterministic philosophy of Locke and Hume which held that behaviour was intrinsically predictable because it was lawful as "proved " by the fact that so frequently two events occur in sequence; thus one is cause, the other effect.

That man was solely and morally responsible for his own acts was the main tenet of the Rationalists from Epicurus to the 18th century Scottish philosophers such as Reid. This theory was perpetuated by the Early Christian Church as well and given further focus with the pleasure-pain principle propounded by Hobbes in the 17th century who was also the first to state that man's motives must be prior to his actions. In the early 19th century James Mill was credited with introducing the concept of motivation in learning by proposing that learning was motivated by pleasure and pain. The pleasure-pain concept of motivation had a profound effect on Freud's thinking and was probably responsible for his emphasis on sexual gratification as a major drive influencing behaviour.

B. Instincts.

However, the mentally fertile 19th century also produced the classical instinct theorists such as Darwin, McDougall, James and even Freud has been so classified. For these theorists all events had physical causes; instinct was conceived as a "psycho-physiological entity of energy-generating and direction-guiding processes which together produced all forms of behaviour - primitive and intelligent", (Bindia and Stewart, 1971). The immediate cause of behaviour was an existing tension resulting from

excitations and fluid conditions in the brain - basically identified as blood and lymph. Thus a need was, according to Schopenhauer "a push from the rear" - needs emerged from the past and were not a full from the future

While most instincts identified by these theorists were physical in origin - sexual, hunger, warmth, protection of boundaries, etc. - McDougall went so far as to include a gregarious instinct.

One theorist Berinard 1924 suggested that there were more than 14,000 instincts to explain the causes of human behaviour. In fact it was said that postulation of lists of instincts became a favourite pastime among scientists in the twenties.

The early theorists did not agree on the source of adults' instincts; for instance McDougall believed that adult behaviour was motivated by instincts fixed from birth while Freud further compounded the Instinct theory by stating that adult behaviour grew out of the sublimations of infantile sexual and aggressive impulses. Allport went on to propose that adult motives become divorced from these early origins and functioned independently and autonomously; his most favous example - the ex-sailor who longs for the sea, he originally went to sea to earn money (hunger motive), now as a wealthy banker he longs for the sea, hangs seascapes in his office but not because of a monetary value, rather the nostalgia has a force all its own.

However, even the Instinct theorists did not ascribe all behaviour to some inner drive operating within the individual over which he had no control; McDougall pointed out "every instance of instinctive behaviour involves a knowing of some thing or object ... action can only be fully described in terms of the three aspects of all mental processes - the cognitive, the affective and the conative aspects". Thus, the role of learning in determining motivations and behaviour was acknowledged.

C. Freud and the Neo-Freudians

Freid, of course, put great emphasis on the unconscious as the source of power for motives; he saw man as a biological organism seeting with primitive instinctual forces in the form of the "id" (basic impulses) which was only kept in check and civilised by the thin veneer of the "superego". Freud was beither impressed with nor concerned about the social or cultural influences in life. Thus, some of his disciples felt the need to redress the balance - Adler, Horney, Sullivan and Fromm - and to claim an inborn social interest and desire to relate to others; in other words affection and sociability were singled out as basic social motivations.

According to Kassarian, 1971, these theorists have had a dramatic effect on advertising. For example, Adler stresses that man is driven to strive for superiority (being better than the Jones's). Fromm evolved his theories around man's loneliness and striving after love (be accepted by using the proper products); and Horney stressed the problems created by childhood insecurities which generate three types of coping behaviour - aggressive, detached and compliant (the first to try new products, the disinterested type and the type who wants to see if the new idea is accepted). As Kassarian points out "much of their theorising can be seen in advertising today, which exploits the striving for superiority and the needs for love, security and escape from loneliness to sell toothpaste, deodorants and even detergents".

D. Behaviourism.

The opposite of the instinctual-Freudian-neoFreudian model of man is the Behaviourist school which looks at behaviour as the outcome of acquired habits resulting from the reinforcement of "accidental" behaviours. For instance, the child is rewarded for expressing affection which encourages him to develop the habit of doing so; he is ignored or ridiculed for using "baby talk" so this type of behaviour is soon extinguished. Over time the individual builds up a repertoire of behaviours simply because they have been rewarded and not because the individual is driven by some instinctual force. Thus, such complex motives as the need for achievement are learned in the same manner as brand preference and taste prejudices. The result of the Behaviourist philosophy was that the model of man changed from the biological organism seething with primitive instinctual urges to a passive subject whose behaviour was controlled by manipulating external forces. Or, as more colourfully described by Murray, 1964 - "the Freudian image of man was that of a creature driven by inherited, unconscious, sexual and destructive instincts constantly seeking release in a frustrating social environment. The behaviourist's view was that of a creature quietly metabolising in the shade, occasionally goaded into action by the hot sun and the lure of a cold glass of beer." In marketing terms as Alderson, 1956 states - "This doctrine makes the consuming public an inert and docile mass without the power of rational decision and subject to manipulation at the will of the advertiser."

Advertising history is saturated with examples of applied Behaviourism - the consumer as the blank slate upon which the advertiser need merely write

his instructions and they will be obeyed if a reward is promised - "Buy X, it is good for you". Probably because the Father of Behaviourism, Watson, left the university setting and entered advertising the influence of this theory has lasted these 40 years and is still prevalent in many agencies today ranging from the concept of repetition of the product name or promise to the inert and docile mass who will eventually accept it as familiar and true and perform the appropriate behaviour - buy the product. At the more subtle end of the continuum there is the work on subliminal advertising as epitomised in a study by Hart (1973) on attitudes towards alcoholism in which those who were exposed to tachistoscopic pictures of alcohol with the word 'poison' written across it changed their attitudes significantly compared to a control group who did not receive the tachistoscopic experience.

However, this blank slate model of man is full of contradictions as Koven, 1967 points out - "man is seen as the recipient of marketing messages but not the initiator of marketing actions - buying; he is also seen as a lone person capable of being manipulated by the advertiser's message and yet a social being influenced by his environment which should also be a counter-balance to advertisers. He is seen as driven by superficial needs implanted by the advertiser and yet capable of talking about products and their qualities or else why would there be so much interest in interviewing him in depth".

Present day consumer models such as the Howard and Sheth are assumed to have their foundations in basic Behaviourism.

E. Cognitivism.

The Cognitive theorists did not accept the logic of the Behaviourists, rather they saw behaviour as being guided by the knowledge of a path to a goal; past experience was described mentalistically rather than with the logic of Stimulus-Response bonds of Behaviourism. Cognitivists such as Lewin conceived of motivation in terms of dynamic constructs or tensions for the person and the environment; that is tension results in the environmental object being imbued with a valence (an attraction or repellent charge) which establishes a field force that acts on the person to attract or repel him regarding the goal object. Tension is released when the goal is attained or avoided. Although many of their initial experiments did not support the main tenet entirely, the cognitivists did create a more dynamic and less passive model of man since it was shown that

the individual did not act out of habit but rather from choice.

The most influential cognitive theory must be Festinger's Theory of Cognitive Dissonance which holds that an individual strives to maintain internal harmony or a state of balance which he needs in order to function. Such theories owe their philosophical base to the 19th century physical sciences with their emphasis on equilibrium and chemical balance which was seen as inevitable in nature. Most particularly the 19th century laws of thermodynamics stated that matter could neither be created or destroyed, e.g. nature demanded perfect balance. With the splitting of the atom matter lost its perfect balance add to this Einstein's theory of relativity and such theories as Cognitive Dissonance have lost their power; new theories of behaviour - the Existentialists - are more in keeping with current thinking. However, Dissonance theory has left an indelible impression on marketing thinking. Dissonance, for example, is said to occur when a decision has to be made or a behaviour has to be performed such as going to the shops, these acts are said to upset the balance of the individual especially if in the process he is exposed to new information or ideas which are dissonant (opposed) to his existing cognitions (ideas). It is postulated that there are eight ways in which the individual can deal with dissonant information: 1) psychologically increase the attractiveness of the new information or imposed alternative - store brands seen as equals to branded goods; 2) decrease the attractiveness of the old information or object - the previous brand was badly packaged anyway; 3) perceiving more identical characteristics between the chosen and unchosen alternatives - Brand X was just living on its Rolls Royce image anyway, brand Y is virtually the same; 4) decrease the importance of the decision - the commodity approach to buying wherein the housewife estimates that she needs so many toilet rolls, cleansers and detergent packs per month and brands are not so important; 5) Seek information which is consonant with existing new information - read the ads about the product bought, particularly car ads after the purchase of a new car; talk to other housewives known to be innovators in order to seek rationalisations for using convenience foods; 6) The behaviour can be changed to be more consonant with cognitions - The consumer can support the "clever" ad on TV by buying and trying the product instead of always commenting "that's a good idea"; 7) Influencing others to change their opinion and support the new information - the buyer of a foreign car who expounds on the virtues trying to convert his friends; 8) Rejecting the opinions of others one would normally respect - Mum's attitudes to

nutrition are given up in favour of more modern health foods ideas. However, research has often shown that dissonance theory does not stand up to marketing experiments - as Schewe, 1973, points out - "self-confidence, ego-involvement, previous experience, habits, social support and other situational variables as well as other personality variables such as dogmatism are often more important than whether or not dissonance is aroused." Moreover, the cognitivists left their imprint on advertising philosophy in the form of the rational view. It was assumed within this theory that people bought products because they needed them - they weighed up the choices and the consequences of each choice before making the decision. This was a dramatic change from the behaviourist's approach to advertising as merely triggering a passive puppet into consuming activity. The rationalist approach led to advertising which hammered home the qualities of the product - bigger, longer-lasting, more reliable, more attractive, efficient - an advertising approach still found, especially in the finance fields - building societies, insurance companies.

F. Social and Self Theories - Existentialism.

Thus, the social and self theorists have come into their own; probably the most social of the social psychologists is Goffman and his role theory of motivation borrowed from the theatre. The consumer is seen as the actor who is involved in role enactment, which is dependent on role expectations (in many cases conformity), in a role location (where he fits into the social structure), using his role skills (aptitudes, abilities and experience), in a particular setting (products and services in the market place), for a particular audience (one's fellow consumers especially those one wishes to impress or immolate). The importance of image is implicit in Goffman's theory, that is, the products' image must suit the setting and be seen by the consumer as one that fits into his role playing, e.g. his self image as well as his ideal self-image (the roles he plays to impress the audience).

The self-actualisers such as Maslow view human behaviour from an entirely different viewpoint compared to former theorists; for them human nature is essentially constructive, trustworthy, rational, unique and individual; however, it requires a proper set of circumstances to emerge which are not readily provided by contemporary society. Usually classified as Existentialists they reject the notion that the abstract intelligence is too insufficient to grasp the richness of experience and claim that the inner

depths of the psychic life cannot be measured by the quantitative methods of the physical sciences. Reality for any one man consists only of his own personal experiences which cannot be abstracted because the process would sterilise the reality and immediacy of the experience; to understand a man he must be considered in his world. Existentialists call for the study of "consumer style" and individuality.

Another key feature of the Existential approach is free choice which places a strain on the individual resulting in anxiety because the possibility of making a mistake and thus becoming a lesser person is very real. Existentialists do not see man as a bundle of tensions resulting from the driving forces of inner instincts just waiting to be relieved, nor do they view mankind as seeking equilibrium as do the Cognitive Dissonance Theorists, nor do they see him as a collector of habits merely by chance reinforcement in his pursuit of pleasure and avoidance of pain as do the Behaviourists. Rather as Markin points out in the Existentialist Model - "Man does not avoid tensions or necessarily wish to reduce them, as long as they remain balanced and consistent with his life style. Instead he seeks out tensions and excitements via his process of becoming. In his search for fictional goals and problem solving, he looks for means of enhancing his experiences, of adding to life's glamour and excitement . . . Motivation, therefore can be viewed in the light of growth motives which call for the maintenance of tension or excitement in the interest of distant and often unattainable goals". In this sense the purchase of goods and services are seen as important means or vehicles in the individual's striving for becoming. Therefore, he buys and searches for goods with which to impress himself rather than the community. Status seeking is losing its potency. It is believed that the consumer can not be controlled in any mechanistic sense, his behaviour is largely directed along the lines of search and discovery.

There is another important way in which the Existentialists have added to the model of the consumer, by pointing out that it is as basic to seek love and affection as to seek peace and the satisfaction of lusty needs. Again, Murray has the more memorable means of expressing this idea - "Human warmth and relatedness are not epiphenomena grafted on to a peristaltic rhythm. Giving and receiving love are every bit as much a part of human biological nature as the need to urinate. We lust but we also seek affection. We hate but we also seek closeness and esteem. We even try to love and esteem ourselves".

