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*Dear Reader,*

the volume what we hand over to you is a biennial, English-language, special edition of the Jel-Kép. The regular version of the quarterly, published by the Mass Communication Research Center, is a professional review of communication scholars and communicators in Hungary. In order to overcome the linguistic isolation, every second year the editors compile an English edition of those essays, studies and articles of the last eight issues, which were written by staff-members of the Center, and which are based mostly on research-work going on there. So the content of this special issue represents more the scholarly work of the Mass Communication Research Center than the average content of the quarterly itself.

The Mass Communication Research Center was established just 15 years ago by the Hungarian Radio and Television. Since that time it has grown into the largest survey center in Hungary, involved both in communication and in public opinion research. With its four research units and supporting departments, consisting more than 80 staff-members (of which about 30 are researchers: sociologists, psychologists, economists, jurists, linguists and mathematicians), it mostly conducts policy oriented studies, but it is also engaged in basic, theoretical research.

The long-term research strategy of the Center (published, in a concise version, in the 1982 Special Edition) delineates

ten broad paths for future research; culture and communication; mass cultivation of images of the world; ways of life and MC; MC in the socialization; public opinion and democracy; equalities and inequalities in communication; flows of information; MC system and communication policies; organizations; groups and roles of the communicator; social impacts of the new communication technologies.

The Mass Communication Research Center has multifold working relations with the other larger institutions of social research in the country and sends its representatives to different bodies of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. On the international scene, the Center is involved in the working of some larger professional organizations (IAMCR, IIC, ISA), some smaller ones (GEAR, Prix Jeunesse), has a working agreement with the Leningrad institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences and participated in several cross-cultural studies under the auspices of the UNESCO.

And we sincerely hope that the publication of this Special Issue will further the international communication of the Center's communication scholars!

Budapest, July 1984

Tamás Szecskő

*Róbert Angelusz*

## Changes of Norms, the Television and the Public

There is hardly any other theme in the literature of communications in which the concept about the effect of the mass communication media changed to such a considerable extent. Television - the "hiding giant" - played a decisive role in the conceptual change. The doctrine of the earlier period, namely, that the effect is more dependent on the qualities of the public than on the content of the message, is only valid in a limited manner about the "bewitched" viewer, nailed down in front of the screen. This thesis relied on the observation that people select from the information transmitted by mass communication, and only accept those which reinforce their own views. However, the television which regularly transmits programmes, and enters almost every home and manifests itself in practically all spheres of themes and genres, seems to be a supermedium, which breaks through the bastions of selective reception. Following the new considerations, the television was upvalued to an immense extent. There are views, according to which, a modern industrial society could not exist without it, and there are some who compare its value, norm, and behaviour transforming potential to the medieval role of religion. Even if these statements are exaggerated, it cannot be questioned that television has an essentially bigger impact than originally imagined, consequently, its communicators also have a bigger responsibility.

However, this impact is extremely complex. It can be direct or indirect, positive and negative, intentional or unintentional, has a short or long-term effect, it can be manifested in the change of knowledge, opinions, norms or values, and it can be orientated on minor or major groups of people. Naturally, the



implemented methods and effect mechanisms are different in the various areas. In the following, I will analyze the norm strengthening and resolving activity of the television, creating new rules of behaviour. I pay more attention to consequences on the social than on the individual level. I examine how television affects the renewal and re-creation of the norm system.

### In defence of the stone tablets

The mass media introduce a number of situations in which behaviour operates according to rules. The standard procedures carried out in a technically similar form confirm the exemplary character of behaviour on each occasion, and support the unchanged validity of the norms. However, the actual operational range of the rules of behaviour and its subjective perception are not unconditionally identical. The direction and extent of the divergence depend on the actual operation of the norms. Television extends the personally acquired limited experiences about the spread of the norms and in this way, may confirm the impression that almost everybody acts according to the rules. The norm maintaining role is of greater extent if behaviour is also reinforced by value references. In fact, to keep the unbroken validity of the norm, it has to be regularly adhered to, and its value has to be acknowledged. If the person regarded as positive by the viewer, the admired hero or the reputed personality, keeps to the norm, this may express a confirming effect, similarly to the direct emphasis on the value of the norm.

The critical depiction and public exposure of behaviour, deviating from the norm, can be of norm maintaining significance in a similar manner. In our modern world, social control does not always operate appropriately. People frequently close their eyes to norm violating behaviour, and the refut-

ing public opinion only moves under the awakening impact of public warning. Almost every day there are television programmes which transmit or replace a social control role, and introduce the norm violating and damaging behaviour of certain institutions, companies or persons. When the television draws attention to the environment polluting activity of certain industrial companies, or introduces the weak quality, substandard goods sold by some trade company, or reveals the corrupt behaviour of an official holding a public position, then with mobilization of social control, it contributes to the preservation of the validity of norms.

This norm tending and norm maintaining activity is even more unambiguously expressed in those programmes in which the emphasis is not simply on the depiction of the norm violating behaviour and on public criticism, but on the illustration of the legal consequences, on punishment. This role can be played by programmes, which not only reflect the genuine events of life, but are fictions. Those teleplays, films and crime stories made with cliché-like solutions in which, according to the naive dramaturgy, vice always meets its worthy punishment - independently from the artistic value of the products - always have a norm cultivating impact, effective in the long-term.

#### Norm loosening on the screen

The norm loosening and norm transforming role of the television is not of lesser significance. The loosening and resolving of the earlier valid norms - even if they concur in the given case with a destruction of values - cannot always be regarded as a negative process. The era in which we live is the period of major social changes, halts and stormy upswings. Modern societies are orientated towards the future: development has permeated the thinking of people. Mass scale

social mobility not only necessitates the acceptance of norms, which are valid in the new social substance, but also the reconstruction of the norm structure and the demolition of several norms, which hinder the accomplishment of the stipulated social aims. The television has a particularly major role in this process. With its mere existence and through the universal character of the depicted world, it accelerates the resolving and restratification of the norms. This world is extremely rich and varied, it extends far beyond the frontier of groups with which we identify ourselves in the situations of everyday life. It brings strange peoples, cultures, the life of human groups, behaviours and alternative norm worlds into our homes, which operate with a different norm system than that of the viewer. The difference is not an exotic rarity for the television viewers, but a natural concomitant of the world's multifariousness. The horizon extended by the screen and the changed social lens in itself make the validity of norms operating in our own milieu relative. It makes people more tolerant towards other rules of behaviour and more empathic towards behaviour differing from the norm.

Another manner in which the existing norms can be made relative is putting the alternative rules of behaviour into the foreground. This possibility primarily exists in the case of stratum specific rules of limited validity. Only a part of the norm system are generally accepted norms, which equally refer to every social class, stratum or group. In addition, there are several rules of behaviour differing according to the groups. The alternative norm systems are given different weight by the mass media; they prefer the behaviour rules which are considered to be important by them, and they strive to spread them. However, the spreading of the preferred norm system is not exclusive. In order to mobilize the norms, behaviour rules are necessary, which can serve as starting points in the limitation and dissolving of the earlier preferred norms. The gradual emphasis on these new norms and the



growing proportion of adapted behaviour examples provide the green light for alternative behaviour. The exclusiveness of the norms - is a main guarantee of adherence to them. If other behaviour rules become implanted in a social group, then the range of validity of the original norm becomes gradually limited; moreover, in the long-term the new norm can oust the old one.

For example, mass media played an enormous role in the transformation of the norms which limited the tasks of women to the household and the family. The loosening of the traditional norms was promoted by the fact that their validity was never complete as far as the entire society was concerned, there were social groups in which the employment of women was not regarded as anti-norm. Following extensive industrialization a new set of norms, striving for a general validity relied on these behaviour examples. Parallel with the cultivation of the working woman as an ideal, gradually a dual system of norms emerged and public opinion started to regard the employment of women in an alternative manner. At a further stage of development, women staying at home became the objects of disapproval.

We face a similar phenomenon when television makes some mode of behaviour "presentable", which was earlier rejected and condemned by the majority. This happened for example in the mid-sixties when long hair and beards, thought of as scandalous in the past, after some hesitation were allowed to appear on television. Their appearance on the screen started a loosening of the norms, and gradually long hair and beards became presentable in the television.

The frequent form in which the norms are mobilized is their direct or indirect questioning. This can be connected with the flashing up of contrasting norms, but they do not happen unconditionally in this way. In the case of a direct

attack, the mass media direct attention to the outdatedness, unreasonableness and hazardous dysfunctions of the norm. When, for example, the television aims at the hopeless maze of the bureaucratic administration and illustrates how complicated the settling of a simple case is because of the legal stipulation, decrees and official regulations, and introduces all the superfluous detours - it usually urges the open reform of the bureaucratic norms. Such programmes differ from other, also critical materials, which are intended to consolidate the norms, as far as one shows how the violation of the norms, and the other, how the painful adherence to the norms, lead to harmful consequences.

Scientific informative programmes also often use the method of direct questioning. While dealing with the harmful effect of smoking, with proper diet or sex life, they usually take an open standpoint against norms, which institutionalize behaviour considered incorrect.

Direct questioning is primarily frequent in the case of technical norms, but it may also concern measures regulating human relations, which are not of general validity and their loosening does not violate the presumed or genuine values of the determinative social forces. The situation is different with regard to taboos or norms, which belong to the self-justification system of society, connected with its basic system of aims and values. The violation of these may lead to a legitimization crisis, while making them into rigid taboos, or leaving them untouched may halt the necessary changes. In such cases, the loosening of the norm occurs through an indirect message. Communication does not make norms openly questionable, but strives to loosen the target norms through transmitted messages and to amend them in a smooth way. Most probably, this is the case in the historic films and teleplays, which wish to speak about the present. And this happens in many entertainment programmes in which, in addition

to the direct message; emphasis is placed on the message of the outlook. An indirect message has to be distinguished from the "crossing signal". With regard to the former, the message is in a tendentious cover, transmission, while in the case of the latter, the same occurs against the intention of the communicator. In the extensive flood of television programmes, it is hardly controllable whether certain programmes have a neutralizing or limiting effect on others; therefore, the crossing signals are almost unavoidable and remain mostly unnoticed, even by the programme planners.

The mobility of needs and the rise of the levels of aspirations attack the norms in an indirect form. Fashion has a decisive role in the mobilization of needs, and television provides a broad field for this. Fashion, similarly to the norm, is a behaviour standardizing institution, however, its mechanism is different. The norm means the limitation of some intuition, impulse or need; one of the basic functions of the norm system is the institutionalization of the needs, and their keeping on a certain level. On the other hand, the essence of fashion is the mobilization of needs: it intervenes with their reproduction, it creates a sense of want, before this want develops spontaneously, and it accelerates the rhythm of the re-occurrence of requirements. In the long term, the habit-shaping effect of fashion is considerable: the person following its amendments and whimsical changes is in a continuous state of readiness, the person in the sphere regulated by fashion is always inclined to go with the change, and to follow the eternally renewed waves of the mode. The television provides more publicity for fashion than any previous institution and in addition it is in itself a fashion creating institution. It extends its effect on appearance, on clothing, as well as on the style of life, on numerous fields of culture, moreover, on daily topics of conversation. Television not only satisfies, but also



creates needs. It can only maintain its need satisfying activity through the constant actualization and mobilization of the needs. It makes needs dynamic; not only in the absolute, but also in the relative sense; in many groups of the public it contributes to the raising of glances; to the constant heightening of the aspiration levels.

In the world depicted by television, needs are usually over-represented. The screen enlarges the life style of social strata and brings them into a tangible distance for the viewers. The aspiration levels of these strata are far above that of the majority of the viewers. The dynamically renewed and high levels of aspiration are in several cases much beyond the viewers possibilities. The hopeless distance between the actual realities and the levels of aspiration leads to a situation similar to that which Merton described as anomic and in which the violation of the norms surpasses the socially tolerable level.

#### The workshop of new norms

The methods of the consolidation and loosening of the norms are insufficient for the regulation of the norm system, and for the co-ordination of social changes and behaviour rules. The social commission of the television includes the promotion of new norms and values. In certain cases, the dissolution of the old norms concurs with placing other norms into the foreground, and with the extension of their validity. Television has an extraordinary radiation and spreading ability; in many cases, it expands the effect of norms, which earlier operated in smaller closed groups, into norms of general validity. However, that type of renewal and the reconstruction of the behaviour rules is not always sufficient. The increasing complexity of modern societies leads to the evolution of new spheres of activity and modes of behaviour, which have no established rules, the development of new norms

is necessary to ensure their smooth operation. However, the expansion of the validity of behaviour rules may become hindered. Norms cannot be durably spread in groups, whose interests they contradict. This is exactly the obstacle in making norms accepted, which are officially supported and spread by the mass media. In such situations, people often follow only seemingly the norms, they do not identify themselves with them, but try to circumvent them. A condition for the operation of norms is that they should be adjusted to realistic life processes, and should not violate the fundamental interests of those groups, whose behaviour they are meant to regulate.

In a healthy, smoothly operating norm system, there must be a relative harmony between the various norms. For the appropriate dynamics of the behaviour rules, a certain tension and inconsistency is necessary, but if this surpasses the critical extent, norms are not able to fulfil their assignments. General norms, relying on social consensus, play an extremely large role in ensuring the appropriate harmony of the norm system. The general norms include stipulations to which the partial norms also have to adjust themselves; in a certain sense the general norms are the regulators not only of human attitudes, but also of the regulators. They relatively frequently evolve, not through spreading, but through creating consensus, through the harmonization of norms. Naturally, in order to maintain consistency, several new norms of partial validity have to be built up. If the processes of spontaneous norm formation in society are not satisfactory, the gaps have to be filled in with legal regulations. However, legal norms are not always able to replace social norms with the necessary flexibility. In addition, their extreme use may lead to over-regulation, and to the disproportionate increase of legal stipulations, which again may inspire the circumvention of the norms. The over-propagation of legal regulations is a warning sign; it reflects the disorders of spontaneous norm formation.

Within the complicated condition system determining the norm formation, the communication system of society and the level of publicness have a particular role. Norm formation is always a communication process too. In the slowly changing norm system of static societies, which evolved during the decades, or sometimes centuries, value evaluations expressed in the open or the indirect silent standpoints or deeds, are condensed into norms. In dynamic societies, the traditional, silent forms of norm formation are insufficient. Although traditional mechanisms still exist in certain fields of the formation of norms, the conscious methods based on decisions of norm building come increasingly into the foreground. In addition to the accelerated pace in the change of the behaviour rules, the relationship between communication and norm formation becomes clear. In the intensive communication processes of public evaluation and public opinion, the level of opinions become synthesized into norms almost in front of our eyes.

In modern societies, the co-ordination of the norms, the regulation of the newly born spheres, and the structure of all social consensus can only be accelerated through reflection. Therefore, debates have a very important role in norm formation. Primarily, the effect of such disputes is significant, in which rivalry and co-operation are in harmony, various views genuinely clash, but "one wisdom does not eat up the other one". More than any other mass communication media, television provides a bigger opportunity for the exchange of opinions, for the crystallization of norms and for the creation of consensus. Technically, it is available for every citizen, and as a result of the extent and versatility of its periodicity, it has an essential impact.

The situation in the field of the efficiency and the shaping of the process of communication contents is different. There are major differences between the individual social strata

in the influence of agendas and theme structures; and in the transmission of requirements and information requirements. The structure of publicness /Öffentlichkeit/ is greatly determined by the structural relations of society. Nevertheless, the television is not only the mirror of the hierarchy, but it also acts upon it; it can loosen and democratize its structure. A sensitive, quickly reacting programme policy, which is open to changes, usually precedes the structural relationships by one step. The millions of viewers; and the magic of the television provide a favourable basis for the increase of publicness. It can ease the transmission of needs of the underrepresented groups and can increase their participation in deriving public themes. Through this, the order of importance may be transformed; debates emerging on this major public forum can further spiral, and can be continued in the more personal arena of everyday life. The democratization of the communication structure improves the conditions of norm formation, and enables the building of rules of behaviour, which are of higher loading capacity; that more adequately fit the multifarious interests. A shift towards the anomic state usually indicates that the intensity of norm production is not keeping pace with the tempo of norm dissolution. Increased social publicness is the most efficient means to reverse this tendency.

*Tamás Szecskó*

## Visual Culture and Mass Communication

There is a poster hanging on the wall of my studio in the institute. It was a gift at an international conference last year, organized by UNESCO, on the topic of the relationship between mass communication and the conventional transmitters of culture. The poster - which attracts the glance in a witty graphic solution, but not in a pushy way - depicts several television sets placed on top of each other. The screens of the sets, black lines on a white basis, emptily stare into space, with only a picture on one screen. It is a coloured landscape - a picture placed on the easel.

I regard this poster as a symbol of a broadly spread concept concerning the relationship between arts and mass communication. What type of relationships are expressed by this poster? The relationships in which mass communication - in our case the television - satisfies its culture transmitting, sponsoring, art critical and art popularizing function, and becomes fitted into the contact system between the object d'art and man, by transmitting the existing work; drama and painting; two dimensional pictures of statues, building complexes, stills and the pictures of various applied art objects.

Is it in fact merely that much? Only this act of transmission characterizes the relationship between arts - in our case fine and applied arts - and mass communication? At the present

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\* A slightly modified version of the inaugural lecture held on the World Day of Fine Arts, during the World Communication Year.

level of the mass communication system - not to speak about the perspectives created by the communication explosion, which will more tangibly be felt in the future in Hungary - could we not expand this function? Could we not step beyond the syndrom, which was expressed with the metaphor of the rear-view mirror by Marshall McLuhan, the Canadian prophet of the television era. Namely, the new mass communication media, after their appearance regularly and necessarily reproduced the manner of expression of the previous historic era for some time: the film photographed the theatre, the television imagined itself to be the film...partly an exhibition hall, concert hall, or illustrated art album. Can we surpass the era of the rear-view mirrors?

### Uniform sight

"Modern man is a voyeur in every field of life: he is an absent-minded and outsider observer" - Miklós Almási wrote in one of his essays.<sup>1</sup> This thought emerged in various places of art theoretical literature during the past years, when questions of visual culture emerged. Usually, immediately linked with the effects of mass communication, for example, by Lajos Németh, who formulated it in the following manner: "through commercials, television, and comics - namely, through the public channels of visual communication, through the information apparatus of the present civilization - man is flooded by a deluge of depictive clichés, simplified visual patterns, and the schematized formulae of relations between space dimensions, between space and time, and so his sight becomes uniformized."<sup>2</sup>

It is worthwhile to stop at the thought which sounds similar in articles by several authors. Perhaps not disputing its truth (although it has not yet been proved by the social sciences, our everyday experience suggests that it may be true!), but pondering how far the development of mass com-

munication and the more purposeful utilization of its opportunities can lead the viewer, the reader or the listener from "voyeurism" into a different direction. Somewhere where he does not meet the arts as "an absent-minded and outsider observer" any more.

An anecdote which became an adage by McLuhan makes this basic dilemma more easily touchable in the following manner:

"... the admiring friend said: 'My, that's a fine child you have there!' Mother: 'Oh, that's nothing - you should see his photograph.'"

Can we ever escape at all from this hard captivity of visual clichés?

The answer can be considered in a triangular system of relations. One peak of the triangle is the public. The other is art - in our case, fine and applied art - including the artist, his creation and in fact criticism too. The third one is mass communication.

(By mass communication here I do not exclusively mean the major mass media - television, radio and press - but the periphery of mass communication, too, which is very interesting from the point of view of our subject: art reproductions, picture cards, book and record jackets, posters, and thousands of pictures and symbols of the packaging techniques.)

Moreover I am convinced that the venues of our everyday life function as mass communication in the relationship between fine art and the public, which we never even consider as such. For example, let us take the Budapest Metro stations. The busy ones are frequented by tens of thousands of people a day. Most of them visit the same stop twice a day, at least 10 times every week, going and coming from work. During the one or two minutes waiting for the train, they gaze their

eyes on the available spectacle and almost unconsciously absorb every element of the material surrounding. Thus, a shop window in the Metro station has an "audience" of several hundreds of thousands every week. And this is not a negligible figure! Audiences of such extent are taken into consideration even by television, the mass medium of the broadest sphere of effect. (As it was taken into consideration in the re-organization of some stations in the Paris Metro, during the period when André Malraux was the Minister of Culture... or when decorating the walls of the Stockholm Metro... not to speak about the extensive interest of advertisement agencies in such ad-bearers! )

Do we understand and properly utilize the possibilities provided by our everyday environment in the promotion of genuine meetings between the arts and man? According to our experiences and one or two empirical surveys, including research carried out by the staff of the Mass Communication Research Centre in some public squares of Budapest<sup>3</sup> - we do not appropriately utilize them and far from doing it consciously enough.

### Why Johnny can't draw

In the analysis of the relationship between fine arts and mass communication, already the first steps lead into a broader logical field, the field of visual culture, interpreting it similarly to the way Pál Miklós did it in one of his articles: "Visual culture in fact is an object culture - picture culture is only one of its special spheres, and points of view".<sup>4</sup>

Continuing our thought process in this broader field, we immediately observe two characteristics. One, compared to music or literature, fine art objects are in a specific space relationship with their audience - at least if it



concerns an original work (painting or statue). While music and literature look for their own audiences - it can be said that they go to the audiences - fine art works have to be visited by the public. (Paintings may be an exception, because they are more mobile - they can be moved. Nevertheless, the more valuable a painting, the less mobile, and more rapidly closed within the walls of galleries or museums.) Obviously, the problems deriving from the specific immobility of fine art creations can to a large extent be dissolved by mass communication.

Another - more essential - characteristic: the processes of our visual perception, which mainly rely on basic social and historical conditioning factors. Our hearing, touching, heat and taste sense, and movement sense are much more genetically determined than our sight.

At least three conclusions are offered from this for our theme. First: socialization - the process through which the child, the young person "works himself into" society and at the same time, builds the values, norms, and behaviour patterns of society into his own personality - has a much greater significance from the point of view of sight, than of the other forms of perception. Second: the value conflicts, value gaps and value changes, which characterize every society and every historic era (but are particularly forcefully following such extensive social changes, which occurred in the past few decades in Hungarian society), have a considerable effect on our sight, on our visual culture, and on our everyday aesthetic value choices, which cannot be ignored by the artist, the policy maker or the communicator. Finally: as our visual perception is socially determined to a large extent, the shortcomings of our visual culture cannot be exclusively searched for in the relationship between fine art and mass communication, or - let us say - fine art and the school system, but have to be

considered in a much broader framework of interpretation. I may say that only the healthiness of our social development as a whole can make us give up "voyeurism".

Naturally, partial results can be achieved by the more conscious utilization of social institutions - school or mass communication. Larry Gross, the well-known communication researcher of Philadelphia, entitled one of his recent essays: "Why Johnny can't draw".<sup>5</sup> In his study, he compared the process of learning one's mother tongue with that of learning drawing. He found that in the case of speech (and partly music) it is a basic presumption that everybody can learn and actively use these symbol systems. Moreover, children are surrounded by competent "teachers" - fluently speaking adults. The third presumption is that the output provided in the process of learning is definitely and in a differentiated manner evaluated by the surroundings. In the case of drawing abilities - or in a broader sense visual expressive abilities - none of the conditions are met in the present societies - says Larry Gross. He recalls his childhood in an ironic manner, when his father, without discrimination stuck all his drawings onto the refrigerator, which served as a home gallery. Occasionally, he felt it necessary to attract his seven year old son's attention to the fact that "You won't be able to live on this!" The mythicised concept of fine arts and of the creative artist and the overemphasis on the "chosenness" necessarily follow from the contradictory process of learning and teaching. I agree with the absurdity of the thought formulated in the question suggested by Larry Gross: "What if only the exceptionally talented children learned to speak!?"

It is hoped that mass communication can also play a role in the correction of this awkward pedagogic process. For example, I believe that demystifying the role of the arts and the creative artist can be considerably promoted by mass communi-

cation - particularly film and television have the possibilities - when occasionally it shows us the birth process of the art object, together with all the tribulations and struggle (and of course, with the detailed work of the artisan-like elements with which it ends up on the canvas and with which it enfold, from the raw material).

Recently, I saw an art documentary produced by one of the Japanese television companies about the Venus of Milo. The concept of the production was interesting - and this is why I mention it here - because through the introduction of the statue, it recalled the entire sphere of legends grouped around Venus/Aphrodite in ancient mythology. Moreover, this was built into a broader historic reference system, leaving room for the goddesses of love and fertility in the ancient cultures, as well as the Mary-cult of the Christians, and Botticelli's Venus too. I think such solutions promote the demystification of the object d'art and also strengthen the necessary historic aura for genuine art enjoyment.

A few years ago, at a theoretical forum of Hungarian broadcasting István Hermann, a philosopher formulated the thought, which since then has been consciously built into the programme policy, namely, that the major creations of European culture can only be understood by people, who learnt, at least on a basic level, the symbol systems and legends of the major European religions - of Christians and Jews. This also applies to fine arts. Without knowing the canon of early periods, it is impossible to understand the canon of modern arts - or exactly their destruction of tradition. This is a platitude, but mass communication has to draw the appropriate conclusions from this common place statement in devising its own programme policies. (I just mention as a side remark that by putting the emphasis on the historic dimension in the encounter of fine arts and the audience, mass communication could considerably strengthen the sense of national identity too.)

### Television limited

I cannot and should not provide a detailed overview of the Hungarian mass communication system, enumerating how many programmes, articles, illustrations and photographs serve the transmission of fine art values to their public. All of us know the review columns of the dailies and the analytical activity of our weeklies; we watch the fine art programmes, the "TV Gallery", as well as the "Art object of the week", various documentaries and reports, the more extensive and analytical programmes of the "Studio '83", and the minor, more ephemeral references to fine art and applied art in the daily editions of the Television Newsreel<sup>6</sup>. I cannot say whether the quantity produced in these columns and programmes by mass communication is too much or too little.

I believe, however, that contradictions are not to be found in the extensivity, but more in the content and quality. For example, the fact mentioned several times by critics and art writers can be empirically proved: mass communication as a whole - with due respect to the exceptions! - conserves an outdated fine art outlook, centred around painting. Studies made in our institute<sup>7</sup> clearly indicate that for example, in the case of the Television Newsreel, the share of showing painting decreases in a tangible manner, moving from its first edition (which reaches the broadest circle of viewers) towards the third edition (which has a smaller public of a different composition), while at the same time, the ratio of sculpture, applied arts, interior decoration and photography increases. Thus, the painting-centric fine art concept reaches the large masses, and only the more educated, mostly of intellectual occupation or urban strata - namely the viewers of the later newsreels - receive a more differentiated, more modern structural picture about fine and applied arts.<sup>8</sup>

Speaking about television; I would like to mention one or two technical features that also have an effect on the relationship between the fine arts and the public. At present, the possibilities of television are limited and not only by broadcast time. According to a critic: "Television reflects the spectacle in an incomparably poorer and more distorted manner than the radio provides a musical experience."<sup>9</sup> One reason for this is the imperfect reproduction technique of the screen, what is usually smaller than the original object d'art, and so it is mostly impossible to introduce the object from a single camera position. Thus, the cameraman is compelled to introduce the entire work without details or the details without the entirety.