The Model of the Existential consumer is of one who carries around many selves according to Walters and Paul, 1970; these selves interact with the symbolic meanings which products and services have for the consumer. These selves are: the real self which is never really observable; the ideal self, that which he would like to be; the self-image, how he sees himself; the apparent self, how others see him; the reference group image, how the consumer thinks others with whom he associates or identifies see him; the past self, that which lives in his memory; the present self, that which develops out of change; and the future self, that which is becoming. Thus, a theory of multi-motives is proposed.

The Existentialist consumer has had an effect on advertising as Markin, 1969, points out in response to the Existential commandment of "Know Thyself". "Today's consumers have a greater sense of identity and individuality than ever before. They are finding advertisements and appeals of some marketers in such hideously poor taste that they not only refuse to buy the product but they mentally blacklist the entire product line of the manufacturer."

III A CLOSER LOOK AT BASIC NEEDS

What then is the nature of the consumer in the black box? Which theory will best explain his basic motivations? Which theory works better, gives the most consistent research results? Or, is it only just a matter of personal choice like choosing an analyst - Jungian, Kleinian or Freudian? We shall hope to shed some light on these questions in the remainder of this paper.

Ever since Eve persuaded Adam to eat the apple humans have been trying to motivate other human beings by appealing to their basic needs. We all recognise that behaviour is generally motivated and not just behaviour for its own sake; and that furthermore behaviour is initiated through needs basic or learned. The subject of Basic Needs is a very old chestnut - how many really basic needs does man have and what are they? Freud in his later years stated that there were really only two basic needs or drives - the drive to live and the drive to die. Other theorists have come up with a list of hundreds, the largest being 600 which are reputed to "influence consumers at some time and to some degree and for some products". As early as 1924 Copeland writing about merchandising, listed 33 basic buying motives which he divided into emotional and rational including a "patronage" motive. However, as Bayton, 1958, points out - "psychologists agree that there are two types of needs: physiological (hunger, thirst, sex, etc.) and psychogenic - "tension systems in the individual's subjective psychological state and in his relations with others". It is the latter type of needs where there has always been considerable disagreement concerning a truly representative list of psychogenic needs. Bayton attempted to analyse various theorists and then to group the psychogenic needs into three categories most relevant to consumer behaviour; these categories are - Affectional needs; Ego-boistering needs ; and Ego-defensive needs.

Markin, 1969, pointed out the significance of identifying needs for market research "This variety of needs, then, complicates the study of motives and hence the work of motivation research. It means that to be successful one must not only bring to light an individual's motives but he must also distinguish between these motives as to their preference and their strength of influence on that individual's behaviour. What may be the ruling motive for one individual will not necessarily be an important motive to another unless all other sociological, biological, psychological and environmental factors are the same."

The two most influential theorists from the marketing viewpoint must be Murray and Maslow. Murray, as a social psychologist was most concerned to identify what he called "psychogenic needs" or social motives; using interviews and especially designed psychological tests including the TAT which is widely used today as a personality test. His subjects were normal people and the research was conducted in 1938 when many theorists were depending on studies of mentally ill subjects. Murray identified 20 social motives which he regarded as secondary needs after the "viscerogenic needs" - air, food, rest, etc. These motives included: abasement; achievement; affiliation; autonomy; counteraction; defence; deference; dominance; exhibition; harmavoidance; infavoidance; nurturance; order; play; rejection; sentience; sex; succorance; understanding; he believed that these needs must be satisfied in order to appease the individual. Of the motives identified by Murray achievement and affiliation have been studied and examined the most and have probably contributed more to motivational research thinking than any of the others; for high on market researchers' list of motives influencing the consumer must be an assumption that he is acquisitive in order to underline his achievements and affiliative because it is other people he wishes to impress.

However, the most current theory must be Maslow's (1943) who lists a hierarchy of needs, he gives first priority to the physiological needs, hunger, thirst, etc. (These days one could even add smoking and drinking since recent research is beginning to show a high genetic correlation with drinking and smoking as well as a chemical unbalance in heavy smokers and drinkers.) In fact so embedded in the organism are these basic physiological needs that even without a stomach to produce hunger contractions experimental animals and humans who have had their stomachs removed are known to experience hunger due to certain specific chemical conditions in the blood. On the other hand, learning also plays a part in the physiological needs - we are more likely to salivate over the mention or smell of certain foods than others.

The second level of need according to Maslow - safety, both physical safety and safety from fear - for example the fear of loss of employment might make the person conservative in his choice of occupation. Also, it has been stated that one of the basic motives to buy life insurance is actually an attempt to buy off fate, an old primitive need to appease the Gods - "If I contribute money to X assurance company they will protect me".

The third need in the hierarchy is belongingness and love - mothers don't just nourish their families, for example they serve up "mother love" and some food items say this is better than others - cakes, biscuits, pies, soups, home made bread, gravy on the Sunday joint as opposed to white sliced bread, spinach, cheese or pickles. Photographers for Oxfam and Save the Children Fund know that a lone wide-eyed child looking up from the poster or magazine to the viewer will convey the loneliness and the "help me I'm just an unfortunate human being, one of the unlucky ones"; that they hope will pull the heart strings and motivate people to give out of a basic altruism - a basic identification with all members of the human race.

Fourthly, Maslow names esteem and status which is what advertising is all about in some people's eyes; status sells After Eights, Hamlet cigars, Martini, stereos and expensive cars. Even in the do-it-yourself market part of the expansion has been due to the introduction of new product lines featuring ornate bits of shelving, moulding, a do-it-yourself fireplace kit all guaranteed to add status to the home.

The fifth and last need in the hierarchy - self-actualising - the need to know, organise and develop a system to deal with the body of knowledge at one's disposal as well as the need for aesthetic experiences: education, crash or correspondence courses; travel to distant places; records of concerts we could not attend; filing systems; diaries, indexes and address books are sold to all of us as an appeal to this need. Like most existential psychologists, Maslow assumes that curiosity is a basic need. Recent studies with infants tend to support this view; infants under one month will seek visual stimulation - they will suck a dummy in order to change a picture in front of them from one picture to another or from vague to definite and vice versa. Babies will get bored with single stimuli and look away, even at five weeks they are very assertive in initiating "conversation" and turning it off according to video-taped sequences. Thus, we come equipped and motivated to manipulate our environment.

Maslow postulates that all these needs are basic to the individual but that under normal circumstances the hierarchy operates so that it is only when the first essentials are satisfied that the fourth and fifth needs can come into play and most theorists would agree. The unique thing about Maslow's approach is his inclusion of the need to self-actualise; he sees man in a more positive light; man is not just the blank tablet upon which advertisers write their messages and after sufficient time get the

desired behaviour, rather the individual is seen as self-willed, selective and basically motivated by a higher order of drives than hunger, sex and one-up-man's ship, e.g. the need to know and be involved. Furthermore, Maslow recognises and takes into consideration what Galbraith has called the "inessentials" - symbols and desires which can have the same urgency as the need to fulfill one's hunger.

Recently Existential psychologists with their emphasis on simplifying their explanation of motivation and behaviour have proposed the Three Basic Emotions Concept of fear, anger and joy. They propose that all other emotions such as envy etc. are a combination of these; some even go so far as to give formulas - guilt = 70% fear and 30% anger; envy = 70% anger and 30% fear. We are all born with these basic responses, we don't have to be taught - a baby who is not allowed to move freely will show anger even if he is blind and deaf; he will also laugh when tickled or touched lightly and smiling is not taught either - blind babies smile at the same time in their development as normal babies. Fear is also innate - a baby put onto the glass topped Kelly table will panic when he looks down.

Advertising, of course, is frequently appealing to the basic emotions of joy, fear (insurance) or anger (about what one hasn't got). Basic needs whether 2, 20 or 200, are at the root of the consumer's behaviour; they are the inner conditions researchers seek to understand in order to predict whether a person will or will not do something - vote, buy a new or relaunched product or service, continue to buy or use an existing product or service, like or believe a particular ad or brochure. However, Motivational Research is very complicated in today's society as Collins and Montgomery, 1969, pointed out - "because members of an affluent society tend to be more preoccupied with obtaining satisfaction of secondary wants than with primary wants - motivation becomes complicated; if a man is hungry it is easy to understand he wants food but to understand why he buys a particular type of car is more elusive."

It is now essential to take a closer look at just how motivational research works in actual practice.

IV HOW MOTIVATIONAL RESEARCH WORKS WITH EXAMPLES OF PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

"Motivational Research" is nothing if not pragmatic" - Collins and Montgomery, 1969. Motivational researchers attempt to diagnose human behaviour so as to shed light on the inner conditions which determine behaviour; these inner conditions consist of: 1) Cognitive Factors*- information or misinformation received. For example, one may buy a food product because the label has fresh fruit and nuts on it thinking it will be healthful when in fact it is only flavoured; however, one may buy the lowest tar cigarettes based on the latest government figures. 2) Perceptive Factors - or how we see the situation. For instance each person will vote in the next election for the party he or she feels will handle the country's problems more effectively, this decision is based on how they see the problems and how they imagine a successful solution, as well as how they think problems should be solved - selective perception. 3) Motivational Factors - attitudes, expectations, fears, habits, beliefs, drives, needs and impulses. For example, the recent genetic link with smoking would indicate that our desire to quit could be overridden by our biochemical need to smoke. Or, we may see an advertisement for a new sweet, feel motivated to buy it because we like to identify with new product ideas, want to be seen to be up to date and besides the advertising is very clever and we feel driven to give a vote of confidence to clever ideas. However, the next time we go to buy sweets we reach for the familiar Mars bar out of habit.

Motivational Research is not, however, just concerned with understanding what motivates the consumer, but rather it is the interaction between the product / service and the individual which is of prime importance. As pointed out by Dichter over 35 years ago, products have personalities for the consumer and it is this interaction which is important -

Consumer $\longleftrightarrow$ Product.

Researchers know for instance that biros have different personalities ("frivolous") for the consumer than fountain pens ("serious"); Summer County is a more romantic & nostalgic brand of margarine than the more down to earth Stork Camay soap ("sensual" and "caressing") opposed to Lifebuoy ("harsh and boasting"); then there is the whole car personality syndrome - Ford ("zippy" but "unreliable") versus Rover ("solid" and "reliable").

* Learning theory is of course crucial to an appropriate appreciation of cognition but will not be discussed in this paper since it is too extensive a subject.

Product personality is further complicated by the image of the users - Summer County users think that the type of woman who uses Stork is not her type, she can not identify with her, sees her as "too basic". The woman who does not use Persil does not see her role in life as someone concerned about whiter than white. The famous Katy in Oxo; there was always a substantial proportion of women who could not identify with her; they found her too precise, too perfect, too up market and snooty, "not a good friend you could trust and confide in". Non-users of disposable products think that the frivolous type of woman who uses paper cups and napkins is not her. User images even extend to holidays; people who go camping do not identify with the types who go on package holidays; they see them as "unadventurous"; those who go to Spain on a package holiday do not identify with those who go to holiday camps who they see as "unimaginative, need regimentation".

A. Assumptions Made by Motivational Researchers.

First of all an assumption about motives best expressed by Schreier, 1957, - "The word motive derives its meaning from move, and a motive is that something within a person that causes him to act, or behave in a goal-directed manner. A motive is a reason for action."

Secondly, assumptions about consumer behaviour are probably best expressed by Walters and Paul, 1970 - "First human behaviour is motivated. People do not act randomly, but with purpose, and a part of their purpose is to buy and consume goods and services. Second, human behaviour is patterned in the sense that general behaviour is predictable even though specific behaviour is not". Thus, motivation research is possible because it only sets out to predict general behaviour and not an individual's.

Thirdly, and perhaps more cynically or realistically, whichever you prefer, the Motivational Researcher assumes that consumers "say they don't but they do"; and, equally, "they say they do but they don't". Once the market researchers of the twenties and thirties realised that head-counting research failed to predict consumer behaviour as exemplified by the oft quoted La Piere experiment with the Chinese couple who were accepted at every restaurant and hotel visited although the management claimed in response to a questionnaire that they would not accept Chinese. Also, once the psychologists got into the act with their depth interviews the proof regarding this assumption on the "honesty" of the consumer grew enormously. For instance, one large ad agency in New York showed how people underestimated the amount of TV viewing they claimed to engage in weekly when they used depth interviewers to conduct

"Sherlock Holmes" style interviews - "Where were you and what did you do yesterday evening, even assuming that it was not a typical evening for you?", and "the previous evening," etc. Other in-depth studies have shown that people claim to read the editorial pages of newspapers but don't; to "brew up" real coffee for guests, but don't; and, to pay off their Access cards in full but they don't.

Fourthly, motivation researchers make the assumption that they are concerned ONLY with the two top layers of the mind; if one thinks of the areas of the mind as an archery target with an outside white circle, middle grey circle and inner black circle - motivational research is concerned with the white and grey areas but not with the black. The white ((outside circle) or Rational level consists of all the rationalisations, beliefs and attitudes which exist in verbal form - they are public and can be discussed; the grey circle the sub-conscious, consists of all the concepts, feelings, prejudices, fears, assumptions and emotions which can be verbalised although with great difficulty. The black area consists of all the repressed and nonrational emotions which exist on a non-verbal level; it is this area which is not relevant to the consumer psychologist for it is the realm of the psychiatrist in solving personal problems; as Harry Henry, 1958, so colourfully put it - "Useful motivation research is concerned only with getting sufficiently below the surface to do the necessary job - there is usually no need to plumb right down to the depths of the human soul!"

Fifthly, researchers recognise that an important dimension of motivation is the degree of ego-involvement which the consumer brings to the purchase situation and that products vary to the extent that they encourage ego-attachment. To quote Engel, 1968, - "There is some evidence that one of the positive correlates of degree of ego-involvement is the amount of cognitive activity (judging, thinking, etc.,) involved. This means that consumer goods which tap low degrees of ego-involvement will be purchased with a relatively lower degree of conscious decision-making activity than goods which tap higher degrees of ego-involvement". He goes on to point out the problems between clients and consumers concerning say toothpaste where the consumer has a low level of ego-involvement and the client finds it hard to accept because of his high level of involvement. Another example, Bayton, 1958, - "It is generally felt that one cause of consumer credit expansion has been the shift away from the superego's role in attitudes towards credit. The past ego-ideal was to build savings, debt was immoral."

Sixthly, these days the average motivation researcher would not accept the dichotomy of rational and irrational behaviour; in the words of Bauer, 1957, talking about the motives for purchasing a new car - "I can see no reason to say a man is more "rational" to want transportation than to want self-respect and the esteem of others - though if it helps you to understand why he is doing what he is doing, you can say he is being less economic." Thus, motives are valid regardless of the degree to which they are or are not "logical" in the usual sense of the word; for example, if seat belt wearers feel more at one with the car and therefore more in charge of the car they are driving when wearing belts versus not wearing belts; and if non-wearers are equally firm in their feeling that by putting on seat belts the car takes them over and is in charge, then which of these feelings and motives is most valid? To the researcher they are equally valid not only logically, (because one can see the logic of both) but also emotionally since an imaginative person can put himself into the frame of mind of both sides. In addition to the fact that motivational researchers operate on the assumption that there is no such thing as a universal set of explanatory motives they recognise that consumer motives are changeable - at one point in time colour television was seen by the consumer as an unnecessary, frivolous luxury; once it became established it was seen as an extra dimension almost essential to real viewing.

Seventh, consumers are "moved" by multiple motives as exemplified by the fact that identical behaviours haven't the same motivational background; we may buy a certain wine to impress our guests or because it gratifies our taste or because we seek the sedative effect of the alcohol. Any one individual can buy a bottle of wine for all of these reasons at different times or the same time. Nor is it realistically possible to establish which is the prime motive operating; survival is supposed to be the most potent motive but anthropological studies as well as tales of war heroes clearly indicate that even basic survival does not have top priority for everyone all the time. The typical consumer carries around a mental map of his world which consists of his values, attitudes and motives; this map is not a stagnant one but is rather subject to changes from various incoming stimuli BUT not all incoming stimuli. The individual is selective; he neither hears nor sees certain stimuli which do not fit into his "mental map", rather the items he chooses to perceive are those which are important to his inner needs at that moment, the social role he is playing at that moment

and his own past experiences. In other words, motives can be and often are very momentary; there is never just one motive operating at a time nor over time is one motive the dominant one. The housewife buys the oldest brand of flour for nostalgic reasons but also she will stock up on another brand when there is a price-off. At another time when she has seen a particularly appealing advertisement on TV she may buy an extra bag of flour out of fondness. Whether one takes the view that the consumer seeks to reduce dissonance by rejecting or accepting a new bit of information or takes the view that the consumer is motivated at some level to seek self-actualisation, the fact of the matter is that with so much being thrown at him the consumer cannot remain a stagnant person in terms of attitudes or motivations. It was estimated in the early 1970's in the States that the average consumer was exposed to 1,500 advertising messages daily and when he/she walked into the supermarket approximately 8,000 items clamoured for attention.

Eighth, "the force of habit" must be reckoned with; it's all very well to determine that the product has the right image and is tapping the right motives but if the consumer is habituated to buying the other brand there is little hope that the new or relaunched brand will be successful. The marketing of sanitary protection has shown this syndrome time and time again; here is a product area the housewife does not wish to think about once she has a reliable product and newer brands have a difficult time gaining acceptance - Tampax in particular has yet to be superceded. The problem with a habit is that it is too useful and comfortable; as pointed out by Engel, et al, 1968, a habit serves two purposes in the consumer setting: 1) to protect preferences for a product or service; 2) to avoid problem solving. Thus, when faced with a bank of brands of biscuits or cereal in a supermarket the housewife does not have to weigh and evaluate which is the most nutritious, tasty, most likely to please the family; she chooses the familiar and gets on with it. As Bayton, 1958, also pointed out - "habits are not initiating forces in themselves; they are repeated response patterns accompanied by a minimum of cognitive activity". Thus, there is little cognitive activity for the competitor of a popular product to work on.

Ninth, it is said that motivational research must be problem centred as opposed to clinical psychology which is person-centred. Despite the fact that motivation research is not concerned with the deepest psychological level of the consumer; (the area the analyst would be most concerned about

if he were treating a patient), clinical psychology has influenced motivation research as if the exception proved the rule. For instance the emphasis on selling symbols, particularly Freudian symbols instead of products is well known - the fur coat which the husband gives his wife is the symbol of his virility - his ability to conquer nature; the milk pudding which mum serves up is her basic mother love, not just a nutritional contribution; the bedspread that the new bride buys is her symbol of privacy regarding her marital bed.

In addition, other psychoanalytic concepts have been used and reputed to be successful especially in advertising - the yearning for security has been said to have stimulated life insurance purchase; the drive to conformity, doing the right thing is said to have stimulated the sales of After Eights. George Horsely Smith, 1954, gives some even more vivid examples of applied clinical psychology that have had application in the advertising of certain products, primarily medicaments: "the origin of some 'common colds' is the need for attention and loss of security; bargain hunting is the need to out-smart others and to express aggression toward a substitute of the bad, refusing mother; chronic psychogenic constipation is a symbol of withholding from the world; there is a need among fat people to feel loved before they desire to slim"; etc.

Tenthly, motivational research, like the other social sciences, must use the scientific approach; as Dichter, 1960 pointed out, the real scientific procedure follows in three stages: 1 - the formulation of hypothesis; 2 - validation of the hypothesis; 3 - Quantification. As Dichter emphasised, the need for intelligent insights and the formulation of testable hypotheses is paramount when conducting motivation research - "You seldom get out of empirical research more than you have put in it" . . . "Researching is a procedure where open-mindedness, the ability to see seemingly unrelated things as related and in a new light, is the major requirement". Bertrand Russell would agree - "even in the most purely logical realms it is insight that first arrives at the scene". Collins and Montgomery, 1969, concur - "Motivation Research calls for a freshness (even a naivety) and flexibility of approach in order to see the relationship between seemingly unrelated things. Perhaps one reason why motivational research is often controversial is because this kind of skill cannot ultimately be defined or vouchsafed in terms of training, background, knowledge and experience, although all these things are obviously relevant". Dichter has, of course, been accused of being marvellously creative but not very scientific, yet in both theory and practice he was wedded to the scientific approach although he may have been too creative with his interpretations at times. For instance, when discussing the need to validate

hypotheses he points out that it is much more important that the relevant factors be controlled and "that intelligent indices refuting or proving the hypotheses be developed than that a large number of people be interviewed". Quantification is the last and final stage once the hypotheses have been established.

Lastly, motivation research is essentially problem-solving, however, it often provides side benefits rather than an answer as to how best to motivate an unwilling consumer. For example, insights about the consumer can be conveyed to the management and sales force and give added impetus to their efforts since they will feel someone is trying to help them and understand what they are up against. As one executive put it - "Even if recommendations haven't worked out exactly as hoped, they have lifted management out of mental ruts". And as Burleigh Gardner described in 1959, - "It can give a range of fresh ideas about a problem which may lead to improved approaches".

B. Typical Criticisms of Motivational Research.

Criticisms range from the behaviour or implied behaviour of motivational researchers to the types and validity of the techniques used to the morality of the entire exercise. For example, as regards the former it is often pointed out that the motivational researcher must make the assumption that "man exists to be exploited"; as a well known P.R. executive Kleber R. Miller described - "One of the fundamental considerations involved here is the right to manipulate human personality What degree of intensity is proper in seeking to arouse desire, hatred, envy, cupidity, hope or any of the great gamut of human emotions". Not only is the researcher criticised for seeing consumers as puppets and himself and his colleagues as head puppeteers but the morality of probing the consumer unconscious is even more widely criticised. Henry, 1958, summarised the immoral objections to M.R. when he pointed out that most people assume that psychology is the science of healing the sick and it is being prostituted for commercial ends; its use permits the researcher "to go rummaging around in the subconscious minds of the consuming public and to discover exactly what hidden fears and desires may be played upon for business purposes"; and, "It is unfair, not to say immoral to appeal to people's unconscious desires, rather than their logical requirements". Vance Packard made a personal plea in the last sentence of his Hidden Persuaders, 1957, to the same effect - "The most serious offence many of the depth manipulators commit, it seems to me, is that they try to invade the privacy of our minds. It is this right to privacy in our minds - privacy to be either rational or irrational - that I believe we must strive to protect".

1. However, it is not primarily the invasion of privacy that worries most critics; it is, as insinuated by Henry, the digging into the unconscious to find unsatisfied needs and then using the knowledge from the consumer against the consumer. The most frequent criticism is that it encourages people to desire more than they need, or to be unhappy with what they have because it is out of date, not as efficient or modern looking. It is further stated that encouraging people to want more does not make them happier or more satisfied people even when they get it. This hypothesis was recently substantiated by research. Scherf, 1974, asked 306 subjects to rate their degree of satisfaction and dissatisfaction in their relations with "significant others" - family, relations, friends and colleagues at work. He found a significant correlation between an increasing desire for items of material value and a decrease in satisfaction ratings regarding relations with others. As Henry, 1958, commented, it is all very well to contend that people should not desire more than they need but this is a very "arbitrary" concept and is usually propounded by people whose affluent life style would not be affected.
2. It is not only that the motivation researcher is hoping to encourage the consumer to desire more, it is the way in which they are going about it, the so-called immoral values they are tapping. Vance Packard, 1957, probably gave the best summary; he asked if it was moral to tap the following: "encouraging housewives to be non-rational and impulsive"; "playing upon anxieties, aggressive feelings, dread of non-conformity and infantile hang-overs - to sell products"; "manipulating small children even before they reach the age where they are legally responsible for their actions"; "treating voters like customers, and child customers seeking father images"; "exploiting our deepest sexual sensitivities and yearnings for commercial purposes"; "appealing for our charity by playing upon our secret desires for self-enhancement"; "developing in the public an attitude of wastefulness toward national resources by encouraging obsolescence"; "subordinating truth to cheerfulness in keeping the citizen posted on the state of his nation".
3. On the other side of the coin, there are those critiques who do not blame the researchers for being too effective but rather for finding ghosts under the bed; M.R. is often seen as the cure all for every marketing problem. One experienced marketing director for a brewery was heard to lament in the fifties that he had proved that premiums were very effective in selling his brands but he was surrounded by "double-domed professors and crystal gazers probing the minds of buyers and trying to prove that sales are controlled by the libido".