I will return later to the "definition" problems of the screen. However, with regard to the movement of the camera, I have to mention that in contrast to the other mass media, the television is able to provide an almost "hologramatic" picture of a multidimensional artistic work; despite its two dimensional screen, it can circle, almost circumtrace a statue, the applied art object, a structure, or a complex of buildings. Its further technical advantage is that it is able to bring together the work of art, the critic - or his criticism - and the general public. It is a rare occurrence (at least to a mass extent) in the conventional situations of meeting with the art creation that one can read or listen to the criticism or to the analysis, while watching the artistic work.

### Visual alphabet

In mass communication - as it was revealed by theoretical works from various angles - the everyday and aesthetic spheres of human-social life come into contact with each other. This may mean that the aesthetic side sinks into everyday commonness: it becomes a cliché or a consumer product. But it may also mean that it provides a constant

connecting path for the masses - naturally, requiring intellectual efforts - towards the values of aesthetics. In order to free this latter direction, it is not sufficient that the communicators should piously emphasize the "festive" character of the artistic work, differing from the everyday quality, but to reveal how the general public can be made aware of the aesthetic elements in the functionality of everyday life; in our day-to-day environment.

Mass communication strives to bring artistic works nearer to man, who is deeply submerged in everyday life. This man is working, he struggles with problems, and frequently uses mass communication to loosen up, as relaxation. Realistic programme policy and editorial policy must not forget this! Recently, I leaved over a booklet published by the Museum at Szentendre<sup>10</sup> in which the results of a sociological survey were summarized. The data illustrating the frequency of exhibition visiting and the structure of fine art taste, are rather similar to those what we usually see in other surveys on cultural taste; naturally, the artistic taste of the higher educated, younger groups, which can be characterized with more favourable social-economic criteria, is more developed and more refined. However, there is a very meaningful tabulation in the study which separated the interviewees into two basic groups: those who work with more independence in their jobs and those who have less independence. When asked what do they expect from a painting, both groups answered in the first place that it should, as far as possible, depict reality. However, the answer on the second, third and fourth place essentially differed from each other. Those who carry out monotonous work, lacking initiative, expect the painting to be "complete"; it should "have a relaxing effect" and it should "express what we all feel". Those who carry out more independent work gave the following three answers: "should be original", "should have imagination" and "should be thought provoking". I rarely met such clearcut

confrontation of the desire for pleasantness, and the search for cathartic effects. This is also a social fact, which if not taken into consideration by the communicators, then they can hardly sail with their fine art programmes between the cliffs of elitism and mass demagogy.

In his earlier quoted study, Miklós Almási wrote the following: "Modern man sees increasingly less - even in life. He becomes used to his milieu and the street in which he lives gradually becomes invisible, as well as the colour of his wife's hair, and the furniture in his room."<sup>11</sup> In fact, the complex task of mass communication can be very simply formulated; it should teach people to see.

I believe that the teaching to see and the development of our visual culture have two levels. One is the assignment formulated in more and more societies and included also among the tasks of UNESCO, which is usually formulated as "visual literacy". Namely, the members of modern societies have to learn the handling of visual code systems, at least on the same basic level as children in the first grade learn the alphabet. (It may be surprising, but we are rather far from this situation!)

The other level of teaching to see is the activity of mass communication - and perhaps of the school system - with which it helps to open the eyes of the general public towards the less conspicuous elements of our everyday life, and helps to have a look on the natural and material world around us from an angle different from the conventional. The television programme of Mihály Ráday<sup>12</sup> "City-defending Pallas Athene" - by opening up these new angles of sight - does more for the promotion of our visual culture than many other types of mass communication products of a more direct, but less eye-opening character. I refer to the already mentioned poster; it is not only, and not primarily the

quality of the fine art contents transmitted by mass communications what is most important in this respect, but what operational rules; what patterns of thinking and what attitudes it transmits to ensure the penetration into the artistic work's essence.

I recently became acquainted with the method of a fanatic French architect. When he builds his planned housing estate in a model, he rolls a miniature television camera, fixed to a mobile trolley, along the streets of the model town. The camera transmits the pictures onto a monitor. Not that this is the most interesting part, but the fact that the height of the lens can be adjusted, so that the urban designer can follow on the monitor what a five or six year old child can see from its own eye height, when it strolls along the new street; will it be oppressed by the spectacle of the buildings or will the child enjoy itself in the new surroundings? According to psychologists, it is an important socio-hygienic function of mass communication to strengthen the empathy potential of its public. From the point of view of our theme, I think it is similarly essential that it should teach the general public to change its outlook and to make it reveal its everyday surrounding from a constantly renewed perspective.

### The envisaged future

Most probably the new communication technologies will bring new dilemmas into the triangle of public - fine art - mass communications. The direct broadcast satellites, which will beam foreign television programmes into the area of Hungary, will most probably further strengthen the oppressive character of visual clichés and visual stereotypes. For most of the programmes will probably be produced on a high professional level, they will be very pleasant, but strictly standardized, cosmopolitan entertainment programmes. The spread of local cable television systems may provide advan-



tageous opportunities for the communities. For example, a purposeful and creative utilization of these systems can bring artistic workshops and local creative groups nearer than before to that community in which they work. But it can also contribute to the development and refinement of a more analytical "environmental sensitivity" of the general public. The spread of video recorders can help in the learning of a specific new type of visual expression. The spread of high definition television may mean progress in the more perfect reproduction of the beauty of fine art creations: a painting, a drawing, a statue, or an applied art object can be presented in perfect colours and not necessarily in fragments. And if their use will be combined with the provision of computerized videothèques, then such possibilities can be envisaged when the art historian student preparing for his examination - or an art loving layman - can retrieve onto the large screen in his own home, let us say, all the important creations of a given impressionist painter, which are scattered in the various museums of the world; that have never met on the pages of any single art album. The improvement of reproduction techniques can bring onto the walls of rooms, copies perfectly identical with the original. Moreover, onto the walls of the museums as well, because the keepers of the collections will probably prefer to preserve the originals in closed stores, where the light, temperature and humidity necessary for their conservation can be constantly ensured.

The communication explosion, which started in the 1970s, is a multifarious historic process. Therefore, its outcome and its resultants can be hardly guessed today. In a fortunate case, and in an appropriate social milieu, it can result in the further change in the relationship between art objects and the general public. At the beginning, the public visited the art objects: the statue, painting or building complex. Later, mass communication brought their picture to me - to the viewer, to the reader. Namely, they "transmitted" them

to me. In the future<sup>1</sup>, it will be different again; according to my interest and taste<sup>2</sup>, I can "invite" these creations into my home. Of course, only if I feel the need.

But this is not a matter of technique any more. Need for arts is a question of social relations!

### Notes

1. Almási, M.: A fáradt szem, avagy a festőiség halála a nézőben, in: S.Nagy, K. (ed.): A vizuális kulturáról, Budapest, 1982. p. 35.
2. Németh, L.: A modern vizuális nyelv és a közlés konfliktusai<sup>1</sup>, in: S.Nagy, K. (ed.): op. cit. p. 349
3. cf. S.Nagy, K.: Budapesti közterek, Művészet, 1980<sup>1</sup>, No.5.
4. Miklós, P.: Vizuális kultúra - tárgykultúra, Jelenkor, 1975. No. 4-5
5. Gross, L.: Why Johnny Can't Draw, Art Education, March 1983
6. All the titles of programmes mentioned here refer to broadcasts dealing directly or indirectly with fine and applied arts.
7. D.Hoffmann<sup>1</sup>, M. - S. Nagy, K.: A tévéhíradó képzőművészeti közleményei, Manuscript, 1983
8. The three daily editions of the TV Newsreel regularly cover events related also to the field of arts.
9. Vadas, J.: Értékelés a Stúdió '82-ről; Manuscript, 1983
10. Gergely, A. - Gergely, A.: Kiállításlátogatás és művészetfeldolgozás a szentendrei gyűjteményekben, Studia Comitatusia 10, Szentendre, 1982
11. Almási, M.: op.cit. p. 35
12. A very popular<sup>1</sup>, participatory-type programme of the Hungarian Television, in which the reporter, with the support of the viewers<sup>2</sup>, tries to safeguard original elements of the urban environment (lamp-posts, gates, facades, etc.) from a possible destruction due to reconstruction, remodelling or simple negligence.

## FOCUS

*Tamás Terestyéni*

### **A Few Characteristics of the Picture of Reality Broadcast by the Television Newsreel**

At the 1981 work session of the ISA Research Committee on Communication, Knowledge and Culture in Milan, a resolution was adopted according to which the participants started a comparative analysis on the basis of unanimously approved theoretical-methodological aspects under the title "The television newsreel and the production of reality." The study consists of three main parts:

- a/ description of the television newsreel's institutional and structural system (the history of the television and of the television news in the given country; the structure of the newsreel team, the conditions of its technical, financial and personnel operation, and processes of decision, etc.):
- b/ content analysis of a reduced sample of the television newsreels in order to reveal the characteristics in the presentation of the artificial reality transmitted by the newsreels and in order to compare the situation in the participating countries;
- c/ the comparative semiotical analysis of television newsreels.

The present study summarizes the research results with which the Mass Communication Research Centre contributed to point b/, namely to the comparative content analysis of the television newsreels.

## About the method

Naturally, international comparative research is only worthwhile if each participant elaborates material with identical methods, chosen according to identical points of view. Our survey accepted the text analysis, which is a novelty and somewhat different from the conventional content analytical method - recommended by the content analytical group of the Milan session for the participants of the research project. As the results are highly dependent on the applied method - asking for the patience of the reader - we have to briefly describe it. The text analysis starts out from the point that texts to be analyzed can be broken down into minimal information nuclei in whose content structure an ACTOR is directed toward an ADDRESSEE and carries out an ACT with reference to a THEMATIC FIELD.

For example:

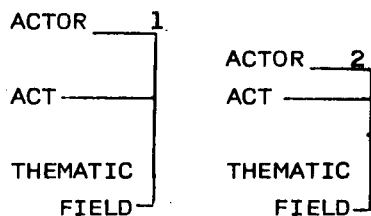
|   |                |
|---|----------------|
| With regard to the deployment of missiles | THEMATIC FIELD |
| the United States                         | ACTOR          |
| was unable to convince                    | ACT            |
| its West European associates.             | ADDRESSEE      |

ACTOR or ADDRESSEE can be a person, a group, an organization or a country and an institution, namely anything existing, which is able to act. The concept of ACT includes all the activity of the ACTOR starting from intentions and verbal manifestations to actual deeds. THEMATIC FIELDS cover all those affairs, problems and topics, which are included in the ACT of the ACTOR, and they may be of foreign political or domestic character, economic or cultural, clashing or cooperational. The minimal information nuclei constructed in this manner constitute the ANALYTICAL UNITS.

In the first stage of the analysis, the text will be - sentence after sentence - broken down into ANALYTICAL UNITS in

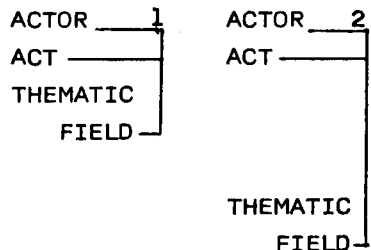
the above sense. A part of the text can be identified as an ANALYTICAL UNIT if in it the same ACTOR carries out one defined ACT with reference to the same THEMATIC FIELD toward the same ADDRESSEE. If there are more ACTORS in a sentence, more ADDRESSEES, various THEMATIC FIELDS or different ACTS, then naturally we are dealing with various ANALYTICAL UNITS, as for example:

János Kádár  
and Colonel Ghadhafi  
discussed



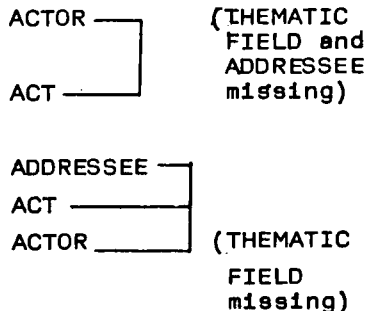
the most important issues of  
the international situation

... Each member of parliament  
voted in favour  
of the bill concerning  
state companies  
and  
the workers' autonomy.



Each ANALYTICAL UNIT has to contain an ACTOR and an ACT, but not necessarily an ADDRESSEE and/or THEMATIC FIELD, for example:

György Lázár, Member of HSWP CC  
Prime Minister  
today visited  
the VIIIth district.  
The Prime Minister  
was greeted by  
Dr. Ferenc Molnár  
Chairman of the district council



The second stage of the analysis includes the qualification of the components of the ANALYTICAL UNITS identified in the described method, namely, ACTORS, ADDRESSEES, ACTs, and THEMATIC FIELDS. ACTORS and ADDRESSEES can be studied from the point of view of what social subsystems, institutions, roles or geopolitical regions they represent. ACTs can be categorized according to the nature of their intervention with social processes, whether they happened in the present or in the past, whether they are motivated or not, and whether their character is clashing or cooperative. The THEMATIC FIELDS can be examined on the basis of what affairs, problems, spheres of issues and topics they include, to which fields of social existence they refer to, and whether they carry the symbols of harmony or conflict, etc.

In our survey - again following the recommendation of the Milan session - we analyzed four editions of the television newsreel in the first programme of the Hungarian Television (September 22, 23, 24, 25, 1981 at 19.30). The four newsreels included 112 independent text-plus-picture units (news, reports, actuality, interviews and commentaries) which we could separate (weather forecasts were omitted) and in which we succeeded to identify altogether 910 ANALYTICAL UNITS.

Before coming to the listing of our results, we would like to draw attention to the fact that our study should be considered of experimental character, because we applied an untested method on a relatively small quantity of material, which primarily kept an international comparison in mind. Naturally, the advantages of international comparisons emerge in their entirety if genuine comparison is possible. For the time being, unfortunately no data of other countries are available. Nevertheless, it is hoped that despite this handicap, our results will be found to be informative.

### Preference to politicians

Persons, institutions, and organizations stood in the foreground of reality produced by the television newsreel, which because of their social functions and typical sphere of activity, were linked with the political-power sphere. Within the 910 ANALYTICAL UNITS about two thirds of the ACTORS represented the political power subsystem of society.

Essential differences appeared in the social composition of the domestic and foreign ACTORS. Among the foreign ACTORS those were in an unambiguous majority who were linked with the political context. Persons, institutions, and organizations, which represented economic, cultural and educational, etc., spheres only occurred to a slight proportion. On the other hand, the ratio of those with political-power functions among the domestic ACTORS was essentially small and those linked with economic life, cultural sphere or administration were essentially higher.

Table 1

| Social type of ACTORS  | (percentage)      |                    |                 |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
|  | foreign<br>ACTORS | domestic<br>ACTORS | total<br>ACTORS |
| Head of state  | 14                | 1                  | 10              |
| Representatives of nations<br>(ambassadors, foreign ministers) | 26                | 7                  | 19              |
| Governments and their members                                  | 20                | 18                 | 18              |
| Courts   | 1                 | 0                  | 0               |
| Armed forces, police   | 6                 | 0                  | 4               |
| State offices and staff  | 5                 | 11                 | 8               |
| Local power  | 1                 | 4                  | 2               |
| Parties and their leaders                                      | 6                 | 7                  | 6               |
| Terrorists and groups  | 4                 | 0                  | 2               |
| International political organizations                          | 3                 | 0                  | 2               |

|   | foreign<br>ACTORS | domestic<br>ACTORS | total<br>ACTORS |
|---|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Other international organizations   | 0                 | 0                  | 0               |
| Churches and dignitaries  | 0                 | 0                  | 0               |
| Trade unions  | 1                 | 0                  | 1               |
| Economic organizations,<br>productive units and<br>managers   | 4                 | 25                 | 11              |
| Social subjects of the world<br>of work (workers, with the<br>exception of the following<br>4 fields) | 2                 | 4                  | 3               |
| Specialists, institutions,<br>heads and students of<br>education and sciences                         | 0                 | 1                  | 1               |
| Cultural institutions (mass<br>communication and arts),<br>leaders and staff                          | 1                 | 11                 | 5               |
| Health institutions, heads,<br>specialists  | 0                 | 2                  | 1               |
| Sport institutions, managers,<br>participants   | 2                 | 4                  | 3               |
| Non-political voluntary social<br>organizations, movements  | 0                 | 0                  | 0               |
| Non-institutional social groups<br>(according to sex, age, eco-<br>nomic situation, etc.)             | 1                 | 2                  | 1               |
| Criminals, deviant elements   | 1                 | 0                  | 0               |
| Individuals outside their profes-<br>sional social role   | 1                 | 3                  | 2               |
| Natural factors (earthquake, bull<br>running amok, rabid dog, etc.)                                   | 1                 | 0                  | 0               |
| Total   | 100               | 100                | 100             |
| N =   | 545               | 365                | 910             |



Table 2

The geopolitical breakdown of the ACTORS in the  
television newsreel

|   | <u>percentage</u> |
|---|-------------------|
| Hungarian   | 39                |
| West European   | 19                |
| East European (including Soviet Union)                        | 18                |
| North American  | 9                 |
| Middle East (including Iran and North<br>African Arab states) | 5                 |
| Asian (including Australia)                                   | 3                 |
| African   | 2                 |
| Latin American  | 2                 |
| Undefinable   | 3                 |
| Total   | 100               |
| N =   | 912               |

Naturally, the largest group consisted of domestic ACTORS, then with a significant difference came the ACTORS of the direct geopolitical neighbours (East European socialist countries and the Soviet Union). The North American ACTORS practically only covered US political factors. The other geopolitical areas were represented by an essentially smaller number of ACTORS, thus the role of Asia, Africa, the Middle East and Latin America was rather small in the reality of the television newsreel.

We mentioned that from the geopolitical areas outside our frontiers, ACTORS functioning in the political sphere were in the majority (nations as political units, governments, ministers, heads of states, parties and armed forces, etc.). While West and East Europe were also represented by ACTORS to a relatively significant ratio, which were not linked to the political sphere (economic organizations and their

leaders, social subjects from the world of work, cultural institutions and artists, sportsmen and sports organizations, individuals outside their professional social role, and non-structural social groups, etc.) the representation of the other geopolitical areas was completely limited to political factors.

### More talk

Our content analysis separated the ACTs of the ACTORS presented by the television newsreel, into five major types: SOFT<sub>1</sub> ACTs: a manner of activity in which the ACTOR

does not directly interfere with the procedure, does not change the status of affairs, only communicates, forwards information, expresses an opinion about the state of affairs. For example: The chairman of the coop said that...; the Afghan Foreign Minister pointed out that...; the head of Soviet diplomacy expounded that...;

Mitterrand provided a comprehensive picture about French foreign and domestic policy, etc.

SOFT<sub>2</sub> ACTs: not an actual mode of action, but the expression of the ACTOR's intentions and efforts, the expression of wish. For example: Mitterrand explained that he intends to maintain the alliance with the USA; the two parties strive for long-term cooperation, etc.

HARD<sub>1</sub> ACTs: in contrast to the SOFT types of actions it means the changing of the state of affairs, procedures, the status of the world, thus it represents interference with direct and immediate consequences. For example: the government reduces the budget of all portfolios; the Indian police arrested five Iraqi subjects; the United States supports Afghan rebels, etc.

HARD<sub>2</sub> ACTs: represent the conventionally regulated, protocol and ritual manner in handling affairs and settling matters, consequently it should be regarded not so much as direct interference into the state of affairs, as a formal step according to convention and ritual rules. For example: Today György Lázár received Erwin Lang, the Austrian Minister of Home Affairs; The Lybian guest invited János Kádár, for a reciprocal visit; The Presidential Council awarded the Order "For Socialist Hungary" to so and so, etc.

EMPTY ACTs: events which occur independently from the intentions of the ACTOR, one could say that they happen, thus they do not presume de facto activity. For example: During the clashes, the young man was killed; 38 of the bathers were infected with dysentery; Hungarian theatrical life was gravely hit by the loss of so and so, etc.

Table 3

| <u>Types of ACTs in the television newsreels</u>                     | <u>(percentage)</u> |
|--|---------------------|
| SOFT <sub>1</sub> ("says" type)                                      | 35                  |
| SOFT <sub>2</sub> ("wants" type)                                     | 6                   |
| HARD <sub>1</sub> (causing direct change in the status of the world) | 33                  |
| HARD <sub>2</sub> (protocol, ritual)                                 | 24                  |
| EMPTY ("happens" type)   | 2                   |
| Total  | 100                 |
| N =  | 910                 |

In the reality of the television newsreels, a considerable proportion of the ACTORS' activity does not mean HARD interference in the state of affairs, but is only SOFT<sub>1</sub>, namely, of verbal character, representing communicational manifestations. If we add that a considerable part of the

HARD<sub>1</sub> and HARD<sub>2</sub> ACTs are also communicational activities in the sense that they materialize through the expression of words, namely, through verbal acts (discusses, negotiates, instructs, orders, agrees, and contracts, etc.), then the conclusion seems to be justified, namely, that in the reality of the television newsreel, verbal acts dominate in contrast to direct physical acts.

The present tense dominates the events of the television newsreels. The majority of the ACTs took place in the preceding hours or days. Only 3% of the ANALYTICAL UNITS went back into a further past. The recollection of the past, namely, placing the present events into historic context - with the exception of a few sentences (for example: "At that time, Brandt enthusiastically supported Mitterrand's election campaign") - mostly occurred in domestic materials (for example: Reminiscences about the foundation and history of the Madách Theatre).

Very few of the motivations with regard to the ACTORs' ACTs were mentioned in the television newsreels. Texts which would have explicitly named the reasons, aims and motivations of the ACTORs, which led to the ACTs, were found only in less than 3% of all the ANALYTICAL UNITS (for example, The terrorists surrendered because... ; the state expenses are further reduced because this is the way... etc.)

### Characteristic links

The types of ACTs are characteristically linked with ACTORs of certain social roles or geopolitical origin.

Table 4

ACTORS of political and non-political role, according to the type of their ACTs

| ACTs   | (percentage)     |                      |              |
|--|------------------|----------------------|--------------|
|  | Political ACTORS | Non-political ACTORS | Total ACTORS |
| SOFT <sub>1</sub> ("says" type)                                      | 38               | 29                   | 35           |
| SOFT <sub>2</sub> ("wants" type)                                     | 7                | 5                    | 6            |
| HARD <sub>1</sub> (causing direct change in the status of the world) | 26               | 46                   | 33           |
| HARD <sub>2</sub> (protocol, ritual)                                 | 29               | 14                   | 24           |
| EMPTY ("happens" type)   | 0                | 6                    | 2            |
| Total  | 100              | 100                  | 100          |
| N =  | 591              | 319                  | 910          |

SOFT<sub>1</sub> ACTs are the most characteristic manner of activity of the ACTORS, acting in the political sphere of the reality presented by the television newsreel. Primarily, the politicians and the representatives of political organizations and institutions make statements in this artificial world; ascertain and expound opinions about affairs; and the situation, raise problems and questions, and agree or disagree with them. The protocol-like ritual participation in the administration of affairs is also characteristically linked with political ACTORS: mostly politicians go visiting, participate at meetings, invite other politicians, and accept invitations, etc. It is more characteristic of them that they reveal their intentions and plans. The HARD<sub>1</sub> interference with the state of affairs plays a relatively smaller role in the activity of the ACTORS of the political sphere, and we can immediately add that even their HARD<sub>2</sub> ACTs are less dominated by physical, more with an indirect, abstract, and non-physical character. In the main, political institutions, organizations, and their representatives do not interfere in the physical space with physical means, but

with words within legally constructed frameworks; they pass bills, instruct, decide, protest, conclude contracts, and make agreements, etc.

Acts or activities, which do not materialize through words and have some physical character, are not primarily connected with ACTORS of a political role: the ACTORS of the economy produce, transport and supply the market with goods; the workers work or strike; members of social groups demonstrate, or become squatters; cultural institutes organize exhibitions or display artistic products; athletes acquire victory or fail, etc. Most probably this sphere of phenomena includes the case where the EMPTY ("it happens") type occurred exclusively to non-political ACTORS.

Significant differences can be observed if we compare the characteristic manner of ACTION of domestic and foreign ACTORS.

In the reality of the Hungarian television newsreels, Hungarian ACTORS take less of a stand than the foreign ones, they expound their opinion to a lesser extent and this also refers to the acceptance or refutation of views, etc., but make visits more often, receive partners and participate at meetings, sessions and conferences, etc. The ratio of HARD<sub>2</sub> ACTs is identical among foreign and domestic ACTORS, but within this, ACTs of an aggressive character such as (armed) attack, arrests, killing, destruction, siege, and repulse, etc., exclusively occur in connection with foreign ACTORS.

The fact that the Hungarian reality of the television newsreels is more peaceful, and less aggressive was confirmed by the comparison of the ACTs by foreign and domestic ACTORS along the axis of CONFLICT/COOPERATION. The activity of the Hungarian ACTORS contained more cooperative and less

clashing ACTs. Data which will be later illustrated also indicate that the television newsreels present a more harmonious picture about our domestic relations than about those abroad.

Table 5

Foreign and domestic ACTORS according to the type of their ACTs (percentage)

| ACT   | Foreign<br>ACTORS | Domestic<br>ACTORS | Total<br>ACTORS |
|---|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| SOFT <sub>1</sub> ("says" type)   | 40                | 30                 | 35              |
| SOFT <sub>2</sub> ("wants" type)  | 6                 | 5                  | 6               |
| HARD <sub>1</sub> (causing direct change in<br>the status of the world) | 33                | 33                 | 33              |
| HARD <sub>2</sub> (protocol, ritual)                                    | 21                | 28                 | 24              |
| EMPTY ("happens" type)  | 1                 | 4                  | 2               |
| Total   | 100               | 100                | 100             |
| N =   | 545               | 365                | 910             |

#### Thematic fields

THEMATIC FIELDS as it was explained earlier<sup>4</sup>, mean all the topics and problems connected with the ACTs of the ACTORS. Thus, the THEMATIC FIELDS are merely those affairs and issues, around which the ACTs rotate. The following categorization indicates the nature of the affairs which the activity of the ACTORS concerned in the television newsreel.

Table 6

The context types of THEMATIC FIELDS (affaires) according to foreign and domestic ACTORS (percentage)

|  | Foreign<br>ACTORS | Domestic<br>ACTORS | Total<br>ACTORS |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| countries' domestic politics<br>(government affairs, parties<br>and party contacts, administra-<br>tive affairs, political feuds,<br>and terrorism, etc.)    | 36                | 18                 | 28              |
| international relations (rela-<br>tions between states and<br>blocks, East-West relations;<br>rearmament, disarmament, nego-<br>tiations, and detente, etc.) | 39                | 21                 | 31              |
| economic life (system of manage-<br>ment, problems of growth, eco-<br>nomic relations, and problems<br>of underdevelopment)                                  | 12                | 35                 | 22              |
| manpower (employment, division,<br>trade union movement, and au-<br>tonomy, etc.)  | 6                 | 2                  | 5               |
| education and sciences (situation<br>of the educational system, de-<br>velopment of sciences, their<br>application, and discoveries,<br>etc.)                | 1                 | 2                  | 1               |
| cultural life (cultural values,<br>situation of cultural insti-<br>tutions, development of arts,<br>and mass communication, etc.)                            | 1                 | 13                 | 6               |
| health affairs   | 0                 | 4                  | 2               |
| law and jurisdiction   | 0                 | 0                  | 0               |
| religious and church affairs   | 0                 | 0                  | 0               |



|  | Foreign<br>ACTORS | Domestic<br>ACTORS | Total<br>ACTORS |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| social participation (non-political movements, initiatives, and the activity of non-structure social groups) | 2                 | 2                  | 2               |
| deviation phenomena (delinquency, drinking, and drug-addiction, etc.)  | 1                 | 1                  | 1               |
| human relations (family, and socialization)  | 0                 | 0                  | 0               |
| Total  | 100               | 100                | 100             |
| N (all the ANALYTICAL UNITS in which THEMATIC FIELDS could be identified)                                    | 323               | 250                | 573             |

These data also express the strong political orientation of the television newsreel: more than half of the affairs in which the FACTORS were engaged were of a political nature (within this, international affairs occurred more frequently to some extent). From among the other THEMATIC FIELDS<sup>6</sup>, only the economy attracted considerable attention.