A researcher addressing the American Marketing Association (A.J. Wood) pointed out that not all Motivational Research findings regarding a product were equally useful - "Unless all advertising is to become simply a variation on the themes of the Oedipus complex, the death instinct, or toilet training we must recognise that the motives with which we deal should be the manipulable ones". An expensive study on smoking concluded that heavy smokers have had unhappier childhoods - not very helpful if one is setting out to increase smoking among light smokers. G.H. Smith described it - "The fact that a given product is thought of favourably or regarded as a sex symbol, or reminds respondents of their mother has limited value unless we know something about the intensity of the feeling it creates and whether this feeling is apt to be translated into the desired practical reactions at the consumer level". While one famous Motivational Research report concluded that soup was associated with man's deepest need for nourishment and reassurance and even takes him back to his earliest sensations of warmth, protection and feeding - the warm, secure amniotic fluid! Interesting but what do you do with it - "How do you draw a placenta?" muttered one creative chap as he left the meeting. The writers' first mentor on Madison Avenue was often heard to say to the copywriters regarding the symbology of various shapes - "You needn't get carried away about the phallic nature of a coke bottle or the vaginal imagery of the bowl of soup - after all there are just so many basic shapes in nature and the chances of any one thing being either round or cylindrical are probably 80% anyway".

4. Motivational Researchers are also accused of "assuming that all behaviour is irrational"; as Sheth pointed out at the 1973 Esomar conference - "Unfortunately, instead of first identifying non-rational areas of consumer behaviour and limiting its applications to them, motivation research fell into the trap of presuming that all consumer behaviour is non-rational or emotional and hence it is the only way to understand consumer behaviour". Sheth contended that since "consumption behaviour is normal behaviour and the society has a positive attitude towards greater consumption . . . it is correct to expect that people will feel free to openly talk and discuss about their consumption behaviour in a similar way to that in which they discuss interpersonal relationships." In the same paper he went on to give examples of what he regarded as findings that were wild speculations; overly Freudianised and not very useful since even the researchers would never tend to agree.

Examples include: "women fantasise giving birth to a baby every time they bake a cake; adults reject prunes because they connote sterility, old age and senility; men inject considerable phallic symbols in the body style of the automobile; women motorists get sexual pleasure at the self service station when they lift the pump nozzle"; etc.

5. Another frequent criticism concerns the techniques of Motivational Research, particularly the fact that they have pinched the diagnostic tools from clinical psychiatry and applied them to mass behaviour without making sure that it was valid to do so. And, as Sheth points out, one could easily argue that the personality theories underlying the standard personality inventories may not be particularly relevant to consumption behaviour although relevant to clinically abnormal behaviour. In the same vein many critiques of Motivational Research point out that it is basically the skills of the interpreter of the results which play the most dominant role and not the techniques themselves; thus, one is often purchasing the brilliance and intuitiveness (or lack thereof) of the individual practitioner rather than a valid, standardised approach to marketing. Along the same lines is the complaint that frequently a tentative hypothesis becomes "the" conclusion and there is no attempt to confirm it. Probably the most universal complaint is the relatively small samples used in Motivational Research compared to the larger quantitative marketing studies; this is even truer in times of economic recession where six group discussions and ten depth interviews may constitute the extent of a motivational research study into a new concept or a new market - e.g. today's teenagers or young Mum's.
6. However, there is a humorous side to reading through the criticisms of motivational research; on the one hand many point out that it is ineffectual; firstly because it is not based on any general or accepted theory of motivation and is therefore untrustworthy. To this, Henry, 1958, replied - "It seems, however, to imply that the use of a radio set should be prohibited to people who don't understand electronics". Secondly, marketing and management personnel frequently proclaim that motivational research should predict how and why people behave as they do in the market place (especially among sub-groups of the population) and moreover describe what is likely to happen if any of the circumstances change. This it fails to do in the eyes of many critics and one of the primary reasons given is that the techniques used can't hope to elicit with any degree of precision the attitudes, feelings

and opinions informants are unaware of or do not wish to disclose. Or, others point out that the techniques might work except that "the person being tested, even though in depth, knows he is being interviewed and so sets up defence mechanisms and rationalises his answers" - Louis Cheskin.

7. On the other hand, M.R. is accused of being too successful to the point where eventually both the products and the advertising for similar products is the same, as Levitt describes the phenomenon - "Uncritical reliance on consumer and motivation research is becoming a threat to sales-building originality in advertising and product policy . . . the result in many product groups is that all of the products took on a sameness . . . same images, similar brand names and ad campaigns". This he believes violates the basic rules of marketing.
8. Among motivational researchers and applied psychologists there are as many answers as there are critics; this paper was not intended to stimulate, add to or solve the argument; perhaps M.R. requires 50% technique, 20% theory, 20% intuition and 10% faith (or perhaps it should be in reverse order). Therefore only a few of the answers to the critics will be listed: psychology is referred to as the science of healing the sick and its diagnostic tools those of a doctor, as Henry points out - "psychology is first and foremost the science of understanding the human mind and consequently quite neutral". Then the criticism that many of the findings concerning the symbols of products and motivations concerning their use (for instance women are more interested in creative cookery and baking at the time of ovulation) are useless and not actionable. Many would answer that all knowledge about the human psyche has validity.

Those who feel it is immoral to incite people to buy products for irrational or emotional reasons are reminded that motivational researchers only described what had been going on for centuries - people buy products or vote for candidates because of the image - just as discoverers did not create the continents they discovered. Most Motivational Researchers such as Dichter would also defend the practice on the grounds that in an affluent society where there is more supply than demand due to economic reasons beyond the control of the researcher and the consumer there is the necessity to aid the consumer to overcome centuries of brainwashing wherein he was made to feel guilty if he did not save and was not thrifty. Through the use of modern

propaganda techniques he is given the "psychological license" to feel free to have two cars, TV sets or holidays per year, to spend rather than save; as Dichter, 1956, pointed out - "One of the basic problems of this prosperity, then is to give people the sanction and justification to enjoy it and to demonstrate that the hedonistic approach to life is a moral, not an immoral one."

Another popular defence is to point out that in an open, democratic society where everyone is made aware of the techniques of persuasion thanks to the Vance Packards and others like him one ends up not with a weak and docile mass but rather with a very sophisticated, aware consuming public. The writer would like to invite anyone in product management to attend a group discussion or individual interview in the remotest part of the U.K. where the subject is attitudes and reactions to several proposed advertising ideas; the terms - "image", "symbol", "mood of the Ad.", "feeling". etc. are bantered around as much or more as in the board room. As Miller pointed out - "When we learn to recognise the devices of the persuaders we build up a 'recognition reflex' which can protect us against the petty trickery of everyday life, but also against the mistake of false persuasion of powerful leaders".

C. Practical Applications.

It was previously stated that motivational research is nothing if not pragmatic; and, while it has been accused of being both too effective and completely ineffectual the application of motivational research to marketing problems has been going on for over a quarter of a century therefore, as one old advertising slogan would have it - "We must be doing something right".

Motivational Research appears to affect three areas of marketing: product development, advertising and the service industries.

1. Successful applications of Motivational Research to product development include:

- . . . the oft quoted egg in the cake mix; e.g. allow the housewife to add the egg and she will feel she has participated.
- . . . keep the sting in the antiseptics Mum use on children's cuts so that she can supply the comfort.

- . . . Ugly alarm clocks are seen as more reliable
- . . . Offering a choice of twelve or more flavours of ice cream makes the shop seem more appealing even though 60% or more buy vanilla.
- . . . Large, tall, thin cereal packets appeal to Mums who like the cornucopia look when a small child pours from a pack as big as he is.
- . . . Wool clothes should be packaged so that the consumer can touch them because it is the feeling of 'life' they offer which appeals to people; the soft, caressing, embracing feeling wool provides.
- . . . People buy furniture to express their own unique personalities; the name/style of the manufacturer should not dominate the product as Ercol did for many years.
- . . . People give to charity to buy off fate, to remove poverty and illness from their own doorstep, they pay someone else to do their deeds for them.
- . . . Gardeners feel that digging the soil is part of the creative process; a new soil conditioner promising no digging had to modify its product so that the gardener had to do some of the most important initial digging (not the heaviest) so that the user could feel he had earned his garden by his own sweat.
- . . . People buy strong synthetic clothes such as P.V.C. and other non-porous fibres because of their strong armament qualities - when they wear them they feel they are armoured against the world; packaging must convey this stiff, solid, unyielding quality.
- . . . When fish was seen as a feminine and ininteresting food, fish steaks were promoted since steak has a more masculine image; in addition pictures in shops featured a fish dish being served with hearty vegetables and beer to help counteract the dainty image.
- . . . Since blue is associated with whitening in a detergent, for many years many manufacturers have felt compelled to add a blue colourant to one

of their detergents guaranteeing to make clothes whiter than white in order to reassure the housewife (despite the fact that the colour is irrelevant to the effectiveness of the product).

- . . . A greeting card firm found that year after year a card featuring a barren, gnarled tree standing alone on a windswept and often snow-covered hill had the greatest pulling power of any card ever sold. The M.R. study showed that one of the key factors in the sale of cards is loneliness; cards are more likely to be bought by lonely people - widows etc. Other loneliness symbols - a lone chair, flower, etc. were sought.
 - . . . Boat owners prefer power boats to sailboats because of the sense of power it gives them even if in reality they can't actually go anywhere; this lead to the development of power boats in a sequence so that boat owners could move up from the 3½ horsepower to the 5, 20, etc.
 - . . . Tall, slim tins of beer were successfully brought out for women who it was believed did a great deal of the purchasing and preferred something with "more grace, beauty and fashion".
 - . . . When Metrecal was brought out in the States as a diet substitute for those with medical problems and was advertised to the consumer as a product they might want to ask their doctor about it was soon found that it was embraced by slimmers as the medically backed diet they had been looking for. It was then re-positioned as a consumer product and met with phenomenal success.
2. Probably motivational research results have been used more in the design of ads than anything else, some successful examples include:
- . . . Jellies are an easy, instant sweet, ads showing how to use them in complicated and creative recipes detract from the basic appeal of the product.
 - . . . Part of the appeal of smoking cigars for a man is that women dislike "the old smelly things" - it is a man's chance to be a messy, dirty little boy again. Commercials showing a woman offering cigars around to the men after dinner offended men.

Fridges in ads should be full of food; the full fridge is the symbol of the giving, loving Mum.

- . . . For a young girl make-up is a way of creating many personalities, experimenting to find herself; advertising that the make-up creates only one look - "You are the sophisticate in X" - is not the way to appeal to her; rather - "With brand X you can explore your many faces".
- . . . For the middle-aged woman make-up is a mask to hide the sins and misfortunes of her past - ads telling her that she will enhance or accentuate her real self fall on deaf ears, while ads assuring her she will be masked, (when she uses X she can hide behind it) are reassuring.
- . . . Tea does what the tea drinker wants it to do - it may calm her down, soothe her nerves, wake her up, refresh, revitalise or stimulate; to offer only one promise in a tea ad - the pause that refreshes - is too limiting.
- . . . Wool clothes should be advertised as the "comforming" clothes, that shape themselves to the wearer to compensate for the image they have for "having a mind of their own, going out of shape easily, seating, balling, etc."
- . . . One of the essential appeals of carpeting is that it shrinks the distances between people in a room and unites the furniture into a suite; show the same room with and without a carpet to get this across.
- . . . Many fashion and cosmetic ads make women feel that they were written by men "who do not like women" because they show an ugly view of the woman for the sake of artisticness; or they "chop her up" in order to show only that part of her which is wearing the product. Women in these ads are to the reader real humans with whom they are being asked to identify and they feel their humaneness should be respected.
- . . . The best angle for displaying products we are used to seeing on tables, chests or counters is 45° - the angle which is normal, which emphasises the three dimensional qualities of the product, which invites the viewer

to reach in and pick it up and therefore increases personal involvement with the ad. Ads which show the product in full frontal not only make it appear flat (everyone has seen flat whiskey, perfume, wine, etc. ads) but shut out the reader who does not feel invited to pick them up. In addition, the full frontal approach usually strikes the reader as an attempt by the manufacturer to show how clever is his packaging or label, how important his product; but he has no interest in the consumer.

- . . . Furnishing ads which display furniture or fittings in a complete circle thus leaving the reader to view the scene from the outside are not as involving as the incomplete circle which leaves a space for the reader to fill thus involving him or her. Many furniture ads seem to concentrate on displaying the fine workmanship of the back but in effect shut out the viewer.
- . . . Sweets need to be advertised as either sources of energy or status symbols (After Eights) to compensate for the childish, self-indulgent and unhealthy associations in the consumer's mind.
- . . . What should have been a tremendous product plus and featured in the advertising for a new vacuum cleaner - that it had stronger suction than any other available - made housewives fear it would be merciless on their carpets by sucking out the pile. This product plus was not featured in the ads.
- . . . Encouraging women to admire themselves in the mirror when they were wearing X lingerie rather than to assure them that men would find them attractive proved so successful in appealing to their sense of narcissism that sales soared upwards.
- . . . It was found that men see their homes as symbolic Mothers - a calm place of refuge after an abrasive and competitive day in the office; the agency for a new homes firm created an ad in which two feminine arms stretched out from the house beckoning the troubled male reader to the bosom of a caring Mum. In another series of ads for the women the same firm appealed to her basic needs for a home as an expression of herself, an extension of her own personality; promising that the homes were not so overstructured that she would be unable to "plant herself and grow and recreate herself" as she does when reproducing children.