In the reality of the television newsreels<sup>7</sup>, the foreign and domestic ACTORS are not equally interested in the affairs linked with the different THEMATIC FIELDS. While the foreign ACTORS turned almost exclusively toward political problems<sup>8</sup>, Hungarian ACTORS were primarily engaged in economic issues, and dealt with cultural questions more often than the foreign ACTORS. It is particularly conspicuous that a small proportion of Hungarian ACTORS reacted to domestic affairs.

Similarly significant differences can be found if we examine the THEMATIC FIELDS along the CONFLICT/COOPERATION axis.

Table 7

THEMATIC FIELDS with a clashing and cooperative context (according to foreign and domestic ACTORS)

|                                       | (percentage)   |                 |              |
|---------------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|--------------|
|                                       | Foreign ACTORS | Domestic ACTORS | Total ACTORS |
| THEMATIC FIELD of clashing context    | 30             | 18              | 25           |
| THEMATIC FIELD of cooperative context | 30             | 28              | 29           |
| neutral THEMATIC FIELD                | 40             | 54              | 46           |
| Total                                 | 100            | 100             | 100          |
| N =                                   | 323            | 250             | 573          |

One of the important differences show that the ACTs of the ACTORS include a larger number of neutral ones, which do not express either conflicts or cooperation. The themes in which the foreign SUBJECTs were involved - also because of the predominance of political topics - were more strongly polarized, including less of neutral context. The other important difference, while in the case of foreign ACTORS, the ratio of clashing and cooperative affairs was similar, in the case of Hungarian ACTORS, the ones which expressed cooperation were more numerous than those expressing conflicts. These differences unambiguously reflect the fact that the television newsreels depict the internal situation in a more harmonious manner than the world outside the country.

#### Authentication

AUTHENTICATION in our analysis means the words and terms of the probed texts, which stated the genuinity, reality

and importance of the depicted events in the ANALYTICAL UNITS, namely, which were meant to prove and strengthen the authenticity of the content of the television newsreels. We categorized the text excerpts aimed at AUTHENTICATION from the point of view of their origin:

- from the ACTOR (e.g. Ghadhafi praised the results of the Hungarian economy);
- from the WITNESS of the concerned event (e.g. According to eyewitnesses...);
- from the EXPERT (e.g. The analyses of the KERMI showed that certain earthenware dishes have a poisonous effect.)
- from the SOURCE OF INFORMATION; namely from the television communicators, editors, reporters, presenters, and commentators (e.g. The Afghan rebels are supplied with weapons by many sources. This needs hardly any confirmation from us.)

Table 8

Sources of the AUTHENTICATION elements  
in the television newsreels

|   | percentage |
|---|------------|
| The ACTOR authenticates   | 30         |
| The WITNESS authenticates   | 1          |
| The EXPERT authenticates  | 12         |
| The SOURCE OF INFORMATION authenticates                               | 57         |
| Total   | 100        |
| N (all the ANALYTICAL UNITS which<br>included AUTHENTICATION element) | 107        |

More than half of the elements aimed at AUTHENTICATION originated from the television itself. There was a relatively considerable proportion of AUTHENTICATION originating from the ACTORS, but the number of manifestations by EXPERTS

and particularly by WITNESSES was minimal. All in all, only 12% of the ANALYTICAL UNITS included excerpts and expressions aimed at AUTHENTICATION.

### Two pictures in a single frame

Without wishing to generalize the results of our experimental survey (based on a limited quantity of material) onto all the transmission of the television newsreels and ignoring the methodological apparatus, let us briefly summarize the main characteristics of the picture gained from the analysis.

The studied television newsreels construct two, despite their connections, distinctively separating realities within the same single frame: a Hungarian one, within the borders and a foreign one outside the borders of the country. The proportions of the two realities and the order in which the events belonging to the two types of reality are transmitted suggest that the truly important affairs occur abroad following the activity of foreign actors.

Reality abroad is the realm of politics, and within this, the realm of interstate politics. The appearing personalities, groups, institutions and organizations primarily represent the political sphere, and the affairs around which their activity and manifestations rotate are mostly of a political nature. The other fields of social existence, economic life, culture, education and so on are beyond the primary circle of interest within reality abroad.

The typical "hero" of reality abroad is the politician, who most characteristically makes verbal statements concerning affairs and participates at protocol functions. While political actors mostly intervene with words into the process of the affairs, actors farther from the political sphere act in a non-communicational manner.

A significant part of those affairs, with which the mostly political actors of foreign reality deal, are of strongly clashing natures and often have a content which threatens the entire human race. In close connection with this, the activity of foreign subjects is strongly characterized by conflicts and confrontation.

The Hungarian reality of the television newsreels concentrates attention onto economic life, but cultural issues are also of major interest. The political sphere - compared to foreign reality - plays a smaller role: there are less political topics, there are less actors representing the political field, the political characters are more characterized by their participation in protocol or ritual events than by their standpoints, expression of opinion or clash of views. Most probably the relatively low proportion of information referring to internal political life and the relatively large ratio of protocol activity reflect the limited publicness of our political public life.

The typical "heroes" of domestic reality are mainly leading officials of various economic, administrative and cultural institutions or organizations, whose activity necessarily does not refer to affairs of world political significance, but primarily to the topical internal problems of the country.

Hungarian reality is more peaceful and more harmonious than that abroad. The affairs and acts include less conflict and confrontation, and more cooperation and concord than any other points of the televised world.

Naturally, the two types of reality also have identical criteria. Both realities are in the present, with few flash-backs. Both realities place the institutions and organizations or their professional representatives into the lime-

light; the unorganized and uninstitutional sphere and the more personal world of the individuals only acquire an insignificant, somewhat "colouring" role. In both realities, communication and acts through words are the characteristic methods for the settlement of important affairs. It is characteristic of both worlds that most of the reasons, motives, stimulus and aims of the acts remain obscure.

The reality, authenticity, truth and the importance of the affairs presented by the television newsreel are primarily proved by the producers of the television newsreel. How the viewers of the television newsreels interpret, experience and accept this artificial reality as an actual reality should be analyzed by further research.

## *Márta D. Hoffmann and János Rudas*

### **In Dispute**

#### **Analysis and Interpretation**

We argue a lot. In twosome and in threesome. In close friendly circles, or in broad workplace forums. In a cool and dispassionate manner, or with passion, which covers explosive emotions. Partially and impartially. Subjectively and objectively. In an elegant, refined, vulgar or boorish manner. Occasionally, we attack the sky, on other occasions we stick in the mud. We argue with affection and hatred. Optimist and pessimist. We argue in dailies and periodicals. Occasionally, also on the television, or at least we watch how others carry out a debate and the next day - willy-nilly - we take something with us, which becomes part of our life.

#### The preambles

In January 1981, two articles were published in Esti Hírlap (Evening News) in which the authors sharply criticized the release policy of the Hungarian Gramophone Record Company - connected with some concrete cases. Following this, the editors of Studio '81, the weekly cultural programme of the Television, decided to provide a forum for a debate between the journalists and the gramophone record managers. However, the latter - as it was explained by the director of the Company in another broadcast of Studio '81 - were unwilling to share the roundtable with the staff of Esti Hírlap, because the tabloid did not provide publicity for the letter of response written by the managers of the Gramophone Record Company. At the same time, the director expounded his opinion about some of the concerned questions, then the presenter announced that next week they will return to the topic - by

talking to the other party. However, the promised chat only took place several weeks later from a video recording in the second programme late at night - as a special edition of Studio '81. The authors of this article were inspired by this programme and decided to analyze the 60 minute debate. The question may be raised why we chose exactly this programme. We had several reasons.

Partly after many years, this was the first time that we felt that it was a proper debate, where the participants did indeed argue on the screen. For the pseudo debates, which flood the mass media, are known, in which various persons exchange well polished sentences, politely agree with each other, or amend each other's words, or occasionally circumvent each other's arguments.

On the other hand, we felt that the theme of the debate - the release policy of pop music and gramophone records - is peripheral enough to ensure that the participants should express their opinions freely, openly, and with less self-censorship, than in the case of political topics, which are more central to the points of view of public life. However, the theme is not so peripheric that it would not contain - explicitly or implicitly - several important and topical social problems, value conflicts of public life, and political and human dilemmas.

In our opinion, the genre of the debate programme is able to reflect and inspire a more democratic public mood and public life, while at the same time it can also mean a step forward in this direction. However, this is only possible if there is a power balance between the participants of the concerned debate and they are aware of this. The next reason for our choice was exactly the fact that two parties were confronting each other, who with regard to their power background could be considered roughly balanced: Esti Hirlap, the daily of



the Budapest Party Committee, and the Hungarian Gramophone Record Company, which enjoys the support of the highest domestic cultural-political authorities. We considered this an important circumstance, because we have seen more than one "debate programme" in which successful company managers or experts of international fame hesitated to contradict the officials of a ministry, or a police lieutenant-colonel who "wiped off" the opinion of his partners, with a self-confidence originating from their power position.

We can also mention as one of our reasons, the striking style of the presenter, which contributed to our analysis of the debate programme.

With all this, we do not want to suggest that the entire subject of our analysis is an ideal and perfect programme; we tried to prove how little we can argue and particularly on the screen.

In fact our article is a case study about a debate; its completion was preceded by the implementation of various research methods. (The complete programme was video recorded, which we viewed several times and transcribed. This is how we can also publish excerpts from it. Based on the recording, we registered the quantity of certain unambiguous manifestations, behaviour elements and metacommunicative elements, which can be described and defined. We utilized the communication and interaction analytical processes of R.F. Bales, S.D. Duncan and others. The data and information gained with the mentioned techniques, and the debate process itself, were analyzed qualitatively and logically. The case study completed with the complex implementation of the various methods, was published in full in the "Tanulmányok" series of the Mass Communication Research Centre; here we only publish the main moments of our qualitative-logical analysis.)

It should be noted that we did not consider it our assignment to analyze the articles published in Esti Hirlap or to judge or praise the pop music release policy of the Hungarian Gramophone Record Company. We were "only" interested in how our debates are conducted (including debates on the television) and how we argue.

#### What happened in 56 minutes?

Five people participated in the debate transmitted from the video recording: on the part of Esti Hirlap, Géza Riskó, an author of the mentioned articles, and music critic Lajos Fodor; on the part of the Hungarian Gramophone Record Company, director Jenő Bors, and Péter Erdős, the then PRO chief; the presenter was Miklós Györffy. (Henceforth we refer to the participants by their initials, symbolizing that we exclusively want to interpret the phenomena carried by them, styles of debate and methods of behaviour, for the sake of more general impersonal lessons.)

Let us see: what happened in 56 minutes?

M. Gy. gives the floor to G.R. who starts in a rather aggressive voice, creating tension immediately at the beginning of the debate. "J.B. said that the articles in Esti Hirlap contain inaccuracies and that he is not willing to sit with us at the same table, he is not willing to engage in a debate or discussion with us, because we did not consult them prior to the publication of the articles. In my opinion, we are not compelled to consult any institution or organization which we may criticize." - Then G.R. suggested topics for debate (this is the first instance, where we discover the particular group dynamical phenomenon, which will later be repeated several times; namely that a participant of the debate tries to rival the formal presenter of the debate, who constantly refutes these endeavours): "Perhaps Hungarian gramophone record production has too much influence on the

Hungarian pop press, and I mean pop music, furthermore, the groups do not get LPs in a suitable rhythm, etc., this I believe will continue in the debate. In my opinion there can be only one common point why the five of us are sitting here, namely to do our best to promote the development of Hungarian pop music, to promote the future of Hungarian pop music and to do this in the most successful manner..."

M. Gy. does not hand over presentation of the debate to G.R., but asks him to speak about the content of the articles and J.B. responds to this: "Perhaps I should start at the end, namely at the end of what Géza mentioned. In my opinion, the available programme time has to be cleverly utilized, and I suggest not to open a debate on the monopoly situation of the Company, I mentioned last time that we are not authorities on this."

The earlier mentioned rivalry appears again. He refutes the discussion of the monopoly situation with an argument of authority, although the lack of official authority in itself does not exclude the possibility of a debate.

Asked by the presenter, J.B. expounded that last year the Hungarian Gramophone Record Company was put on the fifth place in France among the major such companies of the world. The argument did not seem convincing enough, because it raised several questions: who qualified? Based on what criteria? If the qualification concerns the quality, where is the Company in the quantitative competition? Does the qualification refer to serious music or pop music? Does it refer to the standard of individual records or to the entire production? Can it be adapted to the domestic situation? The qualification was based on the released records, but what is the situation with regard to the rejected records?

Regrettably, J.B.'s words did not contain the answer, and none of his opponents remembered to put these questions.

In addition: "The main question as Géza explained was that we misuse our monopoly situation... Briefly and concisely, in our opinion, according to our best conviction and feeling - we are not." This is a characteristic form of a frequent phenomenon, when the disputers and the speakers try to replace the force of conviction, and sensible arguments by emotional enhancement and with the accumulation of synonyms.

A further remark by G.R.: "I don't want to be pedantic and it is not primarily the journalist who speaks, but I have to correct that part, which refers to our refusal of rectification, because in our opinion there is nothing to rectify. We left the readers to believe that what we wrote...~~was~~ the opinion of the journalists." This reveals a frequent cliché, namely a type of self-defensive mechanism. The debater expresses his opinion and immediately states that he does not want to appear to be pedantic, but finally is. A similar expression is when he says that "it is not primarily the journalist who speaks"... and then later announces that this is the journalist's opinion.

Asked by the presenter, P.E. took the floor: "If you allow me, I would like to drop a little poison into this honey."

He explained that three million forints are spent on publicity for pop records, and 17.5 million on serious music records. (Most probably he meant per year, but this was not clear.) "This is a healthy, normal and clever proportion in our opinion, but usually nobody disputes this."

There are some problems with this argumentation. One is that P.E. keeps quiet about the publicity expenses of operetta and Hungarian song records released under the Qualiton trade

mark. Obviously, this would change the announced ratio of publicity expenses of serious music and light music. On the other hand, the fact that more money is spent on publicity for serious music does not say anything in itself, because this characterizes almost every gramophone record company in the world. Finally, what he says is an argumentation based on authority, he partly refers to the authority of others and partly to his own.

P.E. again mentioned the question of rectification and the exchange of letters, with which he again returned to topics unimportant from the point of view of the debate. During this, he said the following: "Naturally, we respect... the opinion of any Hungarian journalist. We disputed facts... true enough, we did not initiate a court case of correction. We would not dream of going to court against Esti Hirlap, the journal of the Budapest Party Committee! Perhaps somebody would do it, but we - as far as I know - would never do so."

Even disregarding the situation, these arguments are not convincing, partly because why should they respect the opinion of any Hungarian journalist - merely because he is a journalist? Obviously, there are respectable and less respectable journalists and opinions. On the other hand, why is it not possible to carry on a law suit against the journal of the Party Committee? (In fact the majority of newspapers in Hungary are published under the aegis of party organizations.)

After this, P.E. started to expound that the Hungarian Gramophone Record Company does not possess genuine means of publicity, when J.B. intervened: "Excuse me, I don't understand why we slipped into the issue of publicity, from the basic question: release policy." This rivalling action by J.B. is considered by M. Gy. as an attack against his own

role, therefore, he quickly explained why he allowed the debate to continue in this line. With this, he combatted J.B.'s action, although had he accepted it, they would have better approached the essential questions.

Then the debate took a new turn, it turned into a "duel": our feeling was as if we sat in the puppet theatre, where the cast suddenly raise their frying pan and start hitting each other's head.

G.R.: "The Pesti Műsor (What's on)... published materials in its pop column under the title Record Podium, for which - I don't know precisely, because I'm not prepared for this - the Hungarian Gramophone Record Company paid out 800,000 or 1,200,000 forints..."

E.P.: "You should have first prepared yourself Géza, and then write!"

G.R.: "One moment... You paid out as far as I know. For years we tended to discover distortions or we saw distortions in this column."

P.E.: "So somebody's else's opinion may be distortion; but your opinion is a free opinion."

G.R.: "No. You - who were a journalist and are aware of press ethics; if it is a paid advertisement..."

P.E.: "Excuse me..."

M. Gy.: "Let Géza finish his sentence."

G.R.: "Well, either we are arguing, after all I am also respecting..."

P.E.: "Of course."

M. Gy.: "Continue!"

P.E.: "Even if the debate is fierce, there is no lack of respect on any side."

This was the first time that L.F. took over. He also complained that the debate was shifting towards unimportant details, but in contrast to the former contributors he expounded his opinion

in an explicit manner and spoke about substantial questions: "...A situation developed, when the existence of an amateur group turned professional, highly depends on whether the Hungarian Gramophone Record Company makes an LP with them or not. The basis on which the Hungarian Gramophone Record Company decides whether it makes an LP for this or that group, or if necessary it makes two LPs and none with the other, could be disputed at length, if it were merely a question of business or cultural policy. But here it is vital, for it involves the existence of young people, many of whom are very talented young people."

J.B. "Why would it not be in the interest of the Record Company to have many more good quality, high standard groups in Hungary, which can also be sold?"

Although L.F.'s argument conceals criticism of the record company, he did not say anything about what J.B.'s rhetorical question hinted at - thus J.B. made the logical mistake of exchanging the thesis.

L.F.: "I don't want to advocate any of the groups. We already disputed the point of view according to which you select... you formulated, at least at that time for me, the arguments that they did not radiate the business policy of a commercial, business or servicing enterprise ... and it did not simply seem to be cultural policy, because this is a cultural institution, you have to adhere to the cultural policy or you have to develop a cultural policy similarly to a business policy. Well, your arguments seemed to me like the intervention of the authorities. Namely, if you mentioned the scandals at the concert of the X, Z or N group - I don't frequent these concerts, so I couldn't prove it - and that one group romps in this manner and the other in that manner, and that it can be considered as a breach of the peace, I said that this is not your business. It cannot be a reason for disqualification in the matter whether they should have an LP or not. Your only aspect could be whether they offer

something good or something bad for recording."

J.B.: "... I don't think that it is opportune to bring up a private conversation of two years ago..."

Although L.F. started to analyze one of the most essential issues, the authoritative power role of the record company, J.B. declared against this open manifestation that he had his own opinion about private conversations and another for official announcements. (In addition, as it was also referred to by the presenter, the arguments quoted by L.F. were said by J.B. in the former transmission of Studio '81.)

\*

After this there was some bickering about G.R. not understanding what he wrote in his article. The presenter tried to promote the stationary dispute by raising the question in connection with the disputed text or a disputed group: what role does the song jury play, also mentioned by Esti Hirlap, in the approval of the lyrics?

J.B.: "This was set up by some interested bodies, the Editio Musica, the Radio and the Television, Artisjus, ORI, Interkoncert and the Gramophone Record Company... The song jury is a preliminary jury, it can say that it does not recommend some songs for publication, for concerts or for broadcasting. Its decision is not compulsory, but we agreed that we shall adhere to it, and none of us will touch these numbers. We did not agree that if the song jury had no objection against a song, then we should all accept it for recording or broadcasting."

P.E.: "Tamás Cseh's record would have never been released, because the song jury did not approve it, nevertheless, we recorded and released it."

J.B.: "This also happens the other way round (chaotic noises): the song jury has no objection, we complete the record, but the light music department of the radio decides



not to broadcast the numbers, because in its opinion they are not in consonance with the programme policy of the radio."

G.R.: "The role of the song jury in Hungary is clear, because if there are groups, which are approved by the song jury as a cultural authority, or I don't know what body approves the numbers, they can be played at several hundred concerts and also abroad, even in the Soviet Union, at the solidarity rock festival of the Y.C.L. Central Committee, all over the country these songs are whistled and sang. I myself saw concerts attended by several tens of thousands of young people. But at the same time these numbers are unobtainable on record."

J.B.: "... It has been cleared that the song jury is an advisory body beside the interested organizations, and not an authority whose decision we have to accept. We set it up and this is included in the rules. In the second step: the jury did not approve the Beatrice /rock group's/ texts, which we did not accept for recording. The song jury did not approve them, but even if it did, it would have no obligatory force for us, we would not be compelled to record them."

L.F.: "And if it did not approve, could you record them?"

J.B.: "We could, but according to the rules, as we set up the jury, we take back the text to them and try to persuade the song jury to give its approval, because for this or that reason it is in our interest to release the numbers."

The role of the song jury is not unambiguous, this is also indicated by the following contradictory statements which followed each other:

- the song jury is a preliminary jury, which carries out a pre-revision,
- the song jury is not an authority,
- everybody adheres to the decisions of the song jury,
- the decisions of the song jury are not compulsory,
- it happens that the song jury approves a number, but

it will not be released on record;

- it happens that the song jury objects to something, nevertheless it appears on record,

- it happens that the song jury objects to something; then attempts are made to persuade the jury to change its decisions,

- it happens that the song jury does not object to something, it is played at concerts, but not released on gramophone record,

- it happens that the song jury does not object to something, it is released on record, but the radio does not broadcast it.

This long citation was intended to illustrate to the reader the picture we gained from the exposition. We gained the impression that the song jury is a bureaucratic body, with the only function to sanction the decisions of the organizations, which set it up or occasionally to legitimize the opposite.

M. Gy. asked whether the Record Company found any arguments for the song jury in defence of the objected lyrics.

J.B. answered: "The other way round. We, the managers of the company, according to our best belief, do not want to publish and spread these songs, because we are convinced that they spread attitudes among young people to which we do not want to contribute."

The reasoning of J.B. is not quite correct from two aspects. Partly it is tautologic, for it says that they do not want to spread them, because they do not want to spread them. On the other hand, the vehemently expressed "conviction" alone does not increase the convincing force of the reasoning.

P.E.: "Do you agree that we shall publish a P. Mobil song, which suggests to the young that one can only be happy in a mental institute, one is only happy when the doctor pushes the button and you lose consciousness from the electric

shock? Why should we release this? The majority in the country does not agree with fooling the kids."

It could be said that the majority of the country does not agree with P.E., but we do not say it, for we have no information concerning the opinion of the country, similarly to P.E. who hasn't got it either. For the sake of necessity and authenticity, here is the complete text of "The King" by the P. Mobil group:

The grill is of metal and it is guarded,  
Silence, quiet, the house is full,  
Medicaments fill the wards,  
A giant sweeps the garden  
Fine, everything is in order  
Fine, I feel very well  
This is good, life is carefree  
This is good, I feel well  
I, I am the king  
I, I am the king  
Boss, I throw up the ball  
One has to win, so proceed,  
The doctor will push a button  
And I will be, I will be happy  
Fine ... etc.

The lyrics of the P. Mobil group clearly hint at Ken Kesey's One flew over the Cuckoo's nest, which had several editions in Hungary and the film was also shown. Naturally nobody has to identify himself with the thoughts of the song; and to speak about "fooling" is an exaggeration.

P.E. then explained that the Record Company does not support groups which "are engaged in causing scandal".

L.F.: "Péter made some statements, which I cannot understand... I have the feeling that you consider a youthful prank - scandal..."

P.E.: "Lajos, tell me, do you consider the publicity of drug addiction a prank or something which endangers youth... because we are convinced that the majority in the country - and this is not a political issue - agrees with us in our defence of the teenagers."

It seems rather tasteless to again refer to the unknown public opinion, together with the earlier objected term: "we are convinced". We doubt whether the mentioning of drugs in the text of a song should be automatically considered publicity for drug addiction (namely whether the topic is identical with the content).

J.B. reads a few lines from a Beatrice song with great consternation. For the sake of authenticity, we quote the accurate text of Beatrice's "Metropolitan Wolf" without picking on any particular line:

Once upon a time, there was  
beyond the suburban ocean  
a wolf cub, listen to his story.  
He got tired of his parent's tales,  
of barren dispute,  
He left the parental home for good,  
to start a new story.  
He went to the town, he took the metro  
He got less attention than a dog.  
The dog catcher drove him into the underpass;  
he was considered to be a dog.  
He could have got a good job:  
barking around the house.  
He started to drink  
and he felt he lived freely.  
I don't understand why  
he felt he lived freely.  
He was brought up to be good  
He felt he lived freely.  
He went to town... etc.

Concerning the wolf cub topic, L.F. remarked: "I have the feeling that this wolf cub symbol - animal symbols occur in many instances - may in your presentation have some objectionable edge in it against something, but possibly you misunderstand it, just like the New Musical Express interprets it in another way and the children interpret it in a completely different manner."

L.F. tried to give a more thorough explanation than before why these songs attract the youngsters; "... these youngsters inherited an anxiety. Almost every branch of modern art, even the merriest genres, if you scratch them, are built upon anxiety. Because this anxiety is present in the human race. Those who try to conceal this, produce false art. Today this cannot be ignored. These teenagers shout and protest against this anxiety, which they start to feel... The youngsters listen to this. Primarily not because the text is so attractive, but because they like the music, and today we hardly mentioned this, although it is primarily about music. The music through which they can shout their protest against many things, such as this anxiety... The children complain that they cannot buy records of such music - there are few concerts and they cannot travel everywhere. This music is a kind of communication medium for them. Well, I see clumsy children and I have seen them before, while my son was younger, but we can observe it now that they cannot chat with each other. However, if they are moving opposite each other, and the music says something - not the text, but at least the two together - with which they agree, that is already communication."

L.F. pushed the dispute about this onto a much more general plane. Primarily it is here that we discover the two different basic faculties in which he differs from his opponents. On the one hand, there is a tolerance concerning social phenomena, which are alien to him, and on the other hand, his ability of empathy becomes apparent. On the other

side, P.E. and J.B.'s power position (and not only an economic position) enables them to rigidly refute attitudes or behaviour which differ from their opinion. Is it necessary that certain power positions should be coupled with intolerance and the lack of empathy?

After this, P.E. switched the dispute to a more practical plane: "Lajos let us go back into this dispute. I understand you. You are afraid, speaking Hungarian, that we are sectarian and narrow-minded censors. But that is not so! We put our soul into this! We make many compromises. If these groups, these scandal-rock groups only make a single gesture towards us, we immediately open the gate!"

P.E. did not accept the responsibility for the decisions of publishing policy, but referred to external factors, primarily to the groups. To the ungrateful groups, which cause such headaches to poor open-souled record publishers. However, on a rational plane, it is not completely clear that if these groups are "scandalous" groups, and have to be condemned, then why a "single gesture" is sufficient to become acceptable.

Then the participants mentioned several essential topics, but the dispute reached an emotional temperature, which prevented the expounding of any of them. The participants interrupted each other, and flashed up new topics. We mentioned one of them, in which both parties (moreover, even the presenter) expounded their standpoints: this is the relationship between text and music. According to L.F. songs cannot be evaluated merely on the basis of their text, while according to J.B. the lyrics are of fundamental importance and the music is maximum the "carrier" of the text. G.R. was justified in remarking that the representatives of the Record Company did not make any musical remarks concerning the disputed compositions.

J.B. ended this chaos, clearly and rather generally formulating his standpoint, and announced his opinion on essential questions: "... It contains styles of life, such as withdrawal from society, and confrontation with society... We are not afraid of social criticism in general... In our opinion, the watershed of these lyrics is when they express some type of criticism, from a basically positive, intra-social platform, or they advocate the withdrawal from society and opposition to society, exactly among youngsters of 14-15-16 years of age, who in addition, for several reasons are least able to make a critical evaluation, thus they relatively easily accept the transmitted behaviour patterns. And I again emphasize that I don't mean the damage to the seats in the Small Stadium, when I say behaviour, but the total opposition to the adult generation."

We have a few doubting questions concerning this dense summary: Who determines what is intrasocial or extrasocial? Does it really concern society or perhaps a concrete situation? Where can the evolution psychological basis of the announcement be found, where he says that exactly this is the age group, which is least able to make a critical evaluation? Has anybody ever proved that they are the ones who accept behaviour patterns most easily? And can the acceptance of the behaviour patterns be explained with only the impotency of critical evaluation? If we do not release the records of those who turn against society, then do we bring them and their audience back into society? And something else: if part of an adolescent generation totally opposes the adult generation, should we not primarily look for the responsibility of the latter?

#### And finally a question

At the end of our study, we try to find a type of hypothetical answer to a single question: why was this dispute programme the way it was?

We can start our answer with the paraphrase of a known public saying: every nation has such dispute programmes, which it deserves. Namely, we do not think that the merits and mistakes of the special transmission of Studio '81 were primarily determined by the avility and expertise of the producers. A television debate cannot be essentially better or essentially worse than the average of the professional or political debates carried out in workplaces or in public life. (Naturally, there are divergences in both directions, however, these exceptions do not weaken the rule.)

During genuine debates, not only various - horrible dictu; controversial - views are clashed, but various interests concealed by them. However, we in Hungary are fond of presenting opinions and interests as united and undivided. (This striving is the strongest when the topic stands near to central social problems.) Consequently, everybody strives to present his own opinion as the only true one, and as the carrier of some kind of all-encompassing social interest; on the other hand, we always blink up to the higher grades of the social hierarchy and expect that somebody will tell us which is the God-approved correct standpoint. Obviously, as long as we do not accept the existence of various group interests and the ideological differences which reflect them - and because of this we try to oppress their unmasked manifestation - we cannot count on genuine debates either on the television or anywhere else.

The quality of the debates also depends on customs, norms, behaviour patterns and values, which we usually describe as the culture of society. It may be a platitude that in our country, social culture, which evolved in the past decades and centuries, could not fully incorporate the open confrontation of opinions reflecting various interests. In connection with the political mechanism, these kinds of customs, norms, behaviour patterns and values could not



spread, which would have had the effect that sincere, intellectual disputes, without any ulterior motive and fear could become a general feature. We can mention two circumstances, which are the result of the development of this particular culture, and at the same time obstacles to tasty and free debates, and which can be hardly overcome. One is: the exaggerated burdening of all types of debates or debate-like formations with "concealed messages". When the explicit texts cover numerous implicit emotions, passion, prejudice, nationalism, racialism, aggression, back stabbing, and tongue twisting, and tactical considerations - or if they do not cover them, then reveal them. The result: such debates and debaters lose their credibility, lose their value, or the distance between the organizers of the debate (television, radio, newspaper, company, social organization and so on) and the "general public" increases, or both can happen. (We do not doubt that, for example, as the concealed motive of the disputes over gramophone record production and such, various ideologies "swept under the carpet" ranging from Stalinism to anti-semitism also played a role; exactly because of their oppressed nature, as boiling emotions, the direction of which at first instant was not always clear.)

The second: the outstanding role and support for the "inherited" and maintained, namely, repeatedly socialized mentality, consolidated on the basis of an authoritarian principle, in such debates - as a result of monolithical, hierarchic, social-political structures operating through generations, or as a result of honouring and sanctioning mechanisms of defined orientation. This mentality can contain both the irrational respect for authority and the conventional value system, as well as the intolerance with regard to a differing style of life, rigid thinking and the persecution of the "deviant".

If after this line of thoughts somebody would raise the question whether it is worthwhile to produce a debate programme on the television, then - undertaking the charge of unfounded optimism - we would say: yes, it is worthwhile.

This is what we wanted to say about how we debate here in Central Europe, in Eastern Europe, in Central Eastern Europe, in Eastern Central Europe. /Delete as appropriate/

*Ildikó Kovács and János Tölgyesi*

## **The "Balaton Problem" in the Press**

"Lake Balaton is our national treasure" - "Lake Balaton has to serve the recreation, recuperation and leisure of the workers" - "The development of Lake Balaton's tourism provides considerable income for the economy" - "The agricultural produce value from the broader area of the Lake amounts to about 10,000 million forints a year. Tourism only amounts to one third of this..." Such and similar slogan-like formulae can frequently be found by newspaper readers. Various ideas formulated about the role, use, method of use, advantages, and the desired changes concerning Lake Balaton are concealed by these dense sentences. We tried to illustrate how and to what extent the articles concerning Lake Balaton represent the concepts emphasizing the role of the Lake from various angles.<sup>x</sup>

We examined the central papers as a whole from this aspect and confronted them with the *Veszprémi Napló*, as a local paper, presuming that the residents' views differ from those of the central press. For the Lake and its environment is not

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<sup>x</sup> We carried out a press content analysis for the decision making research of the Ministry of Construction and Town-Development and the National Commission for Technological Development, using four national dailies and the *Veszprémi Napló* (a county daily), the volumes of 1963-1982.

merely a holiday resort for the locals, but the arena of their activities and at the same time they do not enjoy the profit of tourism to the same extent.

By way of introduction: there was a lack of articles in the dailies we surveyed, which would have provided a realistic picture about the role of Lake Balaton, observing it from various angles - illustrating the complex entirety of the problems in their broader context. Articles dominated which picked out an aspect and introduced them, mostly concentrated on relaxation, holidays and tourism. Perhaps this is not a coincidence, because the authors of the articles, the journalists, met the Lake almost exclusively in this role. It would be desirable that the specialists engaged in this theme should undertake a greater role in providing information for the public and in publishing articles for the broad general public.

#### What is Lake Balaton?

The holiday and relaxational functions of Lake Balaton are naturally determinative to such an extent that their introduction was outstandingly frequent in both the central and the local press, but their proportion in the local paper was somewhat lower compared to other functions (38 and 33% resp.). The central dailies emphasized its significance in tourism on the second place, and the local paper emphasized its economic functions concretely and in general (the use of the Lake, agriculture, viticulture, and industry). This function is two and a half times more important in the Veszprémi Napló than in the national dailies. The significance of tourism, and of the tourism function was considered less by the local paper than by the central dailies. Most probably because the local organs cannot undertake an appropriate role in it and do not share its profit sufficiently. The evaluation of the Lake as a national treasure and natural value was of similar importance in both. In addition to these main functions, the

local paper naturally judged the other functions also more powerfully than the national dailies.

The evaluation of the functions differs according to the organ in which they were written about and also according to time. Articles about the holiday values of Lake Balaton, about its role in recreation showed a fluctuation in all the surveyed publications. This indicates that the evaluation of the role of Lake Balaton in holiday-making obviously changed. The initial efforts to turn the Lake into a venue where the whole country can spend their holiday were replaced - under the impact of the increasing crowdedness and adverse conditions - by worried articles full of question marks. Emphasis shifted towards other topics, for example "the Lake is a national treasure, let us save Lake Balaton". The lull in the emphasis on the holiday and recreational functions characterized the period between 1968 and 1972, and in the past five years there was an even stronger toning down: from the initial 47% the ratio of the concerned articles decreased to 28%. Tourism showed a reverse wave: it was outstandingly high between 1968 and 1972, and it was again strongly emphasized between 1978 and 1982. Either the social function of holiday-making was emphasized or its money-making strength. The "national value" role of the Lake increased between 1973 and 1978, since then this aspect has been more moderately mentioned. By now, Lake Balaton and its region are limited to one or two functions and expectations are only connected with them.

#### Values to be followed

When writing the articles, the authors openly or latently start out from some basic value and consider the topic from its aspect. It is not necessary to announce an unambiguous judgement about the phenomena and situations - the way they tackle the problem itself, and how they emphasize it and

analyze it is of orientating character for the readers. In the long-term it is not the concrete questions and facts which stick in the mind of the readers, but the schemes - from which aspect the problem is raised by the newspapers, which factors cause and influence the situation in their opinion and finally, which means and methods exist for solving the problems. Naturally the values are linked with defined social groups and the reasons or measures taken are also appropriated.

However, the examination of this sphere of problems is made difficult by the journalistic style, which is not characterized by firm standpoints concerning the various issues, much more by simply raising a problem and staying outside it, limiting their article to "the provision of facts". Although this increases objectivity, it spares the journalist from undertaking the responsibility for the judgement and allows him to ignore the analysis of the reasons.

We surveyed the basic values as the starting point of the articles, the factors determining the situation and the measures taken to solve the problems from identical aspects. These values are partly linked with the functions of Lake Balaton ("the values of the Lake"), but are more general, of broader circle and also take other points of view into consideration. Our values were the following: general ecological values, general cognitive and knowledge acquiring values (Lake Balaton as a scientific research and cognitive assignment), ethical values, aesthetic values, cultural, historic, architectural and ideological values, health and recreational values, consumers' values (in the given case primarily linked with the interests of the holidaymakers) and attitudes, social (group) interests and values, productive and economic values, technological-technical aspects, administrative and organizational, institutional values, legal values and finally the emphasis on Lake Balaton as an international value.

It should be mentioned in advance that 12% of the articles did not represent any values. Theoretically of course this is unimaginable, but practically it means that every eighth or ninth article was so ineffectual that no standpoint could be discovered in them or they did not touch upon the problems of Lake Balaton or its region - they only appeared in the list because of the location of the event described in them.

The greatest emphasis in the past twenty years was placed on the consumption orientation, on the consumers' values. One third of the articles dealt with the current daily affairs and problems of the holiday-makers; evaluating the situation from their point of view. In connection with Lake Balaton we can safely identify consumers with the holiday-makers, not only because of their large numbers, but because on the given spot and in the given situation they exclusively behave as consumers. The circumstances in which their requirements are satisfied naturally interest broad circles of the population; as potentially there is a large group of people who yearly spend a week or two, or only a few days as members of the holiday groups around Lake Balaton. The basic problem of these consumer orientated articles is not the shortsighted pragmatic evaluation of the affairs, from the viewpoint of the concerned holiday-makers, but the fact that they do not contain any useful information not even for the holiday-makers. It seems that the articles do not inform them; but for those who are not on holiday, they have more atmosphere describing force or they reveal the activity of some servicing institution - its faults, but primarily its achievements. These articles are simply part of the spring and summer season, they are timeless, ageless and characterless. Articles functionally informing the holiday-makers - consumers are missing. Most probably this would not be the task of the national dailies, but there is no other, more suitable forum such as a "Balaton News" or "Balaton Radio", and on the other hand, a significant proportion of the readers of

the central dailies spend their holiday at the Lake every year. The consumer orientated articles appeared in the highest proportion (30 to 40%) between 1967 - 1977, before that and after that to a smaller proportion. Diminishing emphasis on the values of the consumers, compared to other values, is particularly noticeable in the local newspaper in the past five years. From among the central dailies, Népszava (the trade unions' daily) and Magyar Hírlap (the semi-official government daily) mostly dealt with the interests of the consumers.

Based on its significance, the second major value orientation belonged to the ecological values - this was the starting point in 17% of the articles dealing with Lake Balaton and its region as their central theme. Its change in time is identical with the change in the "national value"-concept of Lake Balaton, namely, it appeared between 1973 and 1977 in the most emphatic manner. At that time, this value was the starting point in one quarter of the articles, mostly in Magyar Nemzet (the Patriotic People's Front daily), then in Népszava (although despite the identical values, the character and the message of the articles were highly different). Népszabadság (the Central party daily) was mostly characterized by raising social problems, therefore, the ecological values were relatively left in the background.

In addition to these main types of values, the frequency of the other elements in the system we used was less. They closely followed each other: productive and economic values (7%), social (6%), and cultural, historic, architectural orientation (4%), and then the other values with 1 or 2%. The latter means that 3 or 4 articles appeared every year about Lake Balaton in the 4 central dailies, which approached the topic from the legal, ethical and aesthetic aspect, and from the angle of scientific research values. Only the time change is interesting. For example, between 1977 and 1982



the prestige of scientific research increased in general, the ratio of ideologically orientated articles was reduced somewhat, and that of the socially orientated articles unambiguously decreased. The administrative-organizational values made progress between 1968 and 1972, and in 1978 to 1982, in an understandable manner the emphasis on the role of legal regulations also increased parallel with this. Focussing on the ethical and aesthetic values varies from a low occurrence level to nil.

With regard to the one or two values appearing with overwhelming weight in the dailies, it is also characteristic what was left out from their sphere of vision. The spectrum of values is lowest in Népszava, where the two basic - consumer and ecological - approaches are the starting points in 67% of all the articles, while the other types of values appear in a negligible number. In this respect, Népszabadság is the most balanced and has the broadest sphere of vision, and a relative richness of values characterizes Magyar Nemzet. In addition to the two basic values, Népszabadság emphasizes the productive-economic and the administrative-organizational aspects, while Magyar Nemzet strives to introduce the administrative-organizational values and the social differences of interests, Magyar Hírlap and the Veszprémi Napló emphasized productive-economic and cultural-architectural-historic aspects.

The examination of the factors, which determine the Balaton problem, is closely linked with the examination of another point of view, which at first seems perhaps formal: the time dimension of the articles. In fact most of the articles dealing with Lake Balaton were orientated to the present or maximum to the future<sup>4</sup>, and were not engaged in discussing the events of the past. At the same time, an analytical touch did not characterize these articles. In 40% of the articles<sup>5</sup>, the question concerning the determinative factors.

was not relevant. In addition, most frequently they mention several factors, but do not make any differentiation between them according to their importance. In the period between 1963 and 1967, primarily the consumers' attitude and the holiday-makers were blamed for the development of the situation (for deterioration or for improvement), then the productive-economic circumstances and the administrative-organizational activity followed. Between 1968 and 1973, the same standpoint prevailed, but the third place was taken by the ecological, natural processes. Between 1973 and 1977, we experienced a strong turn: the consumers outlook as a determinative factor withdrew to the fourth place, the first place was taken by the productive-economic factor, the second by the ecological-natural factors, and the third by public moral and ethical values. In the last period, the writers of the articles again saw the main effective factor in the consumers' outlook concerning holidays, preceding the ecological reasons and the productive-economic factors. Practically, the others were generally mentioned under 3-4%.

#### Those who were given the platform

In the mind of the readers, the activity of those institutions and groups of people is mostly linked with the Balaton problem (consequently they expect them to participate in the solution or blame them for the difficulties), which are most frequently mentioned in the articles about Lake Balaton. However, from the other angle, undoubtedly those institutions and groups of people were given the platform, the forum for publicity to expound their views and opinion about the lake, or to present the solution of the problem in their own interpretation. It could be presumed that the facts in the change of the control system can be traced in the press, together with the amendments which occurred in the macrolevel handling of the Balaton problem.

The most typical case of the introduction of the characters was that the institutions and the persons both appeared; the problem or the results were mostly presented by a leader or an official mentioned by name, representing a certain institution.

From the analysis of the mass media, we knew and in this theme we could also catch the institution centered approach of the newspapers. Institutions appeared in 70-90% of the articles, and as time proceeded, their proportion increased. This most probably reflected the relatively high grade of institutionalization, which in fact occurred in the handling of the Balaton problem, when the press considers its main task is to inform the general public about the activity of the institutions engaged in the problem and to convince them that although the problems are grave, there is always something being done in order to improve the situation.

During the first quarter of the surveyed period, they emphasized the significance of the national institutions, then the local servicing units, and this was followed by the county level administrative bodies, then by the industrial plants and companies. Later, the ratio of mentioning the national institutions decreased, and that of the servicing units went through ups and downs, and slightly decreased, together with that of the county administrative bodies. There was an even increase in the mentioning of committees and groups concerned with Lake Balaton, this reached the level of the national institutions; moreover, reached the frequency of mentioning the servicing units. It is conspicuous how little the local administrative bodies appeared in the articles during the whole period; and it seemed that their importance only increased between 1973 and 1978. The scissors concerning the mentioning of the industrial and agricultural plants were slightly closed, and while 15 or 20 years ago, the industrial plants were mentioned five times

more than the agricultural plants, this difference was reduced to half. These proportions are most probably connected with the currently dominating views about the main polluting branches. The mentioning of water, environmental and public hygiene institutions explosively increased in 1968, and - according to their mentioning - their importance could be compared with that of the industrial plants, cultural and health institutions and the county administrative bodies. It was a particular feature of the local newspaper that it dealt much less with the controlling bodies than the national dailies; in its articles it dealt more with non-political themes, and we met agricultural, industrial, cultural units and the protection of the environment.

Based on their presumed differences of interests, several groups of the population are linked with the Balaton problem, but from this aspect the articles are very monotonous. The holiday-makers, this temporary group of the population is the only group which appears to a significant ratio - in every third or fourth article. The problems of the local residents are not given such a forum, not even in the local paper (except for the period between 1968-1972). The problems of the tourists and holiday-makers are mentioned by the local newspaper and Magyar Hírlap. The presentation of foreigners was varied, parallel with the greater emphasis on tourism; it was higher between 1968 and 1972, but later hardly anything was said about them. Old or young people were rarely in the focus of the articles. It was surprising how underrepresented the car and plot owners were; in fact these two groups - although undoubtedly they are part of the temporary holiday-making population - have interests which can definitely be distinguished. This was not particularly reflected by the newspapers.

### Conflict foci

We tried to draw conclusions from the conflict situation presented in the articles concerning the relationship between the characters depicted or between them and the Balaton problem. The same situations also provided a basis concerning the handling of the problem by the journalists. As a comprehensive fact we can say that 65-70% of the articles did not contain conflict situations, namely no clash of interests between the characters. Most of the conflicts are provided by the clashes between sphere of production and servicing, and the sphere of the holiday-makers and tourism. The characteristic themes were the shortcomings and faults of commerce and servicing, while emphasizing the general interests of tourism and of the holiday-makers. In the Veszprémi Napló, the conflict between man and nature was leading, which can hardly be described as a conflict. This indicated that the editors and journalists of the provincial newspaper are more inclined to write about conflicts free of social content, and they search for the slightly sensational mini-catastrophe-like events. Even the central dailies like to colour their repertoire with this type of conflict.

According to our presumption, there can be a characteristic focus of conflict between the population and local administration, linked with another particular type of conflict, which originates from the frequently differing interests of the local residents and the holiday-makers. However, these two types of conflicts only appeared in 2-2.5% of the articles. The local daily illustrates somewhat more of the clashes between local residents and the holiday-makers than the central dailies, but at the same time, the provincial paper is careful not to touch on local administration.

We relatively frequently meet the type of conflict that originates from the tension between production and general

social interests, which we cannot consider as homogeneous. Probably, if we continued to analyze this type, a part of it could be identified as interest conflict between local interests and holiday-makers.

Linking the conflict situations with basic values, we find that the relatively most clashes appear, naturally, in articles of social orientation that handle the Balaton problem as a sphere in which the interests of certain social groups clash. In this field, the conflict between production-servicing and the holiday-makers is most characteristic. The other major focus of conflicts evolved around the ecological values, although its significance is reduced by the fact that a quarter of them are identified as a conflict between man and nature. Further production and general social interests, as well as production-servicing and the interests of the holiday-makers clash in connection with this value. In connection with the direct consumer interests of the holiday-makers, naturally the conflicts between production-servicing and the holiday-makers are most characteristic in the articles, and it is interesting but understandable that conflicts with nature came to the second place. The exploitation of the productive-economic opportunities of Lake Balaton is made more complicated by the clashes between production and the general social interests, as well as the clashes between man and nature. The organizational-administrative value is the only one which appears in the conflicts linked with institutions.

#### "The handling of the problem"

The term "problem situation" was used in a broader sense than conflict situation. Although from the point of view of the result they stand near to each other, the previous is more "suitable for the public" in the view of the journalists, because the emphasis is not on the participants

of the situation and their difference of interests, but on the position and consequences following the situation. From this point of view, the result was that about 60% of the articles dealing with Lake Balaton raise some type of problem. Despite the fact that we meet a conflict situation as well as a problem situation, why is it that - according to another viewpoint of the analysis - the ratio of positive or optimistic articles is overwhelming?

The characters in the conflict and problem situation - institutions, groups and individuals - more or less confronted each other, or at least represented different standpoints. However, it is characteristic of the surveyed articles that such situations mostly also contain some type of positive feature, mention some type of achievement, and a part of the introduced characters represent these achievements. Most frequently the other pole is only present in a rough, simplified manner, on the level of the evidence. The mentioning of problems and clashes of interests are only there to magnify the results. Consequently, the change in the ratio of articles discussing the conflicts and the change in the extent of introducing the results, do not show controversial tendencies, on the contrary!

When raising the question who had a role in the achievements, or who played a decisive role in the development of the described situations, we received the answer that mostly the companies, plants, or servicing units. This is followed both in importance and in frequency by state level management (the emphasis on its role was particularly significant in the first decade). The mentioning of the local management was slight, but showed a controversial development direction. Actions by the population can only be found in traces. Emphasis on the results of scientific research peaked between 1973 and 1977, during that period almost every fourth article which spoke about the results mentioned them.

When we analyze the subjects showing the achievements according to which value they were achieved, then we can say the following: state management primarily concentrated on the consumer interests of the holiday-makers, on the improvement of the circumstances of holiday-making, in the second place on the preservation of ecological values, and in the third place on the increase of the efficiency in administration and organization. The attention of local management was also concentrated on the improvement of the holiday-makers' situation, and in general on the circumstances of consumption, then in addition to the perfection of organization and administration, on the protection of ecological and cultural values. Naturally, the companies took the consumer values and their own productive-economic values into consideration, and because the interests of holiday-makers were frequently formulated as social interests, they were also given an outstanding role in this relationship.

The characters of the articles were also qualified according to who was expected to solve a problem. The raising of this question presumes greater liberty to the journalist, because he is orientated not only by the actual events and facts, but also by his own system of beliefs, namely, which group he trusts and which institution he expects to solve the problem. How far this is based on presumption and not on precise knowledge was proved by the fact that during the processing of the material, we found that we should have defined a group of "they on the top" or "somebody has to solve it" and so on. We are afraid that this - in addition to many other things - indicates the unawareness of the journalists of the problems, and it is not a mere turn of style that they approach an indefinite "higher being".

The major lesson of our data was how far the occurrence of articles are unappreciable in which the journalists refer to local forces, voluntary activity, and the solution of



one's own problem by one's own initiative. Neither the local residents nor the holiday-makers were mentioned when searching for the solution of the problems. The role of the formally organized social organizations (people's front, red cross, tourist associations, and so on) is similarly low. The "all encompassing we", the ubiquitous first person plural was relatively more emphatic among those who were presumed to solve the problems, but we can only consider this as a cover name, to circumvent the answer and to obscure interests and differences.

The professional control body appears to the largest proportion - in 32-33% of the articles - among those who are competent to solve the problem. In the central dailies, its significance was reduced, in the provincial paper its significance increased. Reference to territorial controlling bodies showed a reverse tendency, particularly between 1973 and 1978 the central dailies connected them with great responsibility, while the local paper consistently retreated in this respect during the past twenty years. The increased trust is noteworthy, which embraced the special bodies engaged in the protection of the environment, scientific research and the sphere of specialists. While the central dailies emphasized the role of protecting the environment, the local paper placed emphasis on the researchers and specialists.

In the problem handling from an institutional point of view, it is an important index of efficiency and progress how many measures were taken to solve the problems. According to this aspect, concerning the Balaton problem, we can say that effervescent activity is carried out to overcome the problems, because the central dailies reported on an increasing number of measures. The breakdown of the measures practically show how the institutions evaluate the problem, and at which point they find it so grave that they are ready to do something to overcome it.

We have to point out that the arsenal of the solutions is rather poor: 70-80% of the measures can be categorized in 4-6 types of measures. As we are progressing in time, the sphere of the applied means is becoming somewhat broader. Between 1963 and 1967, the articles mostly reported on the measures aimed at improving the servicing and the circumstances of holidays, and productive-economic measures. Between 1968 and 1972, they were joined by a group of measures to improve administration and organization. Between 1973 and 1977, there was a conspicuous increase in the ratio of productive and economic measures, and 38% of all the measures concerning the solution of the Balaton problem concerned them. A change in outlook was indicated by the second place taken by the result of scientific research and reports on such assignments, while the third place was taken by the measures concerning techniques and technological solutions. In this period, there was a considerable reduction in the measures directly concerning the circumstance of holiday-making. Between 1978 and 1982, the old order returned to some extent, but the measures were characterized by a more complex attitude, and a broader assortment of the means of solution was applied.

*Éva Földvári*

## Why a Medical Advice Column in the Press?

Those who more or less regularly read medical advice in the press, must have realized that answers to sexual problems are increasing. In this way, it is a subjective impression, but it is a fact that in the complete 1980 edition of *Új Tükör* /New Mirror - a cultural illustrated weekly/, *Nők Lapja* /Women's Magazine/, *Magyar Ifjúság* /Hungarian Youth/, *Családi Lap* /Family Magazine/ and *Világ Ifjúsága* /World Youth/ 1,256 items of medical advice were published. Almost half of them /43%/, were of sexual topics, they referred to sexuality from the anatomic, physiological, and biological point of view, or from the moral, aesthetic, emotional or practical angles.

This is only the tip of the iceberg, because those who do not write under a pseudonym, but give their name and address, also receive answers by letter. The spontaneous flood of letters with sexual topics should be observed from various aspects. Undoubtedly, they express the fact that sexological advice is necessary. If somebody has stomach pains, it is obvious where to seek a remedy. However, if somebody has sexual problems and questions, which need answers, it is not so unambiguous who to approach personally. /It is a known fact how little time is spent on a patient in the surgeries, and that it is almost impossible for the patient to be able to discuss the problem alone with the doctor./ As within the health branch, this field has no institutional framework, moreover, there are no officially qualified experts, the paradox situation emerged that the letter writers expect a public answer to their intimate and individual problems. Frequently, they hope for changes, thorough-

ly effecting their personality - in many cases based on their letters of fragmentary information - through this indirect channel of limited possibilities.

### Gap filler

Thus, advice is the primary and gap filling function of these messages for problems concealed behind pseudo names. Nevertheless, people like to read other people's problems and worries, particularly if they concern such a piquant, delicate and taboo sphere of life, as sexuality. Some people are reassured by the fact that other people struggle with similar problems, and others are reassured that fortunately they do not have the same problems. The messages also provide a topic for conversation. As medical advice is intended not for the letter writers, but for the broader reading public, it also has or may have a gap filling role in raising the standard of sexual culture, in the dissemination of knowledge and in the open or concealed transmission of values and norms.

What is a crisis for a letter writer or a problem that spoils his or her everyday life, can also create tension in other readers, and this, or perhaps the manner of presentation often becomes the source of humour or witticism. In the absence of sex magazines and erotic journals, medical advice in Hungary most probably provides entertainment for a considerable stratum of readers, and from this point of view also fills a gap.