- . . . Persuading the housewife that she should have a clothes or dishwasher, drier or any other labour saving device so that she will have more time for herself; (as one creative director said - "You're dead"). Today's housewife who does not work outside the home already feels guilty enough when she uses conveniences for her own advantage. However, if you remind her that she will have more time to spend with her children or husband to their advantage a meaningful chord is struck.
- . . . Wine was advertised as a pleasing drink, fun to have with any type of food with the reassurance that any food and any wine will mix, in order to assure the unsophisticated average American that he too could pick out and serve the "right" wine.
- . . . A fibreglass luggage was proved to be virtually indestructible; ad men boasted in ads that the luggage was so rugged that it could survive even a drop from a plane. When the luggage was dropped, sales dropped too. People became anxious with thoughts of plane crashes and could see no consolation in having luggage that could survive a crash if they couldn't.
- . . . Again, in the States, a toothpaste that stated as its main proposition that it was for people who can't brush after every meal (most of the population who probably could but can't be bothered) was quickly out-selling almost all of its rivals.
- . . . Consumers claimed that the reason why they bought a freezer and kept it well stocked up was that it was more economical to bulk buy, etc. However, marketing people added up the initial cost, the additional electricity costs, the amount of left-overs eventually thrown out and the higher standard of living the family enjoyed and concluded that economy was not the real reason. The freezer represented security, assurance that the family would never have to do without, that the home would always feature the assets important to the squirrel. In addition, it was found that the most insecure people always need more food around them than they can eat and that it is this type of person plus the squirrel appeal that should be featured in the advertising.
- . . . It was found that gum-chewing was associated with the alleviation of anxiety; in one experimental town various ads around this theme - the

adult able to solve a family problem, a child able to do his maths, etc. - were featured with a tremendous increase in sales.

- . . . When a working class beer was repositioned as the one preferred by the best people who were shown drinking it in white or after the hunt, the beer slipped from first to nineteenth place in terms of sales!
- . . . Prunes were given a sweet, youthful image by showing young, active people ice skating and featuring the concept that when you feel good, good things happen to you, and only at the bottom of the ad was the idea of aiding regularity mentioned. The prune had such a revival that even two years later when other farm produce was in serious trouble the prune was "riding high".
- . . . An airline in the States featuring a service to Australia showed a picture of someone digging a hole through the earth featuring the slogan "We know the shortest way around the earth". This incited fears of planes crashing and making holes in the earth and images of burial grounds.
- . . . Tea drinking in the States was revived when Dichter's recommendations to make it a refreshing, hearty man's drink rather than a drink for nervous, little old women and cissies to drink, was translated into advertising terms.
- . . . When instant coffee was positioned as a new flavour experience it gave housewives an excuse to serve it to their families without feeling guilty. Sales showed a marked increase after this theme was introduced.
- . . . Milk is closely associated with emotional security and equally with being accepted; if you drink all of **your** milk you are a good child; these two elements have been featured constantly over the years in milk advertising - "Drink a pinta" and the ever present Mum.

Any ads for gas cookers must feature the flame - it is a symbol of reliability and even virility representing the "life force" of fire.

3. And, the third area of influence for motivational research is consumer services used in its widest sense; for instance, doctors have turned to Motivational Research as well as retailers.

- . . . Slimming is a form of self-punishment in which the naughty, greedy child part of the self is being punished; however, not even slimmers are full-time masochists. Doctors need to encourage them to reward themselves once a day which they do anyway when they put saccharine in their coffee and then grab a biscuit. One Harley Street slimming specialist insisted that his patients eat four jelly babies every day. The choice of product raises interesting associations!
- . . . People no longer save money because frugality is a virtue; in fact in inflationary times the average consumer feels that saving is foolish; however, he or she will save for special things - weddings, first baby, school fees, the big holiday, etc. Building societies were encouraged to set up special savings schemes on both long and short terms to appeal to this desire in people.
- . . . Overweight people are often hiding behind their layer and fear exposure more than anything else; this is one of the resistances to slimming doctors should understand. Others get fat for the sadistic reason that they are testing their families love for them; still others are more masochistically manipulative - they are using their fatness as an excuse to opt out of responsibilities and appropriate emotional reactions.
- . . . Even elections could be construed as a service and much research has been done to predict the outcome; Dichter has always been fond of "animal games" and before the 1964 U.S. election people were asked to associate the candidates with animals - Johnson was seen as a "beaver" and Goldwater as a "mule"; obviously the public preferred the busy beaver to the stubborn mule.
- . . . Life insurance, it was found offers the man in the family the prospect of immortality - the idea that he can control his family even after death - their standard of living and even many major decisions will be made for them - the house they live in or type of schooling, for instance. Once salesmen understood this concept they changed their approach to the head of the household.

V - THE TECHNIQUES OF MOTIVATIONAL RESEARCH

While motivational research borrowed a great many techniques from clinical psychologists and psychiatrists such as: depth interviewing; group dynamics; psychodrama and projective techniques, other techniques were borrowed from the social psychologists - attitude questions, particularly scales. They also borrowed the techniques of observation from the zoologists and anthropologists. Experimental paradigms were borrowed from educational and experimental psychologists.

Resultingly, there is an extensive range of techniques available to the motivational researcher. Questioning techniques, for example, can range from the direct question such as "What do you like best about X cereal?" to the various non-directive, disguised or projective types of questions such as - "How many words come to your mind when you think of beans?". A unique example of the use of two direct questions to provide insight into the motivations of consumers comes from an unlikely source - Politz, who used cross-analysis to uncover motivation.

Motorists were asked whether their cars had good pick-up; they were also asked if their accelerators were easy or hard to push down; of those who agreed with the latter a significant number agreed with the former comment indicating that the reality of an easy accelerator created the illusion of good pick-up since there was no mechanical reason for assuming that this would be so.

A Observations

Starting with basics, the most purely scientific technique to be applied in motivational research is scientific observation borrowed from the natural scientists who in the 1920's got out of the laboratory and into the field to observe animals in their natural habitat. Thus, we find researchers using such terms as "behavioural episode" to denote the beginning and end of an observed act. Wells and Lo Sciuto, 1966 reported an extensive observation study in a supermarket which provided among other things insight into the way in which accompanying husbands and children influenced the housewife's choice. They pointed out the several advantages of the technique:

- 1) Provides evidence of what people actually do, not what they say they do;
- 2) Is not dependent on the ability of the respondent to understand the questions put to him by an interviewer;

- 3) Observers usually notice some phenomenon that can be tested later; the supermarket study provided a great deal of insight into various placement and packaging problems which were later tested;
- 4) A sampling of respondents can often be interviewed to find out 'why' they did what they did;
- 5) Respondents often feel the need to rationalise or gloss over their past behaviour when reporting it to an interviewer in order to make the "proper" appearance.

There are of course many disadvantages to the method:

- 1) One can record the behaviour but not easily understand why it occurred; for instance one man in the supermarket study carefully read the labels of all the detergent boxes; what was he looking for? Was he just killing time waiting for his wife? Is he in the soap trade, etc?
- 2) There are obvious sampling problems - was the day typical, the particular shop typical;
- 3) It is difficult to compare the narrative reports from the various observers and make generalisation from the findings since each observer is bound to take notes in a different way.

Despite the problems observations studies have led to some interesting decisions in the marketing field. Dichter was one of the first proponents of it, observing people in a car showroom (where he role played salesman or client). He noticed that the new car smell and the solid sound of the thud when the door was closed were as important in creating good feeling towards the car as its stylish look; these features were effectively conveyed in future commercials to good effect. Dichter also found that the weight of a razor is important to men when he observed them examining various brands; interviews indicated that they associated a heavy razor with seriousness, it would more reliably cut a tough beard which Dichter stated every man likes to think he has since it is associated with masculinity.

When women are looking at cutlery in a shop they hold each piece to get a feel for the balance; once this was pointed out it was effectively used in advertising, in addition to claims regarding the design and the status of the product. At the height of the detergent 'war' it was noted that when presented with a clean wash, women were more

likely to smell it than look at it - the clean clothes smell is of course featured in many ads today.

B Experiments

Related to observation are experiments, many of which also utilise an observer; for instance Bush, Gurner and Solomon, 1975, conducted a store display experiment with 13,443 whites to see if the presence of black models vs mixed or all white models influenced the purchase of a well known soap brand in the same display. It was found that the black models had no effect on purchase of the soap. A frequently quoted experiment was one suggested by Dichter to car showrooms - to put convertibles in the windows for several weeks because they will attract more people into the showroom. George Horsley Smith, 1954 pointed out why experiments can be more meaningful than interviews in determining real motivations - "consumers" lack of training in introspecting may make it difficult for them to give complete information. They may fail to note and remember important things. They often lack the right words or concepts to express themselves, may confuse apparent with real determinants, may hold contradictory views which they do not disclose in full, may assume one frame of reference when talking to an interviewer and another when reading a magazine or making a purchase, and their answers may depend on how the question is phrased or who does the asking. They may talk in terms of platitudes, but behave by different standards". He recalled a study in which women were interviewed concerning various styles and colours in head scarves; they were also asked to state a preference for one, later before leaving they were told they could select one for themselves as a gift. The choices in the two cases (questionnaire and experimental display) were quite different. "This is a discrepancy which, to say the least, needs to be explained", exclaimed Smith.

One of the most famous experiments must be Vicary's with the eye camera behind the shelves in a supermarket. He found that instead of the eye blink rate going up as it should do in stimulating or exciting situations eye blink rate went down. The women were in a dreamlike trance, mesmerised by the range of available merchandise. The eye camera has of course been extensively used in ad testing to see which ads or which parts of ads incite more interest.

In order to be a good experiment according to the scientific experimental method it is essential to hold all but one variable constant; in an experiment concerning the colour of a detergent pack it was found that more women went up to the display with the blue and yellow pack rather than to a display with an all blue or all yellow pack. Subsequent interviews revealed that the housewife associates yellow with harshness and blue with weakness in association with a detergent; thus the combined colour pack "guaranteed" medium strength. Dichter showed that colour influenced the selection of coffee; consumers claiming a preference for strong coffee chose a brown tin; those preferring a weak coffee the yellow tin; those desiring what they called a "rich" coffee chose the red tin and those wanting a mild coffee the blue tin. These experiments indicated the necessity to experiment with colour and the product together rather than merely regard colour as an absolute communication factor - blue has traditionally been called the intellectual colour, red the passionate colour, yellow the colour of intuition etc. As an example, a mauve striped coffee tin won a design award in Switzerland not too many years ago but sales plummeted because the consumer apparently could not associate coffee with this colour; this aspect had not been investigated.

A large furniture manufacturer invited housewives to attend group discussions; before the interview they were invited to wait in one of two rooms - a modern Swedish style room laid out with an emphasis on visual harmony or a traditional room with antique style furniture - the majority went to the modern room although they later stated a preference for the antique look.

Thus, it can be seen that observation as a motivational research technique can be meaningfully applied to marketing problems if the experimenter can make certain that only one variable is allowed to vary.

C Questioning

However, a great deal of motivational research consists of questioning techniques of some sort; questions can be direct or indirect as previously stated or they can be structured or unstructured - "What is the worst thing about wearing seat belts?" vs "Please complete the

following in your own words - "Seat belts are".

Questions can also be disguised - "Tell me about the typical margarine user, what sort of housewife is she?"

However, the answers to all types of questions need to be interpreted. Therefore, it is usually necessary to follow a question with another qualifying question: for instance when motorists were asked to associate animals with seat belts several mentioned bears - "What type of bear?" 1) a big cuddly teddy bear"; 2) "a fierce, grizzly bear"; 3) "a polar bear, strong and cold". As Tuck, 1974 pointed out if one respondent says that she would describe Persil's most outstanding feature as low lather and think of it as an advantage, for another housewife it may be a disadvantage although equally its most outstanding attribute.