### Seeking advice

Keeping the information carrying role and opinion shaping force of the press in mind, several questions can be raised. What concrete problems are transmitted by messages of a sexual topic? What knowledge or the lack of knowledge is reflected by the letters? What outlook is represented

or suggested by the answer of the doctors concerning questions about culture, morals and social norms? How far is their standpoint uniform or different? Who are those who feel the necessity to choose this specific way of seeking advice? Where can the answer provide a solution, and where has the letter writer the need to seek further and different assistance?

We searched for the answer to these questions through readers' letters on sexual topics published in a complete year's edition of the mentioned five magazines.

Ratio of answers of a sexual topic in the published medical advice /in percentage/

| Magazines        | Sex | Others | Total | N =   |
|------------------|-----|--------|-------|-------|
| Women's Magazine | 25  | 75     | 100   | 150   |
| New Mirror       | 33  | 67     | 100   | 203   |
| Family Magazine  | 49  | 51     | 100   | 379   |
| Hungarian Youth  | 46  | 54     | 100   | 401   |
| World Youth      | 51  | 49     | 100   | 123   |
| Total:           | 43  | 57     | 100   | 1,256 |

With regard to the requirements of the letter writers, we discovered three groups and types of those seeking advice, which will be spotlighted with some examples. The first group includes requests for education and explanation, namely, requests for enhancing knowledge.

"Stray Angel" He read somewhere that tight jeans cause impotency. - Well... if the jeans are so tight that they numb the entire lower part of the body, it may cause impotency. /New Mirror 1980/21/

In letters belonging to the second group, the writer seeks practical advice to solve his problem or asks the doctor's

opinion about important decisions regarding his life style.

"Why not with him?" She asks how she can prove to her fiancé that she is not frigid because during masturbation she can always reach a climax, but she does not dare to admit it to him. In fact she has no reason to make it a secret, exactly this secretiveness may be an obstacle to joint orgasm. I suggest that you should apply the stimulus established during masturbation, when being with your partner; most probably in this way you will reach an orgasm. /Family Magazine 1980/11/

"What shall I tell him?" The girl was raped at the age of nine. Her problem is whether she should tell her fiancé that she is not a virgin, and what happened to her. Naturally, she should tell him: there is nothing to be ashamed of. /World Youth 1980/3/

The third type contains letters; where emphasis is on the evaluating, normative aspects. The letter writer is vague, cannot decide whether a situation, phenomenon, or behaviour is "normal" or not, harmful or not. In most of these cases, the advice-seeker is not really in need of the doctor's professional knowledge, but would like to compare himself or herself with others, on the basis of the value system expressed by the medical advice: he or she asks for a pattern, for assistance, in the development of their own norm system, and for the consolidation of their self-evaluation.

"Bait" A 17 year old girl living in a small town cannot turn to her alcoholic father for advice; therefore, she asks me - as a man - for my opinion whether it is a shameful thing to be a virgin at that age? In fact several boys in her class mock

her for this, and she has not yet found a man, whom she could love, and with whom she could live, and until then she does not want to enter into a sexual relationship, not even if they think that she is an idiot. - ... I fully agree with your concept, and also with your code word! It is not a shameful thing! Slogans are used as bait and beware the hook of those who try to successfully angle with their confused views. /Hungarian Youth 1980/29/

"Fine autumn" You can consider yourself fortunate that in the autumn of your life, you have smooth and frequent sexual intercourse. It has no hazardous effect. The remark which you quoted has no scientific basis - possibly it was just an expression of envy. /Family Magazine 1980/4/.

### It is too early, girls

The messages can simultaneously fulfil several functions, because enquiring letters often receive evaluating answers, which frequently contain practical advice.

The primary function of medical advice is the provision of information and knowledge. Two thirds of the answers contain such elements. Those answers are particularly important, where the doctor refutes or clarifies some misconception or on the contrary confirms the letter-writer's knowledge. But it happens that he only categorizes and labels the described phenomenon.

The second function is the solution of the problem and the provision of practical advice. But knowing the limitations, what possibilities can this assistance have? Narrowing down the question, how many letter writers can the answer published

in medical advice give a solution to? The doctors offer three manners of solution and their combination. If the answer contains advice, explanation, refutation or confirmation, it may mean a solution in itself. Only 35% of 540 letter writers turned to the correspondence column of the magazines with sexual problems, which could be genuinely remedied with a published message. And what do the doctors recommend for the others? Depending on the character of the complaints, they offer further assistance for the second third of the letter writers. They should turn to a specialist, gynecologist, urologist, neurologist, psychologist, sexologist, or to the marriage counselling service, or sex education books. One third of the complaints were of such a nature, where the key to a solution is in the hands of the letter writers, and in order to solve their problems they have to change their outlook or style of life.

In such cases, the letter writers have to compromise with their situation, and accept their circumstances. In other cases, they have to strive to apply the rules of culture, sexual behaviour, and mutual tact and respect are necessary. Doctors provide assistance in important decisions, with regard to relationships - by persuading or dissuading the letter writers to take a certain step and they suggest whether they should comply with the demand of their partner, or whether they should put an end to the relationship or not.

The third function of the messages concerns the fact that half the published letter excerpts and the answers given to them, also contain an evaluating element. It is far from certain that what the letter writer considers a negative phenomenon is also considered negative by the doctor, and vice versa. A large part of the letters reflect the uncertainty of the writer, who does not know how to evaluate the phenomena of the relationship and of sexual life, according to the valid social norms. What is permissible and what is ob-



jectionable, what is desirable or - normal, and what should be described as deviance. However, the medical advice also reflects the same hesitancy, because it evaluates phenomena in a different manner, such as, for example, masturbation, homosexuality, virginity, the state of sexual life, or old age sexuality. It is not possible now to engage in the professional analysis of the messages in a more thorough manner. But the following examples are good illustrations of the value-transmitting role of the messages, and how the advice differs, depending on the individual doctor's concept and outlook.

"Student's love 114" A 16 year old grammar school girl student is in love with a young boy, but does not consider him to be the "real one". With the exception of "one thing", everything happened, but they are very much afraid of that one thing, because it may have grave consequences. But if they continue the usual process, they would hardly avoid that one. What should they do? - I can only confirm what you already know: it would be dangerous to continue! A thinking person should not consider "that one" as an insignificant gift, with which she must award her partner. Particularly if she does not consider him the real one. You are correct in seeing that you are playing with fire, with which you may burn yourself! Such "burns" rarely disappear without damaging scars. What should you do? Don't play with fire!  
/Hungarian Youth 1980/17/

"Imre 26" At the age of 16, girls are not yet mature for sexual life, and it is not advisable to take anti-baby pills. Don't comply with your suitor's urging, satisfy yourself without intercourse. The method /professionally termed petting/ is described in books on sex enlightenment. /Family Magazine 1980/1/

"Klára and Éva" I was startled by your letter. I quote /word by word/: "We are 13 year old girls and we would like to have intercourse, but we are afraid of the consequences." It is too early, girls. But if you cannot wait, I suggest that you buy books on sexual enlightenment and carefully study them... /e.g. "Sex, love, family" /New Mirror 1980/37/

If a letter writer reads medical advice in several magazines, he or she will become more uncertain than before.

#### Women - under 35

As the majority of the letters reveal the gender of the letter writers, the first conspicuous fact is that three quarters of the advice seekers are women, and only one quarter are males. The situation and role of women in society and within the family, is gradually re-evaluated, however, the change in the value structures is connected with role-conflicts for many. The liberalization of female sexual attitudes and the female sexual role may create conflict-situations, where the solution requires assistance.

There is another advice service, where the advice seeker can preserve his or her anonymity and communication is indirect, and this is the Budapest Counselling Telephone Service. Those who feel they are in a crisis can seek assistance from the Service. According to earlier data, there are many more women /70%/ than men among those who phone in. This ratio seems to confirm the hypothesis that it is more difficult for women to overcome their problems, which they face in work and in self-accomplishment, in their role in the family or in their partnership.

Three quarters of the messages also indicate the age of the letter writers. Their overwhelming majority is under 35.

Among them, every fifth letter writer belongs to the adolescents. There are a small number of letters written by people between 36 and 55, particularly addressed to the doctor of New Mirror. Only 2% of the letter writers are over 55, mostly seeking advice from Women's Magazine. The letters of the young correspondents primarily reflect the problems which they face at the beginning of sexual life. The time shift between biological maturity and psychosexual maturity is the root of the primarily moral and secondarily inquisitive questions, such as the value of virginity, the technique of kissing, petting, first sexual relationship, inhibitions, and anxiety in these situations. Most of the young letter writers do not receive the necessary support either from the school or the family - neither in the field of emotions, nor in the sphere of indispensable knowledge.

In letters concerning the choice of partner, orientation, maturity for choosing a partner, and relationships, young people are not primarily seeking medical advice, but advice concerning their style of life. Helplessness particularly characterizes girls, together with their doubtfulness in the evolving relationship or jealousy, hopeless love and chaos in emotional and sexual life. All these are individual problems, which also may be instructive for others, but the answer can only be tailored for the individual. And this extends beyond the authority of the column; however, in the absence of other forums for the letter writer, a few sentences by the doctor have to "solve" critical situations.

#### It is not their concern

All this indicates that "medical advice" may be a misleading title, because numerous sexual questions extend beyond the expertise of the doctors; they belong to the psychologists or sexologists, and on the other hand, they provide mistaken orientation, for they suggest that problems of life style;

education, culture, or psychological problems would be medical problems. Many, particularly young people, because of the lack of basic sexual culture and hygiene, are unable to solve their own problems alone. It is not the consequence of their lack of information that neither within or outside their family can they find forums from which they could expect support, assistance, or even some understanding. It is true that there is a pre-marital medical advisory service and there are marriage and family counselling services, but they primarily provide information about family planning, and reproduction-biological advice. Namely, knowledge which young people require much earlier than at the threshold of marriage. Following the dynamic change in social norms, a wide-scale hesitancy can be experienced in the relationship between the sexes, in the evaluation of the sexual behaviour norms, and in the definition of the limits between "health" and "illness".

Medical advice in the magazines can only satisfy the demands, which the letter writers confront them with, in a very limited manner. In addition, the doctors not only enlighten the individual letter writers, but it is expected that the widely read medical messages influence public opinion and disseminate modern standpoints. However, the present situation is far from being the solution.

## COMMUNICATORS

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### The Hungarian Journalist Community in 1981

It is hardly necessary to show that it is particularly important that the whole of society and the communicators themselves should acquire a relatively precise picture concerning the main sociological characteristics of journalists, their social situation, living conditions and views. The group of journalists belongs among the small-numbered intellectual occupations (one per cent of all intellectuals are journalists), but there is hardly any other intellectual group, which reaches such large numbers of the public with its services as the journalists; the consequences of this group's situation, circumstances and thinking are, therefore, far reaching. Nevertheless, the sociological research of the personal and structural conditions of journalism has so far been neglected.

In 1981-1982 a comprehensive sociological survey was carried out on the social situation of journalists in Hungary by the Mass Communication Research Centre. Every third member of the Hungarian Association of Journalists was interviewed. The research group and the Mass Communication Centre intend to offer points of direction, a basis for comparison and with this, a certain orientation for those who are involved in the task of disseminating information.

#### Exceptional influx

Extremely major changes occurred in the journalistic community in the past fifteen years. More than half the journalists entered the profession during this period.

There is hardly any other intellectual occupation, where the ratio of newcomers would be of the same extent. The age break-

down changed to a considerable manner<sup>x</sup>; in 1968 the age pyramid was characterized by the overwhelming middle generation (53% of the journalists were 36 to 50). By 1981, the ratio of the three generations became essentially equal (the ratio of the middle generation decreased to 38%).

The personal historical experiences of the present group of journalists differ entirely from those of ten or fifteen years ago. Only 1% of them worked as journalists before the war, 5% in the coalition period of 1945-48, 21% started as journalists between 1949-1956 and 73%, namely three out of every four journalists entered the profession after 1957. The age composition of women - even if less sharply than in other intellectual occupations - differs from that of men, their age pyramid is considerably younger; 18% of the journalists over 50 are women, while 33% of those between 41-50, 34% of those between 31-40, and 39% of those who are younger than 39 years of age. The increment is slow and we cannot speak about the effemination of the profession (only one third of the journalists are women).

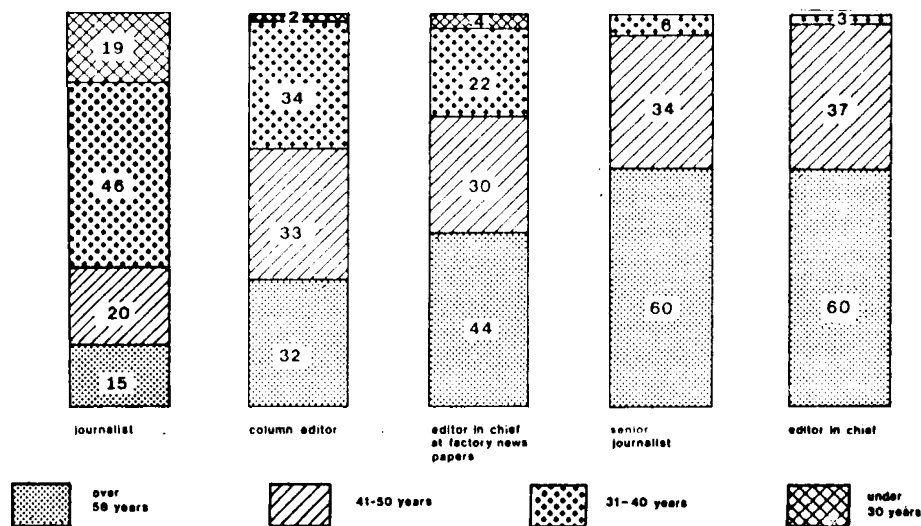
The age group break-down of journalists working in Budapest and in the countryside does not show any considerable difference as far as men are concerned. However, there is a significant difference among women. In Budapest 48% of female journalists are older than 40, in the countryside only 21%. There is hardly any female journalist in the countryside over 50, while in Budapest their ratio is 20%; it is only 2% in the countryside.

The age pyramid of female journalists working in different media shows noteworthy differences. The age division in the national and county dailies is very similar to the average. In the factory papers and among radio journalists those under 35 comprise the largest age group (53 and 48% respectively). In the television, middle aged journalists of 36 to 50 are in majority (48%), the ratio of the young group is only 3%.

<sup>x</sup> Data referring to the period fifteen years ago originate from the survey carried out by Zsuzsa Ferge in 1968.

thus the television represents an almost unattainable goal for the beginners. The oldest group works with the weeklies and in the MTI Hungarian News Agency: 38 and 36% of them are over 50.

**Relationship of status in the editorial /office/ hierarchy and age**



Their place in the editorial (office) hierarchy and their jobs highly depend on age. It is most conspicuous that people under 40 have few opportunities to become senior editors, deputy editors-in-chief or editors-in-chief. These jobs are mostly fulfilled by journalists over 50 (60%). Compared to their numerical presence in the profession, there are few women among the leading officials. 10% of the editors-in-chief and their deputies are women, 15% of the editors and other leading officials and in addition women are appointed into these leading positions at an older age than men.

Three kinds of media favour women: the weeklies, the radio and the factory papers. Here the ratio of women is around 30% and almost 60% of all female journalists work in these three media. (From among the highly reputed institutions, the radio is most open to young people and women.)

### The shop slowly closes

35% of journalists come from intellectual parentage, 23% from the middle category<sup>x</sup> and 41% from manual working fathers.<sup>xx</sup> The break-down of the various age groups according to background indicates a characteristic tendency. 14% of those over 50 come from an intellectual background, while this ratio under 30 years of age is 53%. 64% of those over 50 come from manual working families and only 24% of those under 34. The fathers of two thirds of the oldest generation of journalists were engaged in manual work, while more than half of the youngest come from intellectual families. /The ratio of journalists from the middle category is almost identical in each age group./ Apparently the journalistic profession is gradually closing, the composition according to background is off-centred. The increased narrowing of the ratio of those of manual working class background compared to other intellectual professions is an extremely powerful process.

Background also plays a role in the employment within the profession and in appointments. In the national dailies and the television the ratio of those of an intellectual background is 50% while almost half of those employed by the factory papers and in the MTI are of working class families. The ratio of the latter increases parallel with the higher positions. /34% of the staff, 46% of the column editors, 61% of the editors and 67% of the editors-in-chief are of working class origin./

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x/ This category represents those who have secondary education and are not engaged in manual work.

xx/ The data do not contain 18% of journalists whose father retired or died, or cannot be placed in any of these categories.



### The selective effect of birthplace

43% of the journalists were born in Budapest, 19 in the county seats, 12 in other towns and 27% in villages. /The prevalence of those born in towns, and particularly in the capital can also be observed in other intellectual professions./ The individual journalist generations essentially differ from each other according to their birthplace. The breakdown of age groups according to birthplace shows a similar tendency to the breakdown according to background. Moving from the older generations towards the younger ones, the particular process of closure can also be observed with regard to the birthplace. Many more of the younger ones come from the capital and less from the villages than the older ones. Within each settlement group, the ratio of those of an intellectual background is increasing and that of working class background is diminishing. Selection is extremely strong among those born in Budapest /the ratio of those of an intellectual background increased from 15 to 70% and of working class background decreased from 49 to 13%/. Selection prevails less among those who were born in the county seats or minor towns, and least among those who started out from the villages. The selective effect of birthplace is different according to social groups: it is insignificant among those who originate from the working class, and extremely powerful among those with an intellectual background.

Since 1968, a significant change occurred in the educational level of the journalists. In 1968, altogether 46% of journalists were university or college graduates, this percentage increased to 64 by 1981. The impact of the change is indicated by the fact that today the ratio of university graduates among the older generation is higher than in 1968 among all the journalists. However, it should be noted that there are relatively fewer university graduates among

the younger journalists than in the middle generations. Recently a university diploma was less important in starting in this métier. The concession was intended to promote the career of those who come from a detrimental background. However, it did not accomplish its aim, because as it was indicated earlier, the ratio of intellectual background is the largest and of working class origin the lowest exactly in the youngest age group.

The careers of university graduates and non-graduate journalists differ basically. A large part of the non-graduates /26%/ are employed by the factory papers and only 15% by the television, radio or national dailies. In the case of graduates, the situation is the reverse. 14% start their career with factory papers and 34% in national institutions. In the electronic mass communicational institutions, qualification is of determinative significance when choosing their staff.

#### BA's in prevalence

The majority of journalists are arts graduates. 68% of the graduates studied arts, 6% technical and natural scientific subjects, 14% economics and 11% others. The ratio of arts graduates does not diminish even when we move towards the younger age groups. Their ratio is particularly high among those employed by the county papers. Technical and natural scientific graduates are in relatively large numbers employed by the factory papers, economists are employed by the radio, the MTI and the weeklies. The ratio of economists is relatively high among the column editors and editors-in-chief.

37% of the journalists completed the evening course of the Marxism-Leninism University /MLEE/. There is a considerable difference in this respect among university graduates and non-graduates. 24% of the previous and 63% of the latter have a diploma from the MLEE. This suggests that this form

of tuition fulfils a "graduation replacement" function. The graduation replacement function becomes almost exclusive with regard to journalists under 30: among them 12% of the university graduates and 97% of the non-graduates study at the MLEE. It would be desirable that the Marxist evening university should fulfil a political-cultural supplementary function.

The ratio of those who completed the MUOSZ Journalist School is different in the various age groups. Altogether 24% of those over 51, 44% of those between 41 and 50, 73% of the age group between 31 and 40, and 79% of those under 30 completed this school. /6% of the MUOSZ school leavers participated at a six months training course, 50% at a twelve months training course, 35% studied for two years, and 8% for three years./ Four fifths of the two younger generations, independently of whether they are university graduates completed the journalist school. This form of tuition is becoming more general. Altogether 59% of the university graduates and 53% of the non-graduates completed this school. It can be observed that with regard to the supplementary training of university graduates, the place of the Marxist evening university course is increasingly taken over by the MUOSZ Journalist School.

### Beginning a career

A significant part of those who are journalists today worked for a short or long period in another field prior to entering this profession. This is partly connected with the fact that there is no university or college level professional tuition, such as in the field of the traditional occupations, in theory the possibility to become a journalist is open to anybody arriving from any special field. An interest towards this career developed relatively late in the majority of journalists, and only two fifths of them prepared conscious-

ly for this calling, for most of them it was the circumstances which caused them to become a journalist.

Altogether 39% of journalists were immediately employed by a paper, or by some other mass communication institution. 24% started to work as manual workers, 23% were employed in medium level jobs, and 14% in other intellectual occupations. Among the graduates, the ratio of those who directly entered the career is 43%, while 30% of the non-graduates started as a journalist.

The beginning of the career is also differentiated according to background. 45% of the intellectuals and 32% of working class background started as a journalist. This shows that the more advantageous background promotes the possibility to immediately find a job as a journalist.

Characteristic differences can be traced in the beginning of the career by men and women. More women started directly as journalists /44% as against 37%/, and while among those men who made a detour before starting their career, manual work was more frequent, with regard to women the medium level jobs were more frequent. Careers differ also according to age group. In the youngest age group, the ratio of those who started as journalists is considerably higher (54%) and there are only a few who said farewell to other intellectual occupations for the sake of journalism (8%).

Prior to starting their career, journalists worked at an average of 1.4 workplaces. Men - with the exception of the youngest age group - walked a longer path in every age group than women. There are many more women who started journalism after a single job. If we observe the age groups, we find that moving towards the younger age groups, the entering of the career is becoming smoother, and the number of workplaces prior to journalism is decreasing. Background has an influence

on the number of jobs prior to becoming a journalist: those of intellectual background worked at an average of 1.1 jobs, those of medium level background at 1.3, and those of a working class background in 1.7 jobs. Three fifths of the journalistic community started in some other job than journalism. 31% came from the cultural sphere, 30% from administration, and 8% from other fields to the mass media.

With regard to the first job as a journalist, the role of the factory and county newspapers is outstanding: more than half of the beginner journalists started their career in one of these two institutions. Most journalists in the youngest age group - 37% of all beginners - take up a job in factory newspapers. The third most significant type of institution in the beginning of a career is represented by the weeklies and periodicals.

The background also has an effect on the choice of the first job. 45% of those of intellectual background are employed by national dailies, the radio, television and the MTI. This ratio is 28% with regard to a medium level background, and 32% with a working class background.

Inter-career mobility, the change of jobs in the journalistic community is relatively low. Based on the number of average workplace changes, journalists who are working as such at the moment, change their jobs 1.2 times until they reach their present employment. Almost half of the journalists are working in the same employment as where they were first employed. Journalists change their jobs on an average of 12.5 years. Naturally, with the increase of age the ratio of journalists who have worked in several places is increasing, but there is no age group in which the change of jobs would be essentially more frequent. There is no essential difference between men and women with regard to the number of workplaces. However, journalists living in Budapest are more

mobile than those in the countryside, particularly the oldest age group, where as compared to the 2.2 average of the Budapest residents, that of the provincial ones is 0.9.

Only one third of the journalists changed the type of institution compared to their original employment. This is partly due to the low mobility inclination, the relative satisfaction with the job and difficulties in the change of job. With regard to the changes, a considerable difference can only be experienced according to the type of mass media where the journalist started his career. 45% of those who started with weeklies, and 40% of those who started at national dailies and factory newspapers changed institution. 32% of the county paper staff, 24 and 22% of the MTI and radio staff, and only 7% of those who started in the television proved to be mobile in this sense.

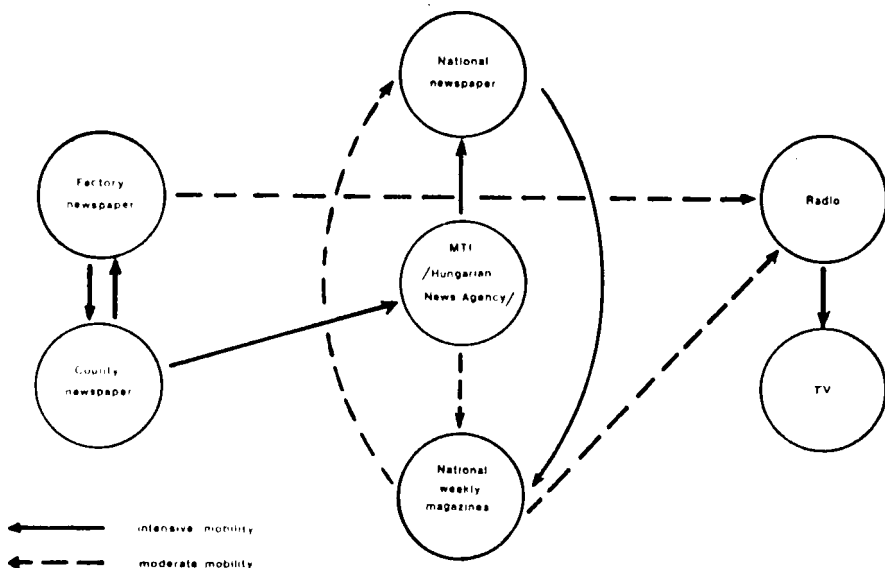
#### The main directions of mobility

Changes between the types of institution provide a picture of the orientation of journalists starting in various institutions and also show from where the staff of various institutions were recruited. The characteristic connections are the following.

The factory and county newspapers play a particularly important role in each other's supply of labour. 32% of those who started with factory papers and changed jobs at present work at county papers, and the factory papers acquire two thirds of their staff which did not start with them - from county papers. There is a characteristic bi-directional connection between the national dailies and weeklies. 46% of the mobile journalists who started at national dailies moved to weeklies, and 44% of the similar group which started at weeklies now works with national dailies. There is a unidirectional relationship between the radio and the television. 58% of

the mobile journalists who started at the radio work with the television, and their proportion among the television staff recruited from other institutions amounts to 42%.

### Characteristic directions of mobility among mass communication institutes



Most of the changes can be considered as an exchange of places. Structural mobility - a movement which may change the ratio of journalists working in various types of institutions - is relatively low. The reason for this is that in the past decades, the institutional system of mass communications in Hungary was characterized by a relative permanence. There were no large scale changes affecting the entirety of the institutional structure, which may have highly reduced or increased the proportion of journalists in the different types of institutions.

The main direction of mobility among the different institutions can be traced if we categorize the types of mass com-

munication institutions on the basis of whether they are characterized by labour absorption or repulsion. The order according to the absorption or repulsion is the following; 1. television, 2. national dailies, 3. radio, 4. MTI, 5. weeklies, 6. factory newspapers and 7. county newspapers. The main direction of mobility is provided by those changes through which journalists move from an institution on the lower grade of the order to a higher grade. The mobility of the main direction is several times higher, almost three times higher than the opposite mobility. With regard to those who move in the main direction, a 2, 3 or 4 grade mobility is also frequent, while those who move opposite the main direction usually move only one grade lower. With regard to the age groups, the movement in the main direction is most characteristic of those over 30; in the age group of 31-40, mobility in the main direction is five times higher than in the reverse direction. The latter is characteristic of the youngest age group.

### The family

Altogether 79% of journalists are married, 11% divorced and 8% are single. There are no such characteristic differences in the ratio of single males and females among journalists than in other intellectual groups. However, there is a conspicuous difference among the married male and female journalists. In each age group, the ratio of married men is higher, and moving towards the older ones, the difference is continuously increasing; in the oldest age group the proportion of married men is twice that of the married women. The 11% ratio of those divorced is also conspicuous, because compared to the national data and other intellectual groups it is extremely high. And here there is a big difference between males and females. The ratio of divorced men is low and stable according to age groups, while the same ratio is extremely high among women, and considerably in-



creases with the age; 21% of the female journalists are divorced /the corresponding proportion is 4% among female doctors, 12% among lawyers, and 20% among actresses/. The ratio of divorce among women is strongly differentiated according to family background. 27% of female journalists of working class background, 16% of the intellectuals, and 9% of the middle categories are divorced. The high divorce ratio of women with a working class background may be due to the fact that the socialization and family background of this group differs most from that of their spouse. The ratio of divorced female journalists in Budapest is 24%, and 13% in the countryside.

The marriage customs of journalists - as those of the intellectuals in general - are characterized by large scale homogamy: more than two thirds of them chose graduates as a spouse. The husbands of female journalists are almost exclusively intellectuals. The absolute majority of the wives of journalists are also intellectuals, but spouses of medium level occupation are also of considerable proportion. Spouses of manual occupation can be found only to a limited extent with regard to both sexes.

Marriage within the profession is rare among journalists compared to other intellectual groups. The ratio of spouses of identical occupation is 9% among men and 24% among women /while this is 28 and 57 with regard to doctors, 29 and 46 among actors, and 13 and 42% among lawyers/. There is a clear cut connection between the qualification of the journalist's father and father-in-law: the higher educated the parents of the journalist, the more qualified is the father-in-law. The family background of the married couple also influences the marriage customs: the difference is characteristic in the marriage practice of first and second generation intellectuals. Second generation intellectuals choose second generational intellectuals for their spouse to a larger ex-

tent than those of the first generation. At the same time, the spouses of the first generation intellectuals include intellectuals in general to a much higher extent. This refers both to male and female journalists.

Journalists have an average of 1.2 children, in the family of male journalists the number of children is 0.98. /With regard to the doctors and the lawyers, this is lower, with regard to the actors - it is higher./ The most frequent phenomenon is the single child family. 40% of the adult children of journalists are intellectuals, 23% study at universities, 23% are employed in some medium level job, and 14% work as a manual worker. The children of journalists graduate to a larger extent than the children of the other intellectuals, and sooner or later a considerable part of them become intellectuals themselves. Almost four fifths of the children of journalists in Budapest are already intellectuals or university students, in the countryside only half of them. The effect of background is also illustrated by the fact that almost three quarters of the already working children of the second generation intellectuals and roughly half of those from the first generation became intellectuals or university students. 60% of the children of those working in various types of institutions will enter an intellectual career, with the exception of the children of those journalists who are employed by the television (78%), and of the children of factory newspaper journalists where the ratio is much lower (38%); while 42% of their children work as manual workers.

#### Age determines basic earnings

There are widespread misconceptions concerning the income of journalists /both basic and secondary income/. At the time of the survey, the basic earnings of journalists were 5,400 forints a month /with a variance of 1,500 forints/.

Compared to the earnings of other professionals, it could be described as low. The variance of the average earnings is also lower than with other intellectual groups.

Basic earnings mainly depend on age. The emphatic weight of age is shown by the fact that in itself it carries out twice as much effect on the earnings than all further factors together. There is a considerable difference between the basic earnings of men and women, 5,650 for the previous and 4,850 for the latter. The difference is considerably due to the different age composition, because if we keep age constant, then the differences - with the exception of the age group over 50 - are essentially smaller.

The basic earnings of journalists in Budapest are 5,700, in the countryside 5,050 forints a month. The averages according to position, range from the 3,500 forints for the apprentices, to 7,500 forints for the editors-in-chief. Nevertheless, the position explains relatively little about the amount of the basic earnings, as the rise in the hierarchy is also extremely strongly dependant on age. The basic earnings of party members is 5,850 forints a month, of non-party members 4,850 forints. A significant part of the difference originates from the fact that party members are older than the non-party members, there are more males among them than females, and they fulfil higher positions to a larger extent. If we observe the actual impacts, then party membership explains the same part of the basic earnings as the domicile or the position.

The average of basic earnings according to the type of media ranges from 4,150 forints at the factory newspapers to 6,850 forints a month in the radio. The extent of the difference /the determinative role of the type of media/ is best illustrated by the differences between the two extreme poles. While more than half of those working on the factory papers

belong to the lowest category<sup>x</sup> and only 1% to the upper category, in the radio, which according to the basic salaries belongs to the best situation, almost half of the staff fall within the highest category and only 1% into the lowest. However, a significant part of the differences within the salaries of the staff of various mass communication institutions are caused by the differences in socio-demographic factors.

The system of basic salaries in the different mass media are more similar than not because in every case the determinative role of age is the most important.

#### Secondary income does not compensate

A broad sphere of journalists also earn on the side:<sup>xx</sup> 98% have a supplementary income. The average of this is 2,500 forints. The differences are considerable: variance is 2,000 forints. The extremely uneven distribution of the secondary income is illustrated by the fact that for the 20% which has the highest secondary income, this amounts to an average of 5,950 forints, in the second 20% it is 3,500, in the third 2,000, in the fourth 1,250, while in the fifth group, which contains the 20% with the lowest secondary income, this only amounts to 400 forints. This practically means that the 20% which receives the highest supplementary income gets 47% of all secondary income, while the percentage for the bottom 20% is only 3%. Secondary income mostly changes according to the basic salaries: when moving from the lower basic salary groups towards the higher basic salary groups they gradually increase. All in all, they are not of a compensational character. We cannot speak about the independent effect of age in the case of secondary income: there is no considerable difference in the secondary income of journalists of different age, but similar basic salary.

x According to their basic salaries, journalists were separated into five groups. The upper group contained the highest earning 20%, and the bottom group contained the lowest earning 20%.  
xx Supplementary income means all additional earnings (bonus,

The secondary income of men and women is considerably different. The average secondary income of the previous is 2,900 forints, and 1,800 forints for the latter. /Sex explains more from the extent of the secondary income than from the basic salary./ Secondary incomes are also influenced by the type of medium where the journalist is employed. The two extremes are the factory newspapers and the television; the average ranges from 1,500 to 4,000 forints. At the factory newspapers, which is the negative pole, more than two fifths of the journalists belong to the 20% which earn the lowest secondary income, and only 6% belong to the upper group. With regard to the television, which is the positive pole, more than two fifths of the staff belong to the upper 20% and not one journalist belongs to the bottom 20%.

According to their source, 25% of secondary incomes derive from rewards and bonuses, 37% from income for plus work for the employer, and 38% from fees from other papers or mass communication institutions.

The extent of these sources varies in the various groups of journalists. While male journalists earn most of their secondary income with work for other papers and institutions, in the case of women, plus work for the employer is the main source of secondary income. With regard to age - moving from the younger ones towards the older age group - an increasing part of the secondary income comes from rewards and a decreasing part from fees from other newspapers or institutions. At the same time, older journalists acquire larger amounts from all three sources than the young ones. Rewards and bonuses grow particularly strongly according to age. Namely, the division system of awards and bonuses is in many aspects similar to the division order of basic salaries. Fees earned from other papers and institutions are relatively most independent of age.

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rewards, additional salary earned by additional work in the job, and fees received from other media) acquired in addition to the basic salary by journalists as communicators.

The rise is extremely steep in the absolute sum of secondary incomes. While in the group acquiring the lowest actual secondary income, the monthly amount of rewards is 75 forints, the secondary income earned from their own employer is 120 forints a month, and fees received from other papers or institutions are 200 forints a month, in the group with the highest monthly secondary income this amounts to 1,800, 2,000 and 3,200 forints. According to the type of institution, the situation is the following: bonuses and rewards are relatively important in the case of factory newspapers; in the television and the MTI the secondary income earned from one's own employer is the highest, and in the case of national dailies the largest part of the secondary income originates from work for other newspapers. The actual income relations of journalists are characterized by the differences in the sum of total income. The average total income of journalists is 7,900 forints, and the variance of the total income is 2,950 forints. The conspicuously high inequalities of the secondary income do not characterize total incomes. The extent of total income is usually dependent on age. This is obvious, because more than two thirds of the total income originates from the basic salary, and this - as we saw - is strongly dependent on age. The second strongest variable is sex. The reason for this is that the advantageous situation of men in the basic salaries and secondary incomes appears here in a cumulative manner. The difference in the total income of men and women of similar age is higher not only in an absolute, but also in a relative measure, than with regard to the basic salaries and secondary incomes. The increased disadvantage of women is illustrated by the fact that with regard to their total income, more than one third of them, precisely 37%, belong to the lowest income group. /With regard to basic salaries it was 31%, and with regard to secondary income this ratio was 29%./ Their disadvantage is even more conspicuous if we compare their total income with that of men, according to age groups. The

total income of women shows a similarity with the total income of men ten years younger than them. And this ten year backlog is even considerably higher among women over 50.

After age and sex, position and domicile have a traceable - although essentially smaller - role in the development of total incomes. Qualifications also have some explanatory force, together with the type of institution and party affiliation. When examining the effect of these variables according to the types of institutions, we find that with the exception of two media - the county newspapers, the weeklies and periodicals - age and position explain most of the incomes. In these two institutions, which are the exception, sex alone explains more than all the other variables together. In these two types of institutions, there are exceedingly large differences between the total income of men and women.

With regard to the ratio of the basic and secondary incomes, 68% of the journalists' total income originates from the basic salaries and 32% from the secondary income /the proportion of the latter is 34% for men and 27% for women/. In every type of institution, secondary incomes are a significant concomitant of the journalists' total income, the ratio is highest in the television. If we compare their total income with that of the most similar group, namely with the staff of the radio, then there is an essential difference: 41% of their high income originates from secondary incomes; while in the case of the radio staff most of their total income, 72% originates from their basic salaries. On the other pole: journalists at the factory newspapers stand on the last place, both from the viewpoint of total income and the proportion of their secondary income too.

## Housing conditions

One of the most characteristic indices of the material-social situation of a social group are their housing conditions. 6% of the journalists own their own house, 35% own their flat, 41% live in council flats, and the housing condition of the others is unsolved. Among doctors and lawyers, the ratio of house owners is essentially higher, while the ratio of the flat owners is lower. Among those whose housing situation is unsolved, the doctors are characterized by living in service flats, and with regard to journalists, the ratio of family dependants is the most characteristic.

The housing conditions of journalists are characteristically different according to age groups. The housing conditions of 43% of the youngest age group are unsolved, this ratio is considerably lower in the age group of 31-40, and the absolute majority own their home. In the age group of 41-50, the ratio of those who live in council flats or in their own home is similar, and with regard to the oldest generation almost two thirds live in rented council flats.

The possibilities to rent a council flat are gradually diminishing and the younger generations are increasingly compelled to look for the financially more burdensome solutions. When examining the incomes we found that they are highly dependent on age, therefore exactly those generations are compelled to buy expensive homes to a great extent whose salaries are the lowest. The better housing conditions among young people depend on the more favourable family background.

The acquisition of a home is also influenced by the territorial mobility; 15% of those who started from the villages or small towns and work as journalists in the county seats have unsolved housing conditions, while in Budapest 28% of these beginners are in the same situation. /The two-step



mobility creates considerably graver housing conditions./ There is a characteristic difference between those who only moved one step, but the progress took place at different urban levels: among those who moved to the capital the ratio with unsolved housing conditions is 10% higher. Referring to the earlier described phenomena, namely that the basis for replacement became narrower even regarding the territory - young journalists mainly come from the capital and the county seats - it can be presumed that the closure of territorial mobility is not independent from the difficulties to acquire a metropolitan home, and particularly one in Budapest.

One tenth of the journalists live in bed sitters, 11% in one and a half rooms, 36 in two rooms, 12% in two and a half rooms, 23% in three rooms, 2% in three and a half rooms, and 6% in four rooms or bigger flats. One third of the journalists under 30 live in homes of high density /half a room or less per capita/, 29% of those between 31-40, 45% of the age group 41-50 live in homes of low density /at least one room per capita/ and this refers to 50% of those over fifty. This important index of the housing conditions depends in the two younger age groups on the family background of the journalist and not on personal income. The situation of married couples is adverse, half of them live in homes of low density compared to those who are not yet or no longer married.

Two thirds of the journalists consider their housing conditions as solved, but the younger they are the less can say that. Those who work under unfavourable working conditions are more dissatisfied with their housing conditions, although the actual housing density does not justify this. It may be due to the situation that in journalism, similarly to several other intellectual activities, home and office work cannot be sharply separated from each other.

### Opinions about working conditions

The interviewees rated 12 factors - on a scale from 1 to 5 - which basically influence the situation and disposition of journalists. These factors are the following in the order of the average mark they were given:

|   |      |
|---|------|
| - the interesting and varied nature of the work | 3.98 |
| - colleagues                                    | 3.88 |
| - professional expertise of immediate bosses    | 3.86 |
| - atmosphere                                    | 3.44 |
| - democracy                                     | 3.43 |
| - number of assistants                          | 3.25 |
| - information provided for journalists          | 3.16 |
| - actual, technical conditions of work          | 3.15 |
| - chances of promotion in the hierarchy         | 3.14 |
| - number of people working in one room          | 3.10 |
| - incomes                                       | 2.56 |
| - possibilities to travel abroad                | 2.24 |

In rating these factors a conformity was experienced between journalists of varied age groups. The picture is far from being so unambiguous if we study the rating according to the type of media.

Journalists at the factory papers rate democracy in the workplace and the atmosphere higher, and the expertise of the immediate bosses lower together with the information provided and the chances of promotion.

The opinion of the staff of county papers is nearer to the rating of those in other media. The evaluation of two factors differs considerably from the average: they rate information higher, but consider the atmosphere in the editorial offices worse than anybody else.

The staff of the national dailies rated the chances of promotion relatively higher, but are dissatisfied with democracy in the editorial offices. Broadcasters evaluate incomes more favourably both in the absolute and relative sense, and as background it is worth mentioning that with regard to their basic salaries they actually emerged from the field. However, they rated information provided for journalists the lowest. In contrast to television communicators who complained most about the overcrowded rooms they have to work in.

The MTI staff considered their actual, technical working conditions to be favourable and rated the chances of promotion higher than the others. At the same time, they rated democracy at the workplace lower than the average.

Journalists at the weeklies rated the factors similarly to the average: they only found information provided for them insufficient.

Greater differences were experienced in the rating according to the position of the journalists.

Apprentices found the actual, technical conditions of work better, but found the work less interesting and entertaining, and complained about the lack of information and the number of assistants.

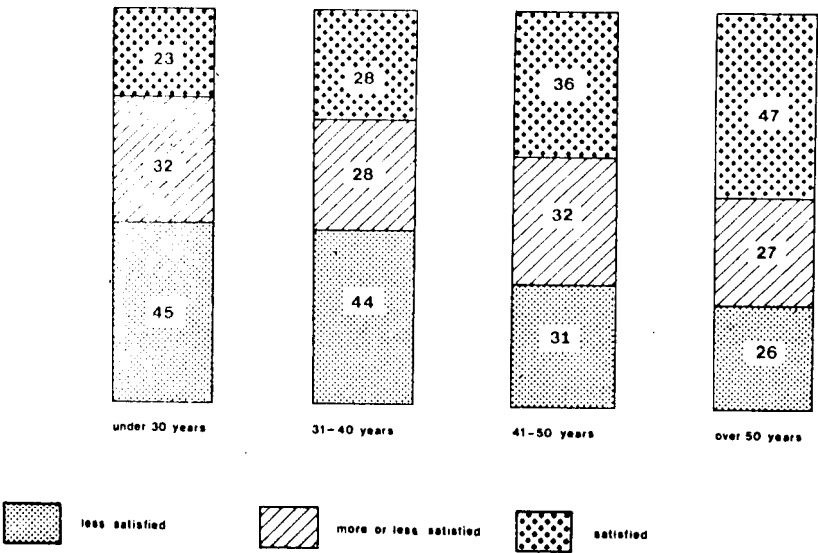
The rating hierarchy of the experienced journalists - compared to other groups - does not contain significant differences. The column editors regard the number of assistants to be extremely favourable, more highly rate the chances of promotion than the others, while they are less satisfied with the atmosphere in the editorial offices.

The editors-in-chief appreciate the professional expertise of the immediate bosses, but they are dissatisfied both in

the absolute and relative sense with the overcrowdedness of the rooms. The editors-in-chief of the factory papers regard democracy in the editorial offices to be more favourable together with the actual, technical conditions of work, at the same time underrate the professional expertise of the bosses and are dissatisfied with their colleagues. The opinion of the senior journalists is most similar to that of journalists of varied positions. The other journalists in leading positions, however, consider the chances of promotion to be relatively dissatisfactory together with democracy in the editorial offices.

Those who rate a factor in an explicitly negative manner, usually also consider the other factors more negative. This means that the opinion reflects a disposition. 34% of the journalists are satisfied, 30% more or less satisfied and 36% are less satisfied. Age is determinative in the rating.

The satisfaction with working conditions in the various age groups



The older the interviewee, the more satisfied he or she was with the circumstances. A major change occurs at the age of 40. Both the younger ones and the older ones speak about similar problems and consider similar things as solved, but the younger ones evaluate in a more negative manner. The extent of satisfaction also depends on the level of education: in every age group, graduates consider the situation with a more critical eye than the non-graduates.

Satisfaction is also differentiated according to the type of institutions. The staff of the MTI and the radio can be regarded as most satisfied. The staff of the county, the national newspapers and weeklies take a place in the middle, and the television staff can be regarded as least satisfied: not even one fifth of the television staff belongs to the group of satisfied journalists, and this is the only group where the ratio of dissatisfied people is almost as high among the older generation as among the young ones. The intercareer mobility - even if to a lesser extent - has an impact on satisfaction. It is characteristic of all age groups that those who had three or more workplaces are more satisfied than those who changed their job fewer times. The basic salary has a relatively slight role: with its increment, the number of satisfied journalists is also increasing.

#### The evaluation of activity

The disposition of journalists is considerably influenced by their opinion about their own work. 40% of the journalists consider their work in the main to be too much, 51% accept it as medium, and 9% regard it as being too little. The differences according to the type of media are conspicuous. Many of the journalists employed by county newspapers considered their tasks to be too much /58%/, at the same time, only 28% at the national dailies were of the same opinion. The other pole is presented by the weeklies. Only one fifth

of the journalists regard their task to be too much, and the same percentage considered themselves underoccupied. The staff of the radio and the television take a middle position, however, the opinion of the television communicators is extremely polarized.

The position in the hierarchy also differentiates the opinion. Mostly the editors-in-chief regard their tasks as being too much /53%/, but the ratio of similar opinions are relatively high among the other journalists in leading positions /column editors 47%, other leading officials 46%/. The situation is different with regard to the senior journalists, only 26% of them regard their work as being too much, which is most probably due to the fact that their positions involve different tasks and burdens. It is worthwhile to bear in mind that one fifth of the apprentices consider that they have too few tasks.

The time from the choice of the topic to the completion of the article or the programme seems to be long enough for 61% of the journalists, and too short for 37%. In this respect, again the staff of the county newspapers are the most dissatisfied: they alone are in an absolute majority /58%/ in complaining about not being fully utilized. 21% of the journalists employed by the national dailies and only 11% of the staff at the weeklies are of the same opinion.

29%-29% of journalists believe that routine work dominates their activity or on the contrary, high level work predominates and according to 42% both elements are equally present. The differences between the younger and the older are conspicuous: 43% of the younger journalists emphasized the preponderance of routine-like elements, while a similar answer among the older age group did not come up to 30% anywhere.

Answers were most varied according to the type of institution and position in the hierarchy. Most of the journalists who spoke about the high level standard of the work were employed by the national dailies and weeklies. Here, journalists of the county papers again represented the opposite pole, and the staff of factory papers were also of the latter's opinion. The opinion of the radio and television communicators was again relatively highly polarized. Apprentices spoke less about the tasks being demanding /13%/. Among the senior editors this opinion, however, predominated /44%/. To some extent it was unexpected that there was such a low number of editors-in-chief at the factory papers who spoke about the routine-like character of the work /8%/, while those in other positions at these papers were of a different opinion /25 to 33%/.

Those who changed their job more frequently spoke about high standard work to a greater extent than those who did not, or only once changed their job. This confirms the presumption that intercareer mobility may also be the result of higher demands toward the tasks. The opinion about the quality of work done essentially tallied with indices of satisfaction concerning working conditions and the rating of the circumstances. Major satisfaction went together with the more positive evaluation of the work and the two types of dissatisfaction also ran parallel.

An indirect index of workplace disposition was whether the thought of job-changing emerged in the mind of the journalist. 28% of the interviewees think of changing their job within the next years. Half of those under 30, 37% between 31-40, a quarter of the age group between 41-50 and 7% of those over fifty announced such intentions. In general a quarter or a fifth of the journalists play with the thought of leaving, but more than half the journalists at factory papers are in the process of making up their mind. The higher

somebody's position the less he wants to go to another place: 56% of the apprentices, 32% of the general journalists, 27% of the column editors, 11% of the senior journalists and 10% of editors-in-chief. The answer of the editors-in-chief of the factory papers was again irregular, for one third of them intend to change their job in the near future.

Dissatisfaction with the working conditions alone encourages the desire to change jobs. The strongest impetus is given by the lack of the chances of promotion and the opinion about the received information. The opinion about the interesting and entertaining character of the work, number of assistants and the expertise of the immediate bosses also play an important role. The situation is similar in the age group of the younger journalists, among the 41 to 50 year old their opinion about the expertise of their bosses considerably increases, while the importance of the opinion about information received decreases, to some extent. A similar connection can be found between the quality of work and the intention to change jobs: 41% of those who emphasize the routine character of the work play with the thought of changing their job, while only 21% of those who speak about the high standard of their work.

In summary: the character of the work, the possibility of creativity and self-accomplishment play an important role in the desire to move to another job. These considerations are more important than many other conditions which accompany work.

#### Opinions about autonomy

The opinion of journalists about their own terrain, about their own autonomy, is an important index of the opportunities to identify oneself with the work. The opinions have two foci: one refers to the autonomy of the editorial work and the other to the individual autonomy of the journalist.

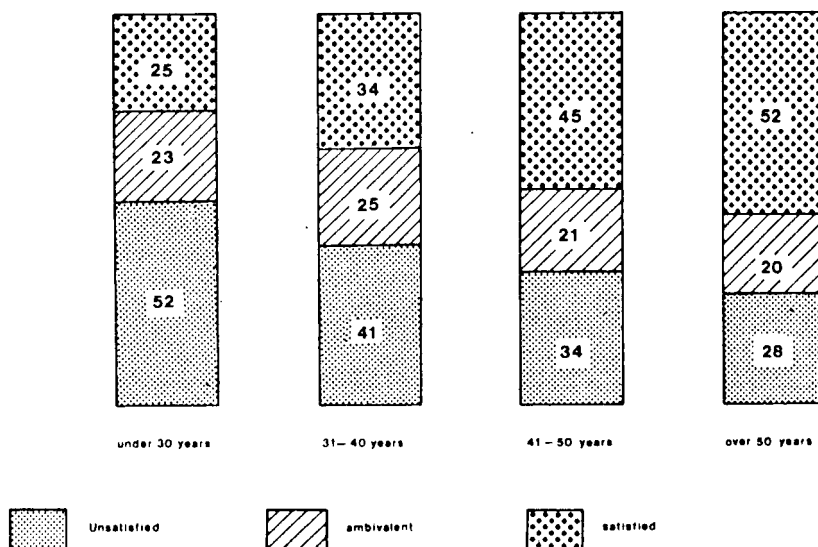


The basis for rating the editorial autonomy consisted of four questions. In your opinion:

- can one speak about an independent line of your paper?
- have the editors-in-chief /or do not have/ independence, a room for decision, which is necessary to set up a paper of an individual profile?
- should the independent right of decision and responsibility of the editors-in-chief be increased, reduced or left unchanged?
- which is correct: the concrete political profile of the paper is more dependent on the ideas of the superior authorities than on the management of the paper or it depends approximately on both?

The index contains the combined rating for all four questions and accordingly 40% of the journalists are satisfied, 22% are ambivalent and 38% are dissatisfied with autonomy.

### The evaluation of editorial autonomy in the various age groups



Differences according to age are again clear cut: approaching the older generations, the ratio of satisfaction increases. Under 30 only every fourth is satisfied, half of the age group is unsatisfied and the situation is reversed among those over 50. It shows that the younger journalists are also more critical in this question. The evaluation is strongly dependent on their position in the hierarchy: those at the bottom of the hierarchy are more dissatisfied with autonomy /47% of the apprentices, 38% of the column editors, 38% of the editors-in-chief, 23% of the editors-in-chief of the factory papers, which again differs from the others, finally 28% of the senior journalists are dissatisfied/. The picture varies according to the type of media, the staff of the medium with the broadest radius of effect are the most critical. Almost half of the radio and television staff /48 and 52% respectively/ consider editorial autonomy to be insufficient, journalists at the national dailies are also somewhat more critical than the average /as against 40%, altogether 42% of them expressed their dissatisfaction/.

In each age group, university graduates demand a greater sphere of movement. The older age groups in the countryside consider the situation more favourably than their colleagues of the same age in the city. However, whichever age group we pick, journalists who are less satisfied with their working conditions consider editorial autonomy to be lacking.

When evaluating the opinion about the individual autonomy of the journalists, the possibilities to express one's own opinion and conflicts connected with work were taken into consideration.

Every second journalist considered his own possibilities for an independent evaluation of events and for commenting on them to be very good or good. Only 10% complained and almost one third considered their autonomy to be moderate.

In this respect, age exercises less influence on the opinion than the position in the hierarchy. The higher somebody's position, the more favourable the evaluation of autonomy in the presentation and on commenting on events. Among the institutions, the opinion of the television and MTI staff differs mostly from the average. Television communicators rate their possibilities more negatively and the opinions of the MTI staff is characterized by large scale polarization.

The rating of choosing independent topics is less favourable, most often the answer was in the middle /47%/. Fewer people considered their independence to be very high /10%/ or high /32%/, but one tenth of the journalists felt that their opportunities to choose their topics were too limited. It is decisive where the people are employed: the staff of the radio, television and MTI regarded their situation as least favourable. It could be observed that there was an accumulation of complaints; those who feel that they have little opportunity for independent evaluation also regard the possibilities to choose their topic with a critical eye.

It is interesting from a sociological point of view that the journalists see the editorial autonomy to be essentially less favourable than the grade of autonomy of their own activity. More than one third of the interviewees were dissatisfied with the autonomy of the paper and only 10% felt that their own autonomous decision is little or very little in the evaluation or in the choice of topics. A type of self-censorship may play a role in this phenomenon. Most of the journalists are well aware of the concept of editorial policy in their institution, together with the related norms, and in the majority of the cases, they initially adjust themselves to them. A type of self-justifying mechanism may also play a role in this. The activity is evaluated in general and within this, the publications are evaluated on various levels of decision, and the relationship of

journalists to these levels is totally different. The level of decision, which determines the entirety of information policy and within this, the editorial policy, is above the journalists. On a lower level of decision, for example, the opinion of the editor-in-chief or the journalist about the concerned topic or article, the authority and responsibility of the individual is much greater. This in itself may be the reason that a journalist notices the problems more in the upper sphere than in his own.