Depth interviews in theory do not include questions as pointed out by Henry - "In theory in a depth interview the informant is allowed to talk himself out on a subject as long as certain key areas are covered". These key areas are usually contained in an interviewer's guide which might offer questions such as "Can you remember your first car, how you decided to get it and all the things you felt about it?" or it might indicate only areas to be covered - "Get respondent to discuss his/her first car"; "Get respondent to describe how instant coffee is made". It is essential that the interviewer provide the appropriate lubricants - "That's interesting", "Can you tell me more about it" or "How did you feel about that?". The interviewer must also play it with a poker face trying only to react with interest but no other emotion; for instance if the interviewer should look too pleased with certain types of answers (such as a respondent who feels that seat belts are an infringement on his freedom, give him a feeling that the car is taking him over instead of his remaining the master of the car, and that they most remind him of an octopus or his mother-in-law)- if the interviewer reinforces these attitudes by appearing to agree or at least to enjoy the colourful description, the respondent will oblige by playing up to the interviewer and embellishing his story. Thus, it is essential that the interviewers should be specifically trained in depth interviewing and not merely be market research interviewers asked to conduct a depth interview for reasons of economy and speed; unfortunately a widely spread practice.

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As Bullock, 1961, described depth interviews "They are designed to obtain a large amount of information about a limited subject". On average, a motivational research study utilising only depth interviews, somewhere between 50 and 200 would be conducted depending on the make-up of the market: for instance a market of users, vs non-users vs. previous users, somewhere between 60 and 90 would be a minimum number of depth interviews.

While depth interviewing, borrowed from the clinical psychologists, has been used as long as motivational research has been going on there is still some controversy as to whether or not in one or two hours one can really learn enough about the respondent's real feelings in the same way that a psychiatrist can in several years of intensive interviewing. On the one side, it is pointed out that it is not essential to penetrate that deeply, after all the interviewer is not helping the respondent to solve complex interpersonal problems on the deepest level but rather is seeking insight that he wishes to use commercially; therefore, the level of penetration by the interviewer need not go to the deepest reaches of the mind. For instance, Vance Packard recorded a case of "real" depth interviewing by a New York advertising agency who employed a hypnotist; a respondent who claimed he always bought the same make of car because he preferred its looks and features, under hypnosis was able to recall an ad seen 20 years before for this particular car and to remember all the details of the ad. On the other side of the coin, Back and Bourque 1970, report the use of depth interviewing to reveal deep emotional transcendental experiences while recognising the need to carefully screen interviewers concerning their attitudes towards these types of experiences, they were able to "obtain meaningful data on the occurrence and distribution of these experiences".

A variation of the depth interview is of course the increasingly popular group discussion wherein the same types of questioning techniques are utilised in addition to the techniques of group therapy and dynamics. In particular free interaction of ideas and beliefs is encouraged in the hope that the debate will generate new ideas that no one individual has ever considered before, as well as allow participants to "tell all" because they are in a group of "psychological strangers". This theory is based on the old literary idea that one is more inclined to tell a

stranger one's life story than an acquaintance or friend where there are complicated personal ego problems. Ostensibly group discussions are said to be used by marketing people in order to generate new ideas - formulate hypotheses - based on the "two heads are better than one" theory and a belief that brainstorming techniques will shake out new ideas. Another by-product as Tuck, 1974 pointed out, hypotheses generated in group discussions can help planners to face up to their own hidden biases before the next phase of the research is conducted. Therefore, after group discussions it is more likely that a quantified questionnaire will be designed around the attitudes and motives of the consumer and not the marketing people. Unfortunately these days group discussions are used as an end product and important marketing decisions can be based on as few as two group discussions in the London suburbs. Before decrying the use of groups as a technique it is interesting to look at a study conducted by Sampson, 1970 comparing the use of repertory grids to group discussions concerning men's toiletries - there were 15 respondents in each condition. For both the groups and repertory grids specially trained executives were used since they regarded the grids as clinical tools based as they are on personality diagnosis. On balance they felt that the group discussions provided more scalable data in terms of "cost and time" - "particularly bearing in mind the considerable amount of other useful and perhaps valuable information culled from 3½ hours of tapes". Both methods provided scale items, however, the groups provided more evaluative/image dimensions; and the two methods did not produce different sorts of data. However, the repertory grid method did produce a lot of unusable data in addition to the fact that respondents found it very repetitious and boring. It must be remembered, however, that both techniques were being used as the first stage in a research project which would involve a second quantitative scaling phase.

The end result of depth interviews and group discussion is an analysis and report which is usually undertaken by the interviewer or person who wrote the interviewer's guide and has had access to tape recordings or scripts of the depth interviews noting all respondents had to say. Thus, with one person doing a subjective content analysis of consumers' comments there is always the problem that the findings may be the projection of the researcher. For instance Mintz, 1957 reported that psychologists interpreting the results of the TAT (in which the respondent

is asked to tell a story about pictures shown) and ink blot tests were significantly more likely to report finding financial worries if they were currently experiencing them. Dorenwend et al, 1968, concluded after reviewing the results of numerous market research studies that social distance (too much or too little) between interviewer and respondent will product biasing effects. Since most interviewers are middle-aged and middle class this is bound to have an affect on results. Probably Britt, 1955, has pointed out most of the problems of biasing effects; he asks for example if the same interpreter would make the same interpretation two weeks later or would a second interpreter find the same effects. He quotes a famous study by Rice concerning the records of social workers who had been engaged in interviewing 2,000 homeless men; one interviewer was a strong prohibitionist who attributed 62% of the cases to liquor and only 7% to industrial conditions, while another who was an ardent socialist attributed 39% to industrial conditions and 22% to liquor. Both had used the same questionnaire.

D Scales

Perhaps this is why motivational researchers have increasingly embraced scales because they are free of interpretator bias; however, there is a bias in scales as well, because one or a few people decide what items to select. Scales were borrowed from the social psychologists who were investigating attitudes. However, they can be equally valuable to the motivational researcher who is trying to probe deeper feelings if they are used in conjunction with other types of questions and projective techniques. Walters, 1970 has the most complete list; starting with Bipolar Scales - basically the respondent is given a choice of two statements and he merely selects one with which he most agrees. "Most news reports are basically honest" vs the opposite statement. This technique can be expanded to include more statements in fact; Dichter often presented respondents with a choice of four quotations from famous people concerning politics or whatever was being researched and asked them to select one. Likert Scales - essentially the respondent is asked to agree or disagree with a series of statements; if the project is motivational then the statements will be more personal:

"Driving gives me a marvellous feeling of freedom"; "Cars are unreliable mechanical things"; "I feel proud of my driving skills". The respondent is usually given five choices: agree very much; agree; undecided; disagree; disagree very much. Thurstone Scales - commonly called scales with equal appearing intervals wherein the respondent picks one statement with which he most agrees: "Butter is very fattening"; "Butter is no more fattening than other foods"; "Butter helps burn off fat". In some instances respondents are asked to agree or disagree with each statement; resultingly, over the years the Likert Scale has come to be considered more efficient. Semantic Differential - this consists of opposite words placed at either end of a segmented line. The respondent is asked to indicate which word best expresses his feelings and he is given a seven point scale with which to do this. When asked whether X firm is old-fashioned or up-to-date he may tick nearest old fashioned which would be number 1, or up-to-date which would be number 7, or indicate some shade of grey in between by ticking 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6. Number 4 is usually regarded as a neutral position. The Semantic Differential has generated a great deal of basic research; the reliability of certain words used in scales such as good-bad pleasant-unpleasant etc., have been tested to see if they tend to generate the same response when combined with other words; several investigators have found them to be highly reliable such as Brown and Ore, 1969, for example. On the other side of the coin, research has shown that there is 'response set' among respondents when confronted with a semantic differential scale; Gibbins, 1968 reported that as previously suggested there is a tendency for respondents to use the neutral category in a consistent manner and to evaluate concepts in the same direction, e.g. optimists give higher and more positive ratings and pessimists follow their own consistent course giving everything a low rating.

Although not mentioned by Walters, Ranking Scales are frequently used by motivational researchers; for instance, respondents are given a list and asked to rank them according to some criteria; they might be given a list of well known foods and asked to rank them in order of nutritional value, or in order of best value for money or in order of tastiness.

The important thing about scales for the motivational researcher is that they allow him to explore many facets of the problem: he can ask questions concerning the product (good value or poor value), about the firm (behind the times or modern), about the users (a woman who cares or a woman who wants the easy way out), about the ideal product (thicker or thinner), as well as attitudes towards the self (a skillful vs an emotional driver; a hesitant vs a decisive driver).

Resultingly, the researcher is in a position to build up a more complete picture of the consumers' attitudes, feelings, opinions and deeper motives concerning the product or service being researched.

E - Projective Techniques

It is Projective Techniques which have given motivational research its reputation for probing the collective unconscious of the consumer; these techniques borrowed from clinical psychology propret to give the researchers insight into the inner conditions of the consumer. They are based on the theory that when people are presented with ambiguous stimuli where there is no right or wrong answer the respondent has no choice but to project himself into the situation and thus reveal his own feelings, attitudes and inner motives. Even more importantly as Walters and Paul, 1970, described the value of projective techniques - they "operate on the simple principle that a person will answer more freely and truthfully if relieved of direct responsibility for his expressions". Therefore if the respondent is given the task of projecting himself into someone else's place (a picture of people drinking in a pub is shown to him and he is asked to describe what is going on) or he is presented with ambiguous stimuli (ink blots and asked what he sees) or ambiguous situations (psychodrama, where he is asked to play the role of the salesman) it is believed that he will reveal himself because such techniques "break through the bias and natural desire for secrecy felt by most people". Further advantages of projective techniques, as pointed out by Oppenheim, 1966, is that they help to penetrate the following barriers: "The barrier of awareness. People are frequently unaware of their own motives and attitudes" (Pet owners may keep a dog because of loneliness, as a substitute for children or to exercise dominance, but they are unaware of these inner motives.) Secondly, "the barrier of irrationality.

Our society places a high premium on sensible, rational and logical behaviour. Most of us tend to rationalise a lot of the time; we stress, or invent, sound logical reasons for actions whose origins are far from rational". These rationalisations are very real to the consumer because he tends to assign motives to his own behaviour which are acceptable to his personality. (A person who thinks he is a practical man will claim to drive a car for convenience; one ride with him and it is clear that when he gets behind the wheel it is "a call to arms.") Thirdly, Oppenheim mentions "the barrier of inadmissibility" or admitting that one behaves in an antisocial manner; for instance convicted speeders tend to claim that they only speed when they have to, either they are trying to avoid an accident or they are very late for an appointment because they have been held up in traffic, e.g. they can't help it and really don't like doing it. Fourthly, "the barrier of self-incrimination" or admitting behaviour which might lower the respondent's self-esteem (men were initially afraid to admit that they were using after-shaves, deodorants and hair sprays because they felt they were unmanly.) Fifthly, Oppenheim describes "the barrier of politeness. People often prefer NOT to say negative, unpleasant or critical things, unless they have specific complaints. They tend to say that most things are all right". (Many studies of attitudes towards the packaging of a product have shown that the consumer thinks it is fine as it is. However, once pull tab cans or zip open boxes are introduced they are often met with enthusiasm) While projective techniques are equally useful in attitude studies, and were mentioned briefly in the draft report on the attitude-behaviour relationship; they are basically the tools of the clinical psychologists and as such design to probe the depths of personality.

1. Walters and Paul differentiate between the verbal and visual projective techniques; with verbal techniques the respondent is presented with words only as the basic stimuli. The oldest of these techniques, the one developed by Freud is Word Association or "say-the-first-thing-that-comes-into-your-mind" approach based on the assumption that a fast response to a stimulus word will be less guarded and therefore more revealing of underlying motives. The disadvantage of this technique for marketing research is that associations may be drawn from so wide an area that the majority

may not be useful; a study on motivations and fears regarding holidays revealed too many Word Associations with TV and commercials than with the actual holiday experience.

2. The Sentence Completion technique is probably the most popular of the verbal projective tests, because as Henry describes, it is the most useful and reliable. As he explains - "for anybody who has not tried, it is often not all that easy to complete a sentence, either nothing comes at all, or two or three different ideas come crowding into the mind: either way, some hesitation normally occurs, leading to an embarrassing, if fractional moment, and the blurting out of something just to ease the tension. It is precisely in the blurting-out that the key to the situation lies, for the informant has his defences down - he is so concentrated on getting an answer out that he cannot be too concerned with what he is actually saying, and his unconscious mind has a much greater chance of expressing itself freely". Examples of the Sentence Completion (originally a clinical technique) applied to marketing include: "Instant coffee is"; "People who smoke untipped cigarettes are"; "When I see seat belts lying on the seat I feel". As can be seen the technique lends itself to any consumer field.
3. Frequently, the researcher wishes to spread a wider net than the Sentence Completion technique allows because it tends to encourage short answers in order to finish the sentence. A popular projective technique is to get the respondent to describe what Other People would do concerning a product, situation or problem; for example when consumers are asked what other people look for in a car they are more likely to mention the flashy, status features than when they describe what they look for in a car. Asked what other people do if their preferred brand is not at the shop, they are more likely to say they take second best than when they are talking about themselves and their careful shopping habits. A variation of this technique is the shopping list in which the respondents are asked to describe the type of person who would buy eight or so different products, a matched group of respondents are shown the same list with one difference - the specific product under consideration. Thus, there might be instant coffee on one list and ground

coffee on the other; or branded oil on one list and a store brand on the other etc.