#### Who do they write for

- A journalist lives in the cross fire of varied requirements: he tries to gain the appreciation of the general public, he pays attention to the opinion of his colleagues, and he has to take into consideration various requests of his different superiors. The way he qualifies his "clients" and how he takes them into consideration when preparing his articles or programmes, is highly characteristic of the entire mass media system, and influences the picture, which developed in the question of autonomy. Answering the question: who do they write for, journalists developed the following order<sup>x</sup>:

|   |      |
|---|------|
| public  | 2.59 |
| editor-in-chief   | 2.97 |
| press controlling bodies                                | 3.01 |
| organizations and institutions mentioned in the article | 3.52 |
| column editor   | 3.79 |
| journalist colleagues                                   | 4.77 |

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<sup>x</sup> To fit the number of "clients", the averages vary between 1 and 6 depending on the order created by the interviewees. The lower the number, the more important the placing.

43% of the journalists mentioned the public in the first place. They regard the "bosses" to be similarly important; editors-in-chief, press controlling bodies, and column editors in aggregate were rated in the first place by 44% of the journalists. /Press controlling bodies by 22%, editors-in-chief 14%, and column editors 8%./ Thus, the journalistic community sharply differs over whether they should pay attention primarily to the general public, or more to the leading, controlling body or institutions in structural hierarchy.

Those who rated higher a superior person or institution also gave higher ratings than the average to the other two. Whether somebody put press control, editors-in-chief, or column editors in the first place usually did not rate the general public in the second place. /Half of those who mentioned press control in the first place, mentioned editors-in-chief in the second. 38% of those who put editors-in-chief in the first place placed press control in the second, and the public only in the 5th place. Two thirds of those who rated column editors in the first place, placed editors-in-chief in the second. However, those who placed the public in the first place, mentioned the reaction of those concerned in the article in the second place, and according to another characteristic they also placed greater emphasis on the opinion of their journalist colleagues./

The rating of the staff of three mass media /MTI, television and weeklies/ essentially differed from the others. While in the other institutions, the public has a primary role, the staff of the MTI regard press control as the most determinative, while according to the television and weeklies' staff the wishes of the editors-in-chief are determinative. The staff of the radio, similarly to their colleagues at the national dailies, regard the column editors to be of relatively big significance, and rate them higher than journalists working in the other institutions. The staff of the

national mass media institutions consider the satisfaction of superior demands to be more important and rate the public to be of absolutely or relatively lesser importance.

With regard to the position in the journalistic hierarchy, the differences in the ratings are smaller. The editors-in-chief place bigger emphasis on the public than those in other positions, generally the journalists and column editors place less emphasis on the public and more on the superior levels. Journalists in general believe that press control has a lesser role, but the column editors and editors-in-chief have a relatively bigger role.

And another connection: those who evaluate the editorial or individual autonomy in a negative manner, place the public more into the background, and pay more attention to those above them. Those who are satisfied with the autonomy believe that the public is of determinative significance.

#### Opinions about the communication system and policy

The views of journalists about the functions of mass communication highly influence the information processes, and strengthen or weaken the efficiency of the communication policy. These views can be read from the Table of how and how often the interviewees chose those three from the possible functions, which in their opinion should be more emphatically effectuated in the future<sup>x</sup>.

|  | Percentage |
|--|------------|
| Authentic information for the public                                       | 63         |
| Presentation of shortcomings and problems, the revealing of irregularities | 46         |
| Rapid information for the public concerning topical questions              | 43         |

<sup>x</sup> As every interviewee chose three functions, the sum of the percentages is 300.

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Transmission of major standpoints          |    |
| prevailing among the public                | 41 |
| Shaping and influencing the opinion        |    |
| of the public                              | 37 |
| Social control over decision-making bodies | 30 |
| Boosting the public's sense of security    | 18 |
| Illustration of the accomplished results   | 11 |
| Entertainment                              | 11 |

In the choice of the individual functions, two groups were separated. The first group included the following functions:

- The transmission of major standpoints prevailing among the public
- Illustration of shortcomings and problems
- Social control over decision-making bodies
- Rapid information for the public concerning topic questions

The second group contained:

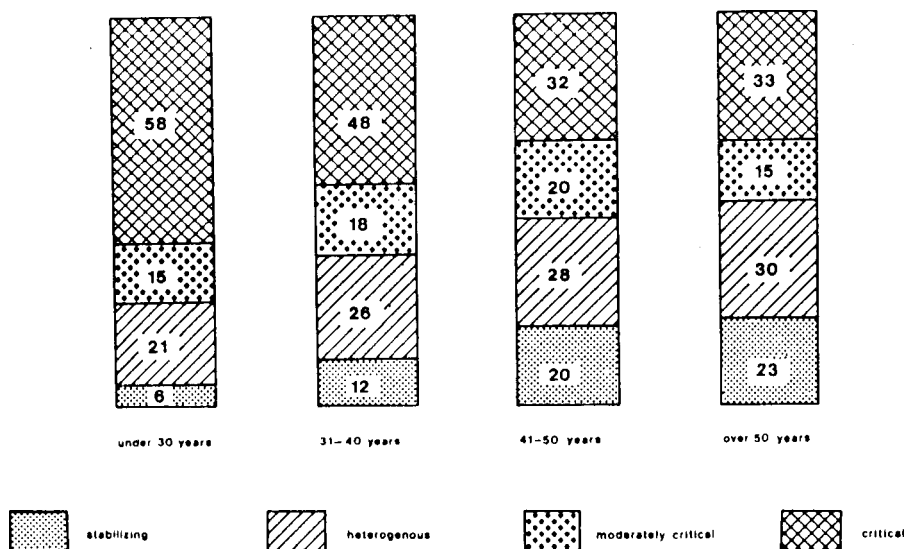
- Shaping and influencing the opinion of the public
- Illustration of the accomplished results
- Boosting the public's sense of security
- Ensuring entertainment.

With regard to its content, the first is more critical or orientation-improving; while the second ensemble of functions includes stability increasing and legitimating moments. /The authentic information for the public was the only function - chosen by most - which means a transition between the two groups and is loosely connected to both./

With regard to the two types of function preference, the journalists came within four categories: 40% belonged to the strongly critical, 17% to the moderately critical, 27% to the heterogeneous, and 16% to the stabilizing group. Thus, those who consider critical functions most topical are

3.5 times more than those who urge the consolidation of the stabilizing functions.

### Attitudes towards the functions of mass communication in the various age groups



Journalists who demand the preference of the critical functions are in the majority in every age group, however, with age increasing, the ratio of those who urge the consolidation of the stabilizing functions gradually increased. The position in the hierarchy has an independent explanatory force. 27% of the editors-in-chief and 37% of the editors-in-chief of the factory newspapers belong to the group which emphasizes stabilization /their ratio is two or three times higher than what we experienced from those in other positions/. However, polarization is strong among the editors-in-chief of the factory newspapers. The ratio of those who belong to the critical group is very high /41%/. At the other editors-in-chief this ratio is only 14%.



Journalists working in the factory or county newspapers mentioned the stabilizing functions more frequently /21% both/. The strongly critical type was most frequent among the television staff /55%/. Many of the journalists in the factory and county newspapers mentioned the shaping and influencing of opinions, while very few people at the television mentioned this point, and none of them regarded the illustration of the achieved results more emphatically than at present as important.

The critical or stabilizing outlook is closely attached to the views about editorial autonomy. Journalists who went more editorial autonomy, usually belonged to the critical group, and there was hardly anyone among them who put the stabilizing, legitimating function into the foreground. Among those who are satisfied with editorial autonomy, the critical opinion is pushed into the background, and the stabilizing efforts are of nearly similar emphasis. The strength of connection is extremely high. Half of those who wish to increase editorial autonomy chose the transmission of standpoints occurring in the public, and only one fifth chose the shaping and influencing of the public's opinion. Essentially, the proportion was reversed in the group, which is satisfied with editorial autonomy. In this connection, a faculty of mass communication questioned by many is worth observing: the processes of mass communication are not of reciprocal character, the ratio of information coming from above is higher than of that coming from below. A considerable part of the Hungarian communicators require the increase of programmes and articles in which the opinion of the general public and various views have a place.

Those who are dissatisfied with editorial autonomy favour this feedback, however, those who are satisfied with the more centralized structure of the communication system

prefer the unidirectional process of communication, the views wishing to influence the general public.

#### The operation of the dailies

The agreement with or the refusal of the following ten statements outline the opinion about the operation and everyday practice of the dailies. /Every statement was rated according to a 1 to 5 scale, 5 representing complete agreement, and 1 the complete refusal./

- |   |      |
|---|------|
| 1. In order to provide rapid information, the risk of immediate reaction should be undertaken                           | 4.19 |
| 2. The different dailies should be more specialised for a defined target public   | 3.98 |
| 3. It would be important that in addition to the journalists, other scribes should more frequently write in the dailies | 3.91 |
| 4. It is important for dailies to be printed on better paper and their appearance to be improved                        | 3.67 |
| 5. The dailies are boring and monotonous  | 3.56 |
| 6. The trouble is that most frequently the daily press does not react to the most important events                      | 3.37 |
| 7. Emphasis should be placed more on thoroughness and reliability than on speed   | 3.28 |
| 8. The dailies include so much formal material that journalism has little place in them                                 | 3.07 |
| 9. The level of the dailies improved in recent years  | 2.95 |
| 10. There are too many dailies, because all of them write the same  | 2.69 |

The different statements were consistently arranged around two groups. One can be characterized with the attitude of "emphasizing results and striving for security" and the other with the emphasis of "problems and tasks". /The attitude of the first one was expressed by the connection between statements 4, 7 and 9; while the attitude of the latter was characterized by all the other statements./ The more somebody preferred the emphasis of results and the strive for security, the less he emphasized the problems and tasks, and vice versa - although in the group of those who most highly evaluated the emphasis on the results, the preference for the emphasis on problems was in predominance.

Age had no considerable role in the two outlooks. On the other hand, with regard to the practical questions of journalism, the critical standpoint increased with age. In the older age groups, the emphasis on the results and the striving for security was coupled with a critical outlook somewhat more often than in of the younger age groups. The critical opinion of the older ones was particularly conspicuous in the case of two statements: "There are too many dailies, because all of them write the same" and "It would be important that in addition to the journalists, other scribes should more frequently write in the dailies".

The ratio of those who emphasized the results and the striving for security was primarily considerable among the editors-in-chief and others in a leading position. Only the editors-in-chief rate critical statements lower than the emphasis on the results. The opposite pole is represented by the senior journalists. The appearance of the two attitudes also depends on the institution. The emphasis on the results is primarily indicated in the county and factory newspapers; and the averages are only greater here than those of the critical statements. The opposite pole is represented by the radio, the television and the weeklies.

Schooling also has a certain differentiating role, although this only appears with regard to the attitude towards the emphasis on the results: non-graduate journalists evaluate the role of the results and security decisively higher than the graduates.

#### Supporters of immediate reaction in the majority

A broad circle of journalists consider the speeding up of information as a central question. They hold this to be essentially more important than thoroughness and reliability, even among those who rated the latter higher, there was a general view that "In order to provide rapid information, the risk of immediate reaction should be undertaken". These answers indicated that in their opinion the strive for thoroughness and reliability cannot exclude rapid reaction to events. In the question of speed, three types of journalists can be distinguished: 1. supporters of immediate reaction; 2. deliberators of the topic /those who in specific situations, events, or news, find the speed of reaction worth deliberating/ and 3. those who strive for security. 44% of the journalists represented immediate reaction, 26% deliberation of the topic, and 30% a careful standpoint striving for security.

In all age groups, the majority approved of immediate reaction. According to the position fulfilled in the journalistic hierarchy, the differences were not significant, although there were more among the leading officials who preferred the striving for careful security than among the staff. The senior editors differed in a more clear manner from the other groups, those who preferred immediate reaction predominated among them. In the factory and county newspapers, the representatives of immediate reaction were less than the average, and the ratio of deliberators according to the topic was the highest among them. In the MTI

there are one and a half times more of those who represent careful security /43%/ than in the other institutions. The ratio of immediate reaction is very high in the national dailies and the television /58 and 53% respectively/. The strongest connection can be experienced with the views about editorial autonomy. 41% of those dissatisfied with the autonomy belonged among the supporters of immediate reaction, while only 18% of those who are satisfied with the autonomy. The strong connection is obvious, because rapid reaction is objectively connected with editorial autonomy, and with the undertaking of higher responsibility by the given mass communication institutions.

### The standard of the media

The journalistic attitudes and trends of evaluation about the operation of the mass communication system are made complete with the opinion about the standard of the central mass media.

Journalists consider radio programmes to be of the highest standard /3.97/. The second place goes to the dailies /3.1/ and the third to the television programmes /2.94/, based on a five grade scale. The evaluation of the radio precedes the other two media by an "order of magnitude". The advantage of the dailies compared to the television is less, however, the difference in the rating is solid, in every age group the dailies are given a higher rating. In general, age differentiates to a slight extent, although over 40 the standard of the media is considered higher. The rating of the radio is the most unified.

According to the hierarchy, there are no conspicuous differences. The editors-in-chief rate the dailies somewhat higher, while the editors-in-chief of the factory newspapers give preference to the electronic institutions. The standard of the central newspapers and of the television is evaluated

highest by the MTI staff, which rates that of the radio relatively lowest. The aspiration level of the radio staff also appears in the evaluation of their own output.

From among the dailies, 40% of the journalists regard Magyar Nemzet /paper of the Patriotic People's Front, with a strong intellectual character/ as the best, 30% Népszabadság /the central party paper/, and 14% put Magyar Hírlap /the semi-official government paper/ on the first place.

In connection with age groups, a few characteristic tendencies can be found. Magyar Nemzet was put on the first place in every age group, while the evaluation of Népszabadság and Magyar Hírlap was of opposite direction. Older age groups preferred Népszabadság and younger ones Magyar Hírlap. The ratio of those who mentioned Népszava /the trade unions' paper/ in the first place conspicuously increased in the oldest age group.

Most of the staff in the electronic media put Magyar Nemzet in the first place, while this ratio was much smaller in the factory, county and national dailies. In the factory papers, more journalists placed Népszabadság in the first place, while in the county and national dailies there was a 50:50 decision with regard to Népszabadság and Magyar Nemzet. Many of the broadcasters mentioned Magyar Hírlap, and this is considered the second best daily. With regard to position, there were no considerable differences /with one exception/, most of the editors-in-chief of the factory newspapers considered Népszabadság the best daily. Almost half of the university graduates regarded Magyar Nemzet as the best, and more than a quarter hold Népszabadság the best, one third of the non-graduates evaluate Népszabadság the highest, and somewhat less put Magyar Nemzet on the first place.

The more critical attitude is connected with the preference of Magyar Nemzet, and the aspirations for results and security are connected with the preference for Népszabadság. The evaluation of the best daily also changed according to the general opinion about the standard of the central mass media. Whose opinion is more favourable vote for Népszabadság, and those who are of lesser opinion vote for Magyar Nemzet.

*János Timár*

## Generations of Journalists

The journalistic profession is being rejuvenated. More than half of the journalists today /53%/ started their career in the past 15 years. Most probably it would not be a mistake to state that there are few among the intellectual occupations where the proportion of beginners is of such extent.

Probably it will not become superfluous to read this article if we immediately reveal: one of the important results of the 1981 survey based on a sample of 744 representing journalists<sup>x</sup> was that age proved to be determinative in almost every examined question.

### Does the profession grow old?

Between 1974 and 1980, the membership of the MUOSZ /Association of Hungarian Journalists/ increased by one third. This increment concurred with the significant inflow of young generations. This was proved by a survey about the students of the Journalists' School<sup>xx</sup> which revealed that in the 1970s twice as many people completed the School than in the previous decade. In addition to the proportions, the actual

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<sup>x</sup> Detailed results of the survey were published in the "Tanulmányok" series of the Mass Communication Research Centre under the title Az újságírók társadalmi helyzete 1981-ben I-II by Róbert Angelusz - Ferenc Békés - Márta Nagy - János Timár. See also p. 96 in this Special Edition.

<sup>xx</sup> Angelusz - Békés - Nagy - Timár: Újságíró iskolára jártak. Jel-Kép 1980/2



figure /about 1,200 people/ also indicates that the rejuvenation was of such an extent that it considerably influenced the age structure of the journalistic community.

In 1968, the proportion of the younger age group among the journalists was relatively low<sup>x</sup> and the majority belonged to the middle generation. /The ratio of the age group of 36-50 was 53%./ If there was no change in this tendency, then the profession would grow old. Among others, the recognition of this danger may have resulted in the higher proportion of young people appearing in the profession, thus the present age breakdown shows a more balanced picture. The age breakdown of journalists was the following in 1981 /in percentage/:

|          |     |
|----------|-----|
| Under 30 | 15  |
| 31-35    | 21  |
| 36-40    | 14  |
| 41-45    | 11  |
| 46-50    | 13  |
| over 50  | 26  |
| <hr/>    |     |
| total    | 100 |

By 1981, the proportion of the middle generation decreased /38%/, that of the older generation of journalists, over 50 doubled, and there was a slight increase in the generation under 36 /from 30 to 36%/. The relatively small increase in the proportion of the younger generations seemingly contradicts the earlier indicated powerful rejuvenation. The phenomenon is explained by distortion of the earlier age structure and in this respect with the natural aging of the age pyramid. Namely, a significant part of the 1968 extensive middle generation stepped into the age group of

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<sup>x</sup> Zsuzsa Ferge) Az újságíró és munkája. 1972 (mimeo)

the over 50. Thus, the weight of the older generation increased to a large extent. The proportion of young people in the relatively large journalistic community - despite their considerable inflow - relatively only increased to a slight extent.

However, the present age pyramid is not free of distortions. Three fifths of those under 35 are between 30 and 35. Today one fifth of those in the profession belong to this group. It would be an "ideal" age pyramid if the age groups per five years would be roughly identical. Based on the present picture of the age structure, it is probable that the middle generation will again predominate and in the long-term the profession will grow old.

It is characteristic of each intellectual profession that the average age of women is lower than that of men. Journalism is no exception, for only 18% of the journalists older than 50 are women, while among those under 30, this proportion is 39%. However, more detailed data indicate that the increment in the proportion of women is slow, thus this profession is not threatened by effemination - which already occurred in some intellectual professions.

Naturally, the position in the professional hierarchy unambiguously depends on age. Nevertheless, it is conspicuous that people under 40 have little opportunity to become editors-in-chief, deputy editors-in-chief or senior editors. Most of those in these jobs /60%/ are older than 50 and only 5% of them are younger than 40. It is somewhat easier for young people to become the editor-in-chief of a factory paper /the ratio of those younger than 40 is 26% here/. This is even more appropriate with regard to the position of column editor, where this age group represents 36%.

In the factory newspapers and in the radio, young people /under 35/ make up the most populated age group /53% and 48% respectively/. In the television, middle aged journalists predominate and the proportion of young people is particularly low. It is almost impossible to get into the television under 30, or it is an aim that is difficult to accomplish. The age pyramid of the weeklies, periodicals and MTI /Hungarian News Agency/ is the most aged, although in the latter a rejuvenation already started. The age pyramid in the national and county dailies is more balanced - hardly different from the average.

#### Factory newspaper as a start

More than half of the present journalists started their career in a factory newspaper or a county daily, and such a start is becoming even more frequent. 38% of the oldest age group and 57% of the youngest started journalism in one of these two institutions. Factory newspapers become the most frequent start. Moving towards the younger age groups, the proportion of those who started with factory newspapers is increasing and those starting in the county newspapers is decreasing. The factory newspapers predominate among the youngest.

The weeklies and periodicals show a reverse tendency. The opportunity of starting a career is deteriorating here, for more than one fifth of the oldest journalists started here, among young people this proportion is less than one tenth.

National dailies and the electronic mass communication media employ relatively few beginners. In this respect, some change can be traced, in both places - with the exception of the television - bigger possibilities prevail for the trainee journalists.

Employment opportunity is fundamentally determined by the available vacancies. Seemingly this is an obvious thing, however, this statement conceals an extremely important sociological fact. Namely, the mobility of the older journalists within the profession, and their changes of jobs considerably determine where the vacancy emerges and where a beginner can start his career.

The main trend of movement within the profession goes from the county and factory newspapers to the weeklies, and national dailies, or towards the electronic mass media. Young people are not employed by the factory or county newspapers only because their demand for labour increased, but because vacancies occur there again and again, exactly because of the mobility of the older journalists within the profession. Consequently, young people necessarily have to move in the press hierarchy. This is also indicated by the fact that the mentioned movement in the main direction mostly characterizes the age group between 31-40. In addition, the majority of the movements take place in this age.

#### Who will become a journalist?

Employment is not only determined by the possibilities and strategy of the institutions. Moreover, the above mentioned proportions only indicate where one can go, but who will become a journalist and who will be employed by the various places is primarily influenced by the family background and the schooling level of the beginner.

In 1968, the majority of journalists - 53% - were of working class background. But the data already showed that the profession is decreasingly open. The present survey unambiguously confirms that the journalistic profession is gradually closing. As the proportion of those with a medium level background - neither intellectual nor working class - is identical in the various age groups of journalists, the increasing ratio

of intellectual background unambiguously accords with the squeezing out of those of a working class background. This tendency becomes effective in a more definite manner than in other intellectual professions.

With regard to journalists of working class background, the change of epoch came in 1949. While in the coalition period /1945-48/ 45% of the beginner journalists were of working class background; this proportion increased to 72% among those who started their career between 1949-1953. The latter data unambiguously indicate that a powerful intervention occurred in the mechanism of starting the career. Between 1954 and 1956, this intervention was somewhat slowed down and became more refined. Between 1957 and 1965, the breakdown according to background became more balanced, there was a considerable increase in the proportion of journalists of intellectual origin and at the same time, the ratio of graduates also increased among the beginners. This change continued between 1966 and 1970, similarly to the period between 1971 and 1975. Nevertheless, this latter period cannot be evaluated unambiguously as positive. While the proportion of beginners increased to a large extent /almost a quarter of those who work as journalists today joined the profession during those five years/ their majority are of intellectual or medium level background. Despite the fact that exactly in such an "extensive period" it would have been easier to enable people of working class background to participate in the increment. After 1975, the tendency of closing showed a slight halt: people of working class background joined the profession to an increasing extent, with regard to both their absolute numbers and proportions. /Seemingly, the latter contradicts the closing process illustrated with the age issue. The reason for the contradiction is that these two data characterize the same process, from different points of view. Most probably, several journalists of working class background entered the profession in the last period,

who did not start their career at a very young age, and their particulars in the breakdown according to age were recorded among those between 31-40./

#### Budapest residents in the majority

Tendencies illustrated with regard to background can be enhanced with the survey of the birthplace of journalists. Moving from the older generations towards the younger ones, we can observe the closing process: young people come from the capital to an essentially greater extent, and to an essentially slighter extent from the villages than the average.

Table 1

Journalists of various ages - breakdown according to the place of the father occupied in the social division of labour (percentage)

| Paternal background | under 30 | 31-40 | 41-50 | over 50 |
|---------------------|----------|-------|-------|---------|
| N =                 | 94       | 213   | 132   | 144     |
| intellectual        | 53       | 47    | 27    | 14      |
| medium level        | 23       | 26    | 20    | 22      |
| working class       | 24       | 27    | 54    | 64      |
|                     | 100      | 100   | 100   | 100     |

Table 2

Career opportunities among journalists under 30 and over 50 according to background and birthplace

| Birthplace  | The occupation of the father |              |               |
|-------------|------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
|             | intel-lectual                | medium level | working class |
| Budapest    | 6.60                         | 0.41         | 0.35          |
| county seat | 3.70                         | 3.00         | 0.38          |
| other towns | 2.33                         | 1.00         | 0.44          |
| villages    | 1.00                         | 0.40         | 0.33          |

A more detailed analysis indicates that the combined effect of these two selective aspects is different among the various generations. While within the older generation, the selection according to settlement and background proved to be independent from each other /"higher" origin did not mean more start from the capital or a higher urbanizational standard/; within the younger generation, these two factors are strongly connected. Moving upward on the urbanizational levels, young people of intellectual background become journalists to an increasing extent, while those with a working class background are left behind.

In order to illustrate these processes, we compared the youngest and oldest generations to characterize the time factor in the difference of their career opportunities with a figure.

The interpretation of the figures in the Table can be illustrated with the following examples: 6.60 concerning Budapest born journalists of intellectual background means that this stratum among young people is so much more present than among the older ones. The 0.33 of village born journalists of working class background expresses that this stratum among young people is only one third of the older ones.

#### Beginning journalists without university graduation

To some extent in connection with the background tendencies, a considerable change occurred since 1968 - an improvement can be experienced - in the schooling standard of journalists. At the 1968 survey, schooling strongly depended on age, moving from the older ones to the younger journalists the ratio of graduates continuously increased (at that time the average was 46%).

In 1981, already 64% of journalists were graduates. Their ratio remained lowest among the oldest ones, while in the other age

groups, a considerable reduction in the differences could be experienced: 65% of those under 30, 70% of the age group of 31-40, and 69% of the age group of 41-50. The favourable change was essentially assisted by the retirement of the age group during the 13 years between the two surveys, in which the non-graduates were in the majority.

However, it is conspicuous that there are relatively less graduates within the youngest age group, than in the middle generations. This indicates that recently again less emphasis is placed on the acquired graduation, when starting the career.

When evaluating this phenomenon it should be added that the largest number of people of intellectual background and the smallest proportion of working class background can be found exactly in the youngest age group. This makes it clear that the concessions made with regard to school qualifications do not assist young people of disadvantageous origin to enter the profession. Our survey about the students of the Journalists' School showed that 65% of those who completed the school between 1975 and 1980, and only had secondary education, were of intellectual background, and only 28% of them of working class background.

Another warning data of another character shows that with regard to the entire graduate journalistic community 77% graduated from university and 23% from high school. With regard to the trainees, this proportion is almost the opposite: 34% graduated from university and 66% from high school. Earlier attention was drawn to the increased ratio of non-graduate beginners, this latter data indicates that among the youngest ones schooling has decreased, not only on the quantitative level, but - presumably - also in the field of quality. This qualitative drop in standards is also indicated by the decreased ratio of those journalists in the youngest age group, which completed their university studies at day courses,



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while the ratio of those who graduated from evening or correspondence courses increased.

We should separately deal with the role of the Marxism-Leninism Evening University in the training of journalists. This form of tuition ensures the fulfilment of the legally binding requirement among the youngest ones (in this age group, almost each journalist graduated from the M-L Evening University, who were not traditional university or high school graduates). It is a questionable phenomenon that in this age group, this tuition provides a "document" primarily for non-graduates; it replaces a diploma and does not fulfil a supplementary function in enhancing political culture.

These unfavourable tendencies - which at present only refer to the youngest age group - are, in addition to the change of the selective mechanism, connected with the fact that at the moment the factory newspapers provide the most typical opportunity to begin a career, at a place where there are the least traditional graduates among the journalists. It is probable that a factory newspaper is not really attractive for a young graduate, neither in prestige nor salary. As this is the entrance to the profession, there are less and less graduates among those who enter.

#### What does the salary depend on ?

It can be considered obvious that the extent of incomes basically differs among the young and older journalists, because the salary system is such in the majority of occupations. It is no wonder if the basic salary of journalists is primarily determined by age. The average basic salary of those under 30 is 3,950 forints a month, 4,950 forints in the age group of 31-40, 5,700 forints in the age group of 41-50, and 6,556 forints for those over 50. Supplementary earnings may compensate for differences in the basic salary, because the mo-

mentary output seems to have a bigger role in their acquisition.