4. Another use of verbal stimuli is to present the respondent with adjectives or products printed on separate cards and ask him or her to sort them into categories of their own choice; this is called a Conceptualisation Test; for instance are all brands of coffee categorised together or does the consumer divide them up into geographical regions?, by strength?, etc. In a study of alcoholic drinks most consumers sorted them into the white and brown drinks, e.g. gin vs whisky; vodka vs rum.
5. Then there are the entire range of Word Games: respondents are asked to associate an animal; a type of music; a colour; a basic shape; a texture; or a basic emotion with a product, advertisement or service. (When ball point pens were described as jazzy, blue, smooth, confident, pet dogs the client was quite happy). An expansion of this technique is to encourage the respondent to make the product come alive - "Please describe a toilet roll as a person, would it be male or female, what age, what type of personality, etc." Frequently, the respondent will be asked to create an appropriate cartoon character for the product; this allows both animal and human associations. When one margarine manufacturer realised that the competitor's animal cartoon character was more appealing and up to date than their human Mumsy character, they felt this had given insight into basic product problems.
6. A more structured verbal approach is the Pseudofactual Question in which the respondent is asked to supply the facts but reveals his own prejudices. Questions might include: "How many people are killed each year on the road due to speed?" "What percentage of whisky drinkers are working class?" "What brand of cigarettes are teenagers likely to smoke?".

Any one or all of these verbal projective techniques can be used in group discussions as well as individual interviews.

7. The visual projective techniques present the respondent with pictures of some sort either ambiguous or specific; the oldest test is the Rorschach ink blot test in which the respondent is supposed to describe what he sees; some people respond to the entire shape others to a large or minute detail, this is all noted by the psychologist. The ink blot test is basically a personality test and is therefore used when personality segmentation is desired; it has been validated around the world and is considered by many psychologists to be a reliable diagnostic tool.
8. The most widely used visual test in marketing studies is the Cartoon or Balloon test in which the respondent is presented with a cartoon scene, usually of two people exchanging ideas, where one person has just said something and the respondent is asked to make a reply in the appropriate balloon. Example: Two women are shown having coffee, one says have you tried this new X product; the respondent is asked to make a response for the other woman. The original clinical version of this technique consisted of a series of completed pictures and the respondent was asked to tell an entire story. A young boy might be shown in the kitchen hiding something behind his back. This test called the TAT, has had limited use in marketing problems although some motivational research projects into cars have used a version of it showing someone driving a very old or a very new model car etc.
9. Photo Sorting is also a useful technique in which the respondent is presented with pictures of various types of people in terms of class, age, sex and personality (severe vs friendly). they are asked to sort them into users and non-users of X brand.
10. Drawing is a projective technique which is very popular with clinical psychologists and has recently proved very interesting as a marketing technique. When respondents were asked to draw pictures of themselves wearing wool vs wearing synthetics, the wool was seen to cling to their body shape while synthetics created their own independent shape. Young C2D's asked to draw a picture of themselves in a bank made themselves very small compared to the more confident AB's. When motorists were asked to draw a car it was soon ascertained that the brand of petrol they used could be predicted from their drawings. In an industrial study when respondents were asked to draw a tree the plastic users drew round trees and the metal users straight line trees.

11. Symbol Association is another useful technique based on the theory of the universality of certain symbols - round with security, square with uninteresting, a triangle with aggressiveness, oscillating lines (as would appear on the monitor of a heart monitoring machine) are associated with dynamism etc. In a study of seat belt wearing women selected the round symbol and men the square symbol.

All of these visual techniques could be used in groups if each respondent had a set of the appropriate stimuli which is often too cumbersome.

12. Psychodrama deserves a separate mention. It is based on the principles of role playing. Respondents (usually in small groups) are asked to visualise a scene (furniture shop for instance) - each participant is given a role to play - customer, salesman, supervisor, display person etc., and asked to act out a particular situation - newly weds looking for furniture ideas. A more useful version is to ask a group to pretend that they are an ad agency writing an ad for the product in question. This has the advantage of revealing negatives about advertising ideas previously presented to the group but not commented upon, as well as revealing hidden desires concerning the product or its advertising. For instance, women responding to a dry hair product line ad redesigned the ad with more promises of youthful bouncy hair than the original advertising idea had contained. The basic idea of course is to encourage the respondent to walk around in another pair of shoes for awhile and feel new and fresh ideas as he sees things from another viewpoint - the salesman, the managing director, the copywriter. Respondents asked to play seat belts were surprised how sympathetic they felt towards them; similarly, when housewives were asked to play bathroom sinks they revealed the care they wished they had given theirs - "What I don't want is for my mistress to scrub me too hard and scratch my surface so that I get old and ugly".

VI PSYCHOLOGICAL SEGMENTATION AND PSYCHOGRAPHICS - A SYNTHESIS OF FOURTY YEARS
OF CONSUMER PSYCHOLOGY

At first Motivational Researchers tended to lump consumers together and to assume that basic motivations once discovered were like "laws of nature", (similar to laws of physics) which could be applied to all consumers. The fallacy of this mode of thinking applied to marketing problems is most colourfully described by Henry, 1958 - "broad generalisations covering the whole population at one swoop are neither valid nor useful: it is no more meaningful to say "the average woman thinks . . . " than it is to say "the average woman has 1.347 children" or "the colour of the average person's eyes is six parts brown, three parts blue and one part grey". Since no product or service is sold to all consumers, nor is there an attempt to appeal to everyone with an ad; it soon became clear in Motivational Research circles that certain segments of the population were more susceptible than others to certain products and services. Obvious differences were the demographic ones: economic - certain people can and others cannot afford a Rolls Royce; age - old people have little need for a hair dryer; sex - men are not very amenable to hair sprays and cosmetics; stage in the life cycle - Mums and baby products; education - book clubs versus part-series magazines; class - particularly relevant in the food market.

Demographic segmentation clearly indicated that there were significant correlations between products, services and demographic variables; and in fact many current studies of psychological segmentation when analysed by demographic variables clearly indicate that purchase and use are more significantly correlated with demographics than personality. In particular class and income seem to be very potent variables; Thumin, 1968, however, reports a study of coffee, cigarettes; aspirin and TV consumption in which education bore the most significant relationship with consumer activity, only TV viewing correlated significantly with many of the personality traits studied.

The advantage of finding demographic correlations is of course that it is often possible to utilise specific media in order to reach the majority of: old people, young Mums; AB's; etc.

However, demographic differences are frequently either not enough, especially for creative people who are trying to motivate Mrs X with two toddlers to try

Y, or provide no significant relationships at all. Segnit and Broadbent, 1973, report a very interesting example of the latter - "Many attitudes and interests which might be expected to relate to social grade are in fact currently not associated with grade. Take for example sympathy with women's rights and gardening. Most people would feel these are upgrade concerns. Our study shows that such interests are indeed concentrated in distinct minorities - but that these are often not well defined by social grade."

	AB %	C1 %	C2 %	DE %
"I have great sympathy with Women's Lib"	26	25	23	26
"Gardening is my favourite pastime"	32	28	27	30

It was because of the numerous findings similar to the above that the concept of personality differences was so enthusiastically embraced in the 1960's. The findings were both exciting and frequently significant for at last the clinical psychologists were doing "their thing" - looking at the deeper underlying personality differences. All of the diagnostic tools could be brought out and used from Rorschach ink blots to tests of authoritarianism, Machiavellianism, dogmatism, etc. For example, Innovators were identified - people who like to see themselves as up-to-date and are therefore more open to new products or changes in old ones. The Homemaker, who identifies with the role housewife and mother, is more open to products which guarantee success in this field - whiter laundry, cleaners that smell strong and thus guarantee efficiency, foods which win her family praise, etc. Women who identify with the community as a whole rather than the home and like to see themselves as efficient and well organised people look for products which enhance their efficiency and give them more time outside the home - food mixes, disposables, quick cleaners, cleaners with pleasant fragrances. It was also found that anxious mothers who were high in self esteem were less likely to be persuaded to try new products for their babies, while mothers who were low in anxiety and self esteem were easier to persuade, Lehmann, 1970.

A. Basic Assumptions.

Most personality tests owe their existence to the development of factor theories; the core of these theories is that personality is composed of a set of traits or factors, some general and others specific to a particular situation or test. With the advancement in statistical techniques and

computer technology, it became possible to apply personality tests to large samples.

A further assumption is that personality reflects enduring needs of the individual; that is needs that are 'common denominators' of his behaviour regardless of the nature of the problem and / or situation with which he is faced. Thus, a consumer with a high dogmatism score is dogmatic about cars as well as beans.

Every new line of enquiry has its seminal work; in the attitude-behaviour field it was the famous 1936 study by La Piere with the Chinese couple. In psychological segmentation it was a study by Evans, 1958 in which he used the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (based on the psychoanalytic themes of Henry Murray) with Ford and Chevrolet owners. He found no significant differences that would allow for prediction; he was able to account for only 10% of the variance. Evans results were reanalysed by others who improved the reliability by applying different techniques - Kuehn, 1963, who used a dominance score minus affiliation scores.

There are basically two ways to approach psychological segmentation: interview a cross-section of consumers using a particular personality test - Cattell's, Edward's, etc. - and see if product usage is associated with any of the personality types which emerge; e.g. with aggressive or authoritarian types. Or, having identified the users of a particular product submit both users and non-users to a battery of personality tests in order to determine what personality profile best describes users. Both approaches are widely used; however, in general the significance between personality types have been what Kassarian calls "equivocal"; a few studies indicate a strong relationship between personality and aspects of consumer behaviour, a few indicate that if correlations do exist they are so weak as to be questionable or perhaps meaningless". In fact typically there is a personality-behavioural correlation of less than .3. Research literature is overflowing with examples of both types:

B. Examples of Significant Correlations

. . . Using the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, Claychamp, 1961 found that personality variables predicted better than demographic variables whether an individual is a customer of a bank or savings and loan association; he correctly classified 72% of subjects.

- . . . Koponen, 1960, also used the EPPS with men; he found that sex dominance, aggression and achievement needs were positively related to cigarette smoking with the need for order and compliance negatively related.
- . . . Eysenck has found significant correlations between extroversion and heavy smoking, using his own scales.
- . . . Turle and Falconer, 1972, reported that using a battery of personality tests concerning the confectionary^a market, it was found that users of an established brand were significantly more obsessive than users of a new rival brand; the latter were significantly more open to change. However, combining sex differences with aggression scores it was found that while the old brand was favoured by more aggressive females and the less aggressive males, the reverse was true for the new rival brand.
- . . . Using the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale with a sample of women concerning fashion and cosmetic products, it was found that when they were asked to make product selections in a role play situation where they were presented with one new and four old items in a product class the low dogmatic women were significantly more likely to make innovative choices - Jacoby, 1971.
- . . . In a replication of Jacoby's study, Coney, 1974, found that extending the study to include men and other product categories - cigarettes, whisky, beer, pens and tennis rackets - low dogmatics were significantly more likely to be innovators.
- . . . Differences between shoppers and non-shoppers for motor cars (those who visit one dealer versus those who visit many) was found using the EPPS by Evans, 1962; shoppers were significantly more aggressive, affiliative and desirous of change than non-shoppers who were significantly more likely to value autonomy and deference. After a weighting of the personality scores to provide maximum linear separation of the two groups, he was able to classify 77.3% of the sample.
- . . . Individuals differing in tolerance for ambiguity, using Budner's measures, were asked to judge the newness of products which varied systematically in atypicality and report their willingness to buy. The more intolerant subjects perceived atypical products as newer than did the tolerant ones

and were less willing to buy. For the more tolerant subjects newness tended to be positively related to willingness to buy - Blake, 1973.

- . . . Boone, 1974, administered the California Psychological Inventory to both first and late adopters of community antenna services; first adopters scored higher in dominance, capacity for status, sociability, social presence, self- acceptance, sense of well-being, tolerance and achievement, confidence and leadership.
- . . . Using the Gordon Personal Profile, Sparks, 1970, found no strong relationships among personality and product use until he used canonical analysis to correlate personality and product use. When subjects were grouped into six clusters there was a significant correlation with product use.
- . . . Worthing, 1973, also used canonical analysis plus a special personality test - PRF - which concentrates on five traits most relevant to consumer behaviour: affiliation; aggression; dominance; exhibitionism and social recognition. He found significant interrelationships with the usage and non-usage of eighteen items.
- . . . Tucker and Painter, 1961, found significant correlations between the usage of headache remedies, vitamins, mouthwash, alcoholic drinks, motor cars, chewing gum and the acceptance of new fashion and personality traits using the Gordon Personal Profile.

C. Examples of Poor Correlations.

- . . . Berelson, 1972, applied the IPAT Anxiety Scale to see if an individual's anxiety level is a reliable predictor of insurance buying behaviour; he found only a slight relationship between high anxiety and insurance purchase.
- . . . Robertson and Myers, 1969, used the California Personality Inventory and especially developed measures for innovativeness and opinion leadership; they found only a minimal relationship between personality variables and behaviour towards new products.
- . . . In a study sponsored by the Advertising Research Foundation, 1964, on the subject of toilet tissue purchase, using the Edwards Personal

Preference Schedule, it was found that "in predicting toilet tissue purchase behaviour, information on the demographic and personality traits was little better than no information at all".

- Reviewing the work on Innovators, Pizam, 1972, found that of the 37 personality traits studied - 21 obtained either no relationship with innovativeness or conflicting results, leaving only 16 which obtained significant relationships.
- Levonian, 1968, stated that of eight studies claiming to associate personality with opinion change following a mass communication - 40% actually yielded results in the opposite direction.

It is noteworthy that both significant and non-significant results are obtained using the same personality tests and frequently regarding the same subject - innovativeness or cosmetics, etc. Thus, it is clear that the application of quantitative personality tests is no doubt complicated by sampling, where and when it is administered and who does the selection of items and interpretation of the correlations. But, there may be other more significant reasons, as Kassarian, 1971, states, - personality tests were originally used by clinicians to identify people with severe personality disorders - "The consumer researcher too often expects more from an instrument than it was originally intended to furnish". As Sheth, 1973, pointed out - "the domain of personality theories may be less relevant to consumption behaviour than clinically abnormal behaviour." In addition, Kassarian points out that many researchers recognising this problem have adapted personality inventories by chopping and changing items so that the test is no longer a valid test of what it set out to do. Also, the number of studies where a particular personality test is used because it is short, easily scored and easy to administer despite the fact that it may be only peripherally relevant are too numerous.

While most theorists feel that personality data can be extremely useful for both copywriter and marketing person and is well worth pursuing - "Although the percentage increase in predictive power which is added by personality variables is relatively small, many of the relationships between them and buying behaviour appear to be reasonably stable. The amount of variance in purchasing behaviour explained by socio-economic data alone is also very small," Massey et al, 1970. Or as Kassarian, 1971, put the problem into context -

"Social scientists can fully accept that personality variables are related to suicide or crime, to assassinations, racial prejudice, attitudes to the USSR or the selection of a spouse. They do not get upset that personality is not the only relevant variable or that the portion of the explained variance is merely 20% or 10% or 5%. Yet personality researchers in consumer behaviour much too often ignore the many interrelated influences in the consumer processes - price, packaging, etc. To expect the influence of personality variables to account for a large portion of the variance is most certainly asking too much."

Resultingly, many researchers have made recommendations for taking a fresh look at the dilemma, even such unlikely people as Sheth, 1973, who feels that the most serious limitation of personality research "is its emphasis to directly link consumption behaviour with personality syndrome" and to ignore intervening variables - situational variables - social, economic or demographic; attitudinal and perceptual variables etc. Unless these variables are also considered he feels there will always be low correlations. Kassarian, points out the necessity for consumer researchers to "develop their own definitions and design their own instruments to measure the personality variables that go into the purchase decision rather than use tools designed as part of a medical model to measure schizophrenia or mental instability."

One solution to the above problem has been to design personality tests around theorists such as Horney, Riesman and Maslow whose thinking is more in keeping with the basic, normal behaviour patterns of individuals in a modern consuming society. As was previously mentioned, one of the most widely used personality tests - the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule - is based on Freudian psychoanalytic concepts. Another widely used test, the Gordon Personal Profile is concerned with emotional stability.

D. Tailor Made Personality Theories

Riesman's famous social character theory featuring the concepts of inner-directedness versus outer-directedness has led to the development of the I-O Scale; in two studies reported in the journals, one by Kassarian, 1965, showed significant results in a complicated study using pairs of advertisements one of which had an inner-directed appeal - the other an outer-directed appeal. Other-directed persons tended to prefer their own ads similarly for the outer-directed respondents; however, both groups of respondents felt that people in general would be most influenced by the

outer-directed advertisements. The results were interpreted as further empirical evidence for Riesmans theory of social character. However, Woodside, 1968, found no significant relationship between inner and outer-directedness and product usage although he did find the expected sympathy for the appropriate advertisement among inner and outer-directed respondents.

Horney's Social theory of basic orientations concerning the way in which individuals cope with anxiety features three basic character types - compliant, aggressive and detached. Cohen, 1967, developed a special measuring instrument called the CAD and tested the model among students and correlated it with product use. He found that compliant types prefer brand names and are significantly more likely to use mouth wash and toilet soaps; aggressive types tend to buy more ostentatious items and prestige brands and the men are more inclined to shave with a razor blade rather than an electric shaver, use more cologne, after-shave and deodorant and to prefer expensive shirts; detached types are the least aware of brands, more likely to be tea drinkers and less likely to be beer drinkers.

More recently the Self-Actualising theories of Maslow have encouraged researchers to not only investigate the personality of the consumer but that of the product as well since the theory is based on the belief that individuals perceive products that they own, would like to own or do not want to own in terms of symbolic meaning to themselves and others. Several techniques have been developed to uncover the respondents image of himself, his ideal self and the product's image; the Q sort (related to the Kelly Repertory Grid); Semantic Differential and the Gough Adjective Check List have been used successfully. Grubb and Hupp, 1968, showed that owners of one brand of motor car perceived themselves as similar to others who own the same brand in personality terms and different from owners of another brand. Jacobson and Kossoff, 1963, studied^d self perception and attitudes towards small cars. Individual's who perceived themselves as cautious, conservatives were more likely to favour small cars; another self-classified group of "confident explorers" preferred large cars which they saw as a means of expressing their ability to control the environment. Again on the subject of cars, Grubb and Stern, 1971, showed that not only was one's self concept important in determining brand selection but one's concept of 'significant others' preferences. Dolich, 1969, found that Ideal self image and Ideal product images tended to correlate highly whether the products were for private consumption (toothpaste) or public consumption (beer and cigarettes).

With cigarettes and cars as the subjects, Orpen and Low, 1973, using both self-rating techniques and a Masculinity-Femininity Scale showed that the more masculine the consumers self-image (regardless of the sex of the consumer), the more masculine his image of his preferred cigarette and motor car; and, similarly, the less masculine were their least preferred brands.

Several researchers have related product perception to self-actualisation; e.g. the discrepancy between self and the ideal self. Those with a small discrepancy were called low self-actualisers; a high discrepancy = high self-actualisers. Hamm and Cundill, 1969, found that the high self-actualisers have a higher level of agreement in product perceptions. Landon, 1974 found that purchase intentions for some products was highly correlated with the ideal self-image if the consumer was a "perfectionist"; however, purchase intention was highly correlated with self image if the consumer was an "actualiser".

Green et al, 1969, in reviewing the literature on self concept and brand preference concluded that "both birds of a feather flock together and that opposites attract"; indicating that the Self Theorists are going to have to come up with some more specific definitions and perhaps some specially designed test as well in order to improve reliability.

E. Psychographics.

Often referred to as the marriage between the richness of motivational research, with its emphasis on qualitative methods and projective techniques, and the statistical sophistication found among factor and trait theorists which made psychological segmentation studies possible. Psychographics, or life; style research is based on the concept that there are distinctive or characteristic modes of living of segments of a society. "Psychographic analysis attempts to segment groups of individuals on the basis of their interests, values, opinions, attitudes and demographic characteristics. The purchasing behaviour, media reading habits, retail store patronage and other consumer variables are then compared among the various segments of life style patterns". - Kassarian, 1968. Critics have dubbed it "backward segmentation" because it groups people by behavioural characteristics before seeking correlates. Proponents point out psychographic research provides marketing people with a broad, everyday view of consumers and when it is combined with typologies and clustering methods it can generate "identifiable whole persons rather than

isolated fragments" - Plummer, 1974. Other critiques point to the rather low product-moment correlations between the items and products or media of around .2; but as others point out, the correlations between products, or media and demographics are the same size or smaller. Proponents of psychographics point out that the areas covered such as shopping habits, personal hygiene, snack-eating or a desire to be fashionable are more relevant to marketing than earlier personality tests of aggression, narcissism, etc.

There are many arguments for and against psychographics; as the newest arrival in the consumer psychology scene it is fair to assume that as a field it is still evolving.

Before giving a few examples, some outstanding features should be mentioned; first of all, psychographics has generated new tests the AIO (Attitudes, Interests, Opinions) and brought back the Cattell Inventory which is capable of generating 300 items but is normally used in a cut down form. Adherents believe that it is more sensitive; critiques point out that it was a clinical diagnostic tool and thus brings the same problems as other personality tests.

Most psychographic questionnaires are capable of being self-administered which has obvious advantages in time and costs; however, not everyone agrees with this method and many research firms still use an interviewer.

Psychographics has generated, and in fact seems to pride itself on, labelling consumer groups even more than the original Motivational Research and Psychological Segmentation studies did. Such terms as: "housewife role haters"; "old fashioned home bodies"; "active affluent urbanites"; "obsessives"; "extroverts"; "involved in undisciplined self conflict" (regarding teenagers); "ecologically concerned"; "pudding Mums"; and, "Cool customers"; etc. In Great Britain there are two major psychographic types of studies - Life Style and Monitor. Horne, 1973, reported the use of Life Style in a study of Owner Occupiers and Council Tenants in which she found that Owner Occupiers were more: secure; confident; innovative; felt in control of their own lives; career and future prospects were more important than money; home was usually conventionally furnished; housewife had interests outside the home and was less concerned with cleaning the home than the council wife; she was interested in providing a varied diet for her family and was a sensible cook and shopper; they were more selective regarding TV viewing; more politically aware and

inclined to the right rather than the left, although they were not very Chauvinistic. Council Tenants in addition to being opposites of Owner Occupiers had other distinguishing characteristics: they feel they are being manipulated by society and are embittered about their lack of knowledge; they fall back on nostalgic memories of the "good old days"; they are more interested in the money than the job; they adorn their home with modern brash objects; housewives worry about dirt and feel that foreign foods are not good or nourishing; housewives are loyal to brands; the adults tend to be escapist in their intellectual and cultural pursuits; they never think their health is too good and visit the doctor on the smallest pretext; television is one of the most exciting things to have happened; the adults have a far more conventional standard of morality and are less likely to express an acceptance of today's modes of behaviour, but they believe in the young more than the Owner Occupier; they are generally more politically apathetic, feelings are inclined towards the left with little understanding of the issues; they feel that the State should take care of them and is never generous enough; they are Chauvinistic - Britain is Best. It was interesting to note that C2 Owners had more in common with other owners than with C2 council tenants on many issues. Since the next generation of Owners will of course come from the C2's - will they take on the current Owner attitudes creating a larger middle class or will they take their current attitudes with them? This was of the study.

Monitor purports to study Social Trends; e.g. social attitudes and values and future consumer usage and purchase behaviour. Nelson, 1973, reported that Monitor covers 37 different trends of which Consumerist Trends contained more high scorers than Permissive Trends. In other words there were higher scores on: consumer scepticism; anti-bigness; concern about environment; concern about privacy; opposed to living for today; rejection of authority; hedonism; or liberal sex attitudes; etc. It was pointed out that certain product fields appeared to be closely related to these trends: money services; leisure; media; new foods and retailing.

Psychographics reached its peak in Britain when the economy peaked in '72-'73; in today's more austere economic climate there are many marketing people who feel that the studies are interesting but not very useful in solving current problems.

It will be interesting to see what the repercussions will be among consumer psychologists in the next forty years in the evolution of Motivational Research.