Now we have reached a surprising result in our survey. Although we found differences according to age (1,950 forints under 30, 2,350 forints between 31-40, 2,700 forints between 41-50, and 3,000 forints over 50), a mathematical analysis indicated that in the case of supplementary earnings, we cannot speak about the determinative role of age. In fact the results indicated that the extent of the supplementary earnings mainly depends on the extent of the basic salaries. Namely, the lower somebody's basic salary, the less supplementary earnings he can acquire, and vice versa, supplementary earnings further increase the already existing differences in the basic salaries. This can also be formulated in another way, namely, that those with higher basic salaries among young people acquire higher supplementary earnings, and this has a stronger effect on the secondary incomes than age.

In addition to the difference in the sum, it is not indifferent from which sources the secondary earnings originate. We separated three basic sources in our survey: bonuses and awards, income from one's own newspaper acquired through extra work, and income earned from other newspapers. The division system of bonuses and awards is similar to what we experienced in the case of the basic salaries, namely, that age is of significance, while income from other newspapers is relatively independent from the journalist's age.

With regard to the younger journalists, the lower sums of secondary earnings are acquired to a relatively bigger extent from other newspapers, than in the case of the older ones. At the same time, bonuses and awards are of bigger proportion in the older age groups. The differences according to sources indicate that the acquisition of secondary earnings burdens the various age groups to a different ex-

tent; it can be presumed that the above mentioned data are important indices of the frequently expressed problem, namely, that a young journalist has to work more and in many more directions to earn money. And although - being no experts of that field - we are not speaking about the professional disadvantages or advantages of this issue, it is probable that this difference in the burdening exists.

If we speak about the burdens and financial opportunities of young people, it is worthwhile to make a brief detour to a different - but also fundamental - sphere of problems, namely, the housing conditions of journalists. Although it is obvious that the main indices of the housing situation primarily depend on age, it is worthwhile to observe how these differences emerge. The younger generations have a decreasing opportunity to acquire council flats. Therefore, they are compelled, to an increasing extent, to buy or build their own homes, which means a much greater financial burden. While more than half of the journalists over 40 live in council flats, less than one quarter of those under 40 are in the same situation. In connection with the housing situation, it is worthwhile to refer to the earlier illustrated phenomenon, namely, that the replacement basis of journalists shows a closing tendency from the territorial point of view. It can be presumed that this phenomenon is not independent of the increasing difficulties in acquiring a flat in a city and particularly in Budapest, thus housing problems can be a direct cause of the reduction in mobility.

Another aspect is the number of people, the density living in the concerned flat, namely, how many people live in one room. This index, needless to say, is particularly important in the case of an intellectual occupation. Half of the older journalists, and one third of the younger ones - have their own room. And the other way round, one fifth of the older

journalists and one third of the younger ones have to share a room with two or more people.

### Opinions about the profession

We examined three main areas in the survey: working conditions, autonomy and the opinion about the mass communication system. A more critical and a more satisfied attitude could be sensed in almost every question. Attitudes experienced with regard to certain questions were organically connected: those who were more critical in one question, also represented a more critical standpoint in every topic. Those who were more satisfied in one question expressed their satisfaction with regard to the other questions too. Simplified, this could be formulated that the more critical or more satisfied basic standpoint was not fundamentally topic-specified - whatever issue it concerned.

Three objective factors could be sensed between the basic attitudes: age, and to some extent in connection with this, but frequently in an independent role, the position in the hierarchy, and the type of institute for which the journalist was working.

First, we illustrate three questions identified with work. An important index in the extent of career identification is the opinion of the journalists about the harmony of their own interests and job. According to opinions, it is a rare occurrence in journalism that somebody has to fulfil a job relatively distant from his sphere of interest. Almost half of the journalists found the harmony to be complete, and one third mostly satisfactory. Only one fifth of them said that the harmony is partial or does not exist. This question is more problematic with regard to young people, although even in their case, we cannot speak about the absence of

harmony, but the ratio of those who announce complete harmony was the smallest among them.

We tried to examine the qualitative side of work, when we questioned the ratio of routine tasks or work demanding higher standards. And here, we could immediately catch the connection of opinions: those who spoke about the minor or major absence of harmony also complained about the routine character of their work. The demarcation line in this issue stretched between journalists - younger - and journalists - older - than 30. 43% of the previous mentioned the predominance of routine elements, while the same opinion did not come up to 30% in any age group of the latter.

The problem that there are not enough tasks and that the time for carrying out the job is too little, was an opinion mentioned by young people, but not in general, only particularly by the trainees. This seeming contradiction most probably originates from the relatively few tasks they are given, but in certain cases the time given for the fulfilment of the tasks - most probably due to the lack of experience - proved to be insufficient for high standard work.

It is worthwhile to separately deal with the problems of working conditions. This is the point where the attitude difference between young and old can be most clearly illustrated.

In this theme we asked the journalists to rate 12 factors - starting from the objective-technical conditions to the questions of workplace democracy. According to the data, a consensus emerged between the various age groups with regard to what can be considered solved and what less solved. At the same time, it can be displayed that those who evaluate a factor in a more negative manner, usually rate the others in a more negative manner too. Thus, there

was no obstacle to building a "measuring tape" with the help of which we could arrange the groups of those being satisfied, and less satisfied with the working conditions along an index. And this index was closely connected with age. With the increase of age, the ratio of the satisfied journalists increased, and the lesser satisfied decreased. Considerable difference appeared between those under 40 and over 40. While there were less satisfied among the previous, the satisfied opinions were the most frequent in the circle of the older journalists. The difference in the opinion of the younger and older people was not where they see the problems - they roughly agreed in this - but the young people evaluated the working conditions and the atmosphere in its entirety in a more critical manner, and regarded them as worse.

With regard to the functions of mass communication, essential differences with regard to the content and outlook appeared. Our basic question referred to the functions of mass communication, which should be strengthened compared to the present practice, and which are those that in the present practice are accomplished to a relatively satisfactory extent. The analysis of the answers showed that we can clearly separate groups, which consider the critical functions of mass communication to be in need of strengthening, and such groups which stress the strengthening of the stabilizing functions. Although in every age group, journalists who preferred the critical functions appeared to the largest proportion, with the increase of age the mentioning of the stabilizing aspects unambiguously rose and the importance of the critical functions decreased. 58% of those under 30 represented critical, and 6% stabilizing standpoints (others mentioned ambivalent opinions), among those over 50 the critical standpoint dropped to 33%, and the proportion representing a stabilizing standpoint rose to 23%.

The more questioning outlook of young people could be experienced among the opinions on the various elements of the

mass communication system. At the same time, we also found a specific duality: the critical attitude of young people was formulated in a more determined manner if it concerned the structural questions of mass communication, and in a less clear cut manner if it concerned the concrete and practical questions of journalism. The latter was dependent not so much on age, as on the position in the hierarchy and the type of institute.

This was also experienced with regard to the questions of journalistic autonomy. Age has a more influencing role in the evaluation of editorial autonomy, than in the rating of the journalist's individual autonomy. While with regard to the previous, when moving from the older age groups towards the younger ones, the ratio of dissatisfied answers showed a powerful growth (and within this the largest difference was expressed with regard to the independent policy of the newspapers), in the case of the latter (the choice of topic, and the opportunity for independent comment) the influencing role of age diminished.

Two attitudes were distinguished in the opinions about the operation of the dailies. On the one hand, the emphasis on problems and tasks (in the interest of rapid information, risks of immediate reaction should be undertaken; certain dailies should be more specialized for a definite target public; the dailies are rather boring and monotonous, and so on). On the other hand, the emphasis on results and aspirations for security (it is important that the dailies should be printed on better paper; emphasis should be on thoroughness, and not so much on speed, etc.). The former equally characterizes young and old, while the latter attitude is definitely more characteristic of the older age group.

Thus, the duality also appears along another dimension. More young people refute opinions reflecting conformity. Never-

theless, if the question or the manner of analysis did not confront the more critical opinions of those reflecting conformity, but allowed them to co-exist, then the critical attitude also appeared among the older ones, and the role of age diminished in these cases.

The question obviously arises how could the young journalists be briefly characterized? Hopefully, the article reflects the fact that we cannot announce a summary opinion. We experienced both advantageous and disadvantageous phenomena. These occasionally boosting each other, in other cases contradicting each other, characterize the younger generation. It is hoped that we proved that the various questions and problems concerning the young journalist generation (with regard to the objective data or opinions) cannot be separated from each other in themselves. They can only be handled and solved by taking their complexity into consideration.



*Katalin Hanák*

## Male and Female Communicators on the Screen

This study analyzes the proportion (and role) of male and female communicators on the screen as representatives of the "institution" - the television, with the aim of contributing to the understanding of the social role of the two sexes.

My study "The Image of Women on the Radio" was published more than a year ago in the *Jel-Kép*<sup>1</sup>, and later separately in a full version.<sup>2</sup>

Interpretation - as it is known - not only depends on the text, but also on the reader. Literary sociology offers several examples of this. Some people reading Anna Karenina pick out how the insincere family and social milieu, which ignores the personality of the individual, drove the woman of tragic fate under the wheels of the train, because she resisted the hypocritical morals of the era and accepted her emotional entanglement. According to others; that whore deserved her fate.<sup>3</sup>

### Journalist or communicator

Even nonliterary texts are not free of various interpretations. Being aware of this, and respecting the particular interpretation of the reader, I would like to refer to the charming gloss with which the "ÉS"<sup>x</sup> honoured my above mentioned study.<sup>4</sup> It "praised" me for something I did not deserve. The author of the gloss opined that I am an advocate of the equality of "oppressed" men. As his opinion was published when the "war of genders" was fought on the pages

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<sup>x</sup> *Élet és Irodalom*, a literary and political weekly.

of "ÉS" during which it was found - among others - how emancipated women dominate unfortunate men; I could only consider my "pro-maleness" as praise. I could proudly wear the insignia: I am not (malevolently) biased against men. This "insignia" somewhat recalls the case of the man who in vain besieged a scientific workshop with his writings and exclaimed after the many refusals; "Do they consider me a fool? I have a written confirmation proving that I am normal." He pulled a piece of paper from his pocket stamped by the mental institute confirming that after several years of treatment he left in good health...

However, the "insignia" is not authentic: I do not advocate equality for men or equality for women, but complete equality for both genders. In every field of life. (Including the world of mass communication.) Similarly to the way the collection of studies edited and commented on by E. Sullerot reveals the place of the two sexes in the world objectively in a scientific and interdisciplinary approach.<sup>5</sup>

My other remark is only seemingly stylistic. I insist on the use of the term "communicator". I admit that in Hungarian it is an ugly word. Nevertheless, it is no better and no more Hungarian using the expression "journalist", which in addition - and this is the essence - is also inaccurate. In fact not everybody can be considered - in the genuine sense of the word - as a journalist, who works in the radio and in the television, and speaks on behalf of the institution. I cannot include those among the journalists who simply read various information from a piece of paper. (Independently from the fact whether these presenters are members of the Association of Hungarian Journalists or not.) This is why I continue to insist on the broader term of communicators.

After having gained the qualification "female monitor", I do not want to provide ideas with this article for an event

ual future gloss on the "female spectacle". But I am helpful and repeat: every programme was coded and evaluated by both a man and a woman, independently from each other. When the survey was prepared (December, 1979), mostly a quiet indifference floated around the gender problem, at least compared to the present situation. Nevertheless, we already guessed that the same programme may be heard and seen in a different manner by a man and a woman. This dual evaluation highly increased our work, but it decreased the possibility of "male" or "female" prejudice, sensitivity or bias.

Possibly it would have been more "fortunate" if I presented the experiences of our survey with a man - hand-in-hand. However, in addition to the practical side of it, my sincere conviction protested against this. Namely, that "the basket has two handles" and we men and women "sit in the same boat". Where we are driven in this boat by the gentle or frenzied waves and currents does not depend on the fashion, on the "climate", but on human and social relations. We should not allow any transparent manipulation to cheat us, which simplifies and cheapens the conditions of reproduced human and national existence, and of the preservation of humanism - to the "struggle of the genders."

True enough. "There are more things in heaven and earth" than the social position and relationship of the two sexes. But we cannot deny that there are still essential differences - also here in Hungary - between the place, prestige, (stereotype and nonstereotype) roles of the two sexes. Even on the radio and television. Often they take effect most "tangibly" in these.

#### About a few "new" phenomena

When we started on the survey "the image of women in mass communication"<sup>6</sup> - inspired by the National Council of Hun-

gerian Women - then we did not know about the similar surveys of UNESCO<sup>7</sup>; we joined them only later.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, we did not possess so many comparative international results about the topic as today.<sup>9</sup> And what is most important, we did not experience the change of the issue from abroad, not to speak about the "new" winds at home.

The positive changes in the situation of women contributed to the increased interest in the mass communicational image of women, as well as the women's equality impairing factors. Both together prepared the soil - all over the world - for the upswing of the women's movements at the beginning of the 1970s. These movements aimed at the liquidation of discrimination against women. Their aims were similar to those, which the socialist movements heralded since the last century. But while the women's issue provided - and to some extent still provides - an organic part of the general structural society renewing programme of the socialist movements, most of the feminist trends narrowed this problem to the relationship between men and women. Occasionally emphasizing the struggle between the two genders, instead of broader social connections, Europe was the cradle of our present feminist aspirations and women's movements. From here the movement spread to the United States, where it had a spectacular, although dubious career in many respects. And frequently this women's liberation picture radiated back to Europe, and also spread in several developing countries. As the so-called radical socio-critical ideas of the 1960s (and their representatives, such as Marcuse<sup>4</sup>, Fromm<sup>5</sup>, Riesman<sup>6</sup>, and Habermas<sup>7</sup>, etc.) cannot be considered as unanimous, neither are the ideological and strategic programmes of the women's movements, which rely on them in many aspects. In these, the realistic programme of equality for women is interwoven with extreme concepts<sup>2</sup>, which stigmatized everybody with "biologism" who took into consideration the factual differences between the two sexes<sup>3</sup>, controlled by biological..

physiological programmes. (See the earlier cited Sullerot studies.) Or some, which instead of the "male dominated" society, included the mis-shapen ideal of a "female dominated" society. Naturally, the women's movements in the mid-20th century were permeated with an emancipational ideology. However, this ideology did not always favour sober, manysided and scientific analysis.

The Western neo-conservative trends, which started to strengthen from the mid-1970s and started their attack at the beginning of the 1980s - while generally questioning the values of the 1960s - considered the women's movement one of their targets. In the USA, the so-called "silent majority" condemned the legal possibility of abortion based on individual decision. It identified support for the equality of women with the "exchangeability" of the sexes /?/. According to other conservative trends, the preference given to minorities in a disadvantageous position and to women on the labour market was interpreted as a discrimination against whites and men.<sup>10</sup>

The so-called "moral" /?/ majority, which developed from the "silent majority", far from being quiet, but being very loud, attacked the views which believe in the changing social role of women, defending the family, the biblical Christian morals and the old simple manner of life.

The fact that primarily in the developed industrial societies there was an acceleration in the process of legal, economic, cultural and family equality for women, resulted in a type of - open or concealed - anti-female campaign in the everyday political and scientific thinking, which fears for the interests, existence and life (namely, the primary interests) of men.

The heavy billows of this also touched us. It is difficult to project the dominating ruling women's image and the imported picture of defenceless oppressed men onto the present situation of Hungarian society, the way its masses are living. But I hurry to add: being the opponent of all types of labelling, I would like to emphasize that I would not like to place the stigma of neo-conservatism on all those who for any reason and under the impact of narrow, immediate experiences, demanded the defence of men against the exploiting and parasitical women, who "replace" them. We should not suggest that there is an ideology here if somebody cannot use statistical data, and if he has only a slight view of such a narrow cross-section of present Hungarian reality, or if he is guided by an intention to shock, which frequently concurs with the danger that even the clever nucleus of the thought turns into its own counterpole, into silliness.

The line was started by the unscientific writing of Dávid Biró, which stirred up quite a storm.<sup>11</sup> (Then one thing led to another.<sup>12</sup>) While there are more than a few engaged - within moderate scientific frameworks - in revealing the social position of the two sexes and their sexual roles, Dávid Biró became the No. 1 "expert" of the women's issue in public thinking.<sup>13</sup>

One cannot pass this phenomenon either with a duel of words or with a wave of the hand, this is indicated in the article by György Granasztói, in which he analyzed the relationship between sciences, logic, and heuristics:

"When in a recent New Year's Eve television programme, the female impersonator slapped with increasing vigour the actor playing the role of Dávid Biró, whose mouth was gagged in front of several million viewers, obviously many people maliciously thought that this is how science is turned into effective power. The almost national annoyance following

the article about the crown of creation and the weaker sex tempted me to clarify who became involved in this debate and why. One should also ponder why no similar tension occurred (could occur) a few years ago."<sup>14</sup>

Our more concrete topic obliges me to clarify the fact that the female impersonator of that (1982) New Year's Eve programme did not produce a parody in general about the enraged female sex, but a representative of the intellectual female communicator type of the television. She "knocked out" Dávid Biró in one of the Studio '82 programmes, when he was hardly able to get a word in edgeways, and mumbled with fragments of words, and was driven into a humiliating role. Formulating in a stereotype manner, this was hard "masculine" work on her behalf. Unfortunately, in contrast to the target, this demonstrated the "truth" of Dávid Biró in many aspects - in a spectacular manner.

The question raised by Granasztói was partly answered by Judit H. Sas<sup>15</sup> when she said that the varied social changes of the past years - even if slowly - amended the family and sex roles. Undoubtedly, this was also followed by the fact that compared to the traditional social and family division of labour, a considerable proportion of men lost certain privileges and positions as compared to women. Obviously, this loss of position provokes emotions and tensions. Not only in those who insist on their role as the male head of the family of traditional respect, but also in those who are although in this sphere, but in their personal life suffered and suffer from the macrosocial changes in the position of the two sexes.<sup>16</sup>

Present modern family sociology stands far from the apology to exclude conflicts from the world of the family and from the relationship of the two sexes, or to consider them as some "deviance".<sup>17</sup> Both science and mass communication

should strive to provide realistic and human examples for the dissolution and solution of the ceaselessly reproduced conflicts of the family and of the two sexes. One of the basic aims of our survey was to gain some insight into how the television contributes to this desirable process, and into the realistic and modern acclimatization of the behaviour culture, the sex and family roles. And to find out what roles the communicators play in this.

### Only those who appear

This report can only be considered as the twin of the work presenting the image of women in the radio, according to the date and points of observation. Although it follows its structure and logic, as the observation only extended over one week, because of the much lower number of television programmes it could make less use of the means of quantification. Although we observed every programme on both channels (with the exception of the strictly national scientific, the purely musical and school television programmes), several types of programmes were only represented by a few transmissions. In their case, we had to satisfy ourselves with the introduction of a few characteristics. However, necessarily, the sphere of research was extended with the analysis of the particular means of expression and transmission of the television, and of the unity of sound and spectacle.

Dissimilarly to international research<sup>18</sup> we did not examine the proportion of men and women in the entire structural and occupational structure of the television (including technicians, secretaries and so on), but exclusively among those communicators who appeared on the screen. We described all those people as communicators who appeared on behalf of the institution - as speakers, reporters, presenters or anchor-people, etc. - and made direct occupational contact



with the public. This narrowing was even then necessary if naturally we know that every television production is the result of team work, which includes the creative work of those who do not appear on the screen.

To what extent men and women participate in the transmission of their message not only suggests to what extent the television entrusts the two sexes with the interpretation of its various messages, but it can also be a component of the patterns and stereotypes, connected with male and female roles. If, for example, "serious and wise" phenomena connected with the broad world are always covered by men; and charming things, the intimate sphere and the "small world" are always covered by women; then this in itself can strengthen the stereotypes connected with the two sexes, which enmesh everyday thinking.

During the surveyed programme week, 67% of the communicators who appeared on the screen were men, and 33% women. In fact, this proportion tallies with that of the radio /66% and 34%/. With the essential difference that in the television there are even less women than in the radio entrusted with the assignments of communicators, with "main roles". And it is even more applicable to the television than to the radio that the "broad world" belongs to the men and the "small world" to the women.

Surveys among journalists in Hungary indicated that although the number of female journalists considerably increased in the past decade, the profession stands far from "effemination". According to the study "The journalist and journalism" by Zeuzsa Ferge (1972) the ratio of female journalists was 22% in 1968 and 23% in 1972. A survey in 1981 relying on representative samples (Angelusz R. - Békés F. - Nagy M. - Timár J., 1982) indicated that during the

next decade, the number of female journalists amounted to one third. Although a comparison with international data is difficult because of various aspects, in order to make an approximate comparison, it is worthwhile quoting a few data from M. Gallagher's book.<sup>19</sup>

In the mid-1970s - in the Western countries participating in the research work - the ratio of women engaged in the radio, television, press and film industry (in all types of jobs) amounted to 30%. The ratio of women in the US television stations was similar in 1977. However, in Italy, mass media engaged women only to an extent of 20% in 1975. At that time, 28% of the staff of the Westdeutscher Rundfunk, one of the major broadcasting stations of the F.R.G. were women. The ratio of women only amounted to 36% in the BBC (1978). According to Gallagher's data, Israel involves women to the largest extent in mass communication: their ratio in 1979 amounted to 40%.

All in all, it can be said that compared to the majority of the Western countries, Hungarian mass communication opened the door wider to the flow of women into the profession. But not to an identical extent in the various media. The 1981 journalist survey reveals that most women work in the press (mainly with factory newspapers and weeklies, and by no means with the national dailies). Radio comes on the second place, and the lowest ratio of female journalists is in the television. Why this was not reflected in our survey can be primarily explained with the differing sample. As in the hierarchy of the journalistic community - proceeding from the bottom upwards - the ratio of men increases in every mass communication medium (parallel with age), our survey did not include those men in leading positions, who frequently do not or rarely appear as direct communicators on the screen.

Which are those types of genres of programmes and topics where the television provides a bigger sphere for its female communicators?

Primarily in the job of announcers. During the surveyed week, the majority (almost two thirds) of the announcers were women. However, in the majority of cases (on our television) the announcer does not carry out independent journalistic work, the task usually consists of announcing the various programmes. They announce pre-fixed texts (in better cases, they do not read them). Very few of them are able (or are allowed) to step out from the mechanical announcement and from the bounds of the text, utilizing the more varied means of television and actually communicating with the viewers. The roles of the announcers and other communicators are not always rigidly distinguished from each other. The favourite announcers occasionally can appear "as guests" in other programmes. And there are examples when the female reporter known from some other type of programme appears as an announcer. In my opinion, in the interests of more modern, informal, natural and genuinely communicating broadcasting, it would be worthwhile thinking how to ease up the mechanical character of the announcers, tied to the text to be read. This refers both to men and women.

Although female announcers carry out little independent journalist work, their pattern providing role is significant. The favourite announcers are at the same time, the type of feminine ideals - at least of those propagated by the television. Their attire, hair-do, and make-up provide daily information on fashion. Even if they cannot transmit much verbally from their personality, through numerous meta-communicational acts they can make direct contact - radiating the charm of their personality - with the viewers.

We separately examined the appearance and attire of the female communicators. We do not know who should be praised, but we found that the attire of the female communicators on the screen is usually tasteful, and follows moderate elegance, combined with practical everyday needs. There are very few "posh" outfits, which would be conspicuously in bad taste, even in a show. There are very few women among them bejewelled like a Christmas-tree. Perhaps these are minute details. Nevertheless, they are important when we know that television shapes the taste in the samples of appearance.

In addition to their special task (announcing programmes or short linking texts or news) the main role of the female announcers is to provide a pleasant spectacle. Consequently, most of them are young or given a youthful appearance with good make-up. It seems that the television cannot break away from the somewhat conservative traditions in the interpretation of feminine beauty (pleasantness). There are rather too many over made-up, regular doll-like beauties among the female announcers. And there are less interesting female faces following the taste of our modern era. Namely, the one which can better suggest that there is a closer and more intimate relationship between the picture and the transmitted content. (Namely, the female communicator is fully aware of what she is saying.)

#### The ratio of the two sexes in the various types of programmes

During the surveyed week, the ratio of female communicators was more favourable than in the radio (70% men, 30% women) in the topical political, economic and cultural magazines and news bulletins. (According to a 1982 survey, four times more males than female communicators appeared in these types of programmes.) However, the division of roles

between the two sexes - similarly to the radio - was essentially different. During the surveyed period, most of the presenters were men. And they covered the foreign political and major domestic events, as well as the nationally significant economic and social news and sports. Female communicators have a more significant role in three fields: in reports about production, everyday life (servicing, shopping and so on) and about cultural and art life. The tendency is similar to that in the news magazine programmes of the radio. The outstanding events of foreign and domestic policy are announced by men, and commented on to an even greater extent. World policy and the broad world are strongly of masculine character. Production represents a middle zone, evenly covered by men and women. Cultural (if it does not concern basic principles of cultural policy) and art reports are made by women to a bigger extent. And the nearer the news and reports come to everyday life, to everyday topics (shopping and household) or to the intimate spheres of life (family, education of children and so on) the more female communicators are given the microphone.

More than four fifths of the communicators appearing in independent reports and documentaries are men, and hardly one fifth women. As the number of non-fiction programmes is generally higher in the Hungarian Television than in the majority of other (Western) televisions, the overwhelming male majority is particularly important in this type of programme, which strives to depict social reality. We know that there are several women of fine social sensitivity among the producers of documentaries or documentary-like reports<sup>21</sup>, nevertheless, male participation characterizes this genre.

Women play a bigger role - even for the sake of spectacle - in other colourful magazine programmes. Nevertheless,

the male majority prevails (70%) as compared to the other sex (30%).

The communicators of instructive programmes - particularly in the field of scientific dissemination of knowledge - are mostly men (more than four fifths of them). The sciences - if not linked with literature and the arts - are the world of males. Female communicators appear in a minimal number among the presenters of scientific discussions.

The breakdown of men and women communicators is more balanced in the so-called "service" (everyday information) programmes. (Three fifths as compared to two fifths).

The already known regularity takes effect: the character of themes in which male and female communicators orientate is separated according to the sex roles. Men are more authentic in the economic, social and legal problems, while women are more authentic with regard to the family and questions of everyday life.

There were very few competitions or quizzes during the surveyed week, so we cannot even try to indicate the tendencies. However, according to our impressions, the leading role belongs to males in this field.

There are fewer special programmes for women on the television than on the radio. One could in fact only list "Cookery in a clever way" naturally hosted by a woman. Since then, the stupid half of the title "in a clever way" fortunately was omitted. So it remained "Cookery". (In Hungarian, it has a diminutive suffix which disturbs me, for in addition to sounding cooing, it is also disfunctional. It would be worthwhile to think about a better title,

and the content should also be reconsidered. For when it says "Take a kilogram of venison" (where shall I?) this is rather palatable, but in addition to the absence of reality, it provokes the social sensitivity.)

Cookery... also speaks to men, who according to the programme's message particularly appreciate the culinary pleasures of life. With the difference, that while conventional daily cooking is a job of women, men - occasionally - are the masters of festive dishes and delicacies.

If we compare the breakdown of male and female communicators in the radio and the television, then in addition to several identities we can observe two differences. Partly, more women participate in the news magazine programmes of the television than of the radio. However, in its entirety the television provides a narrower field for female communicators to engage in autonomous journalistic work than in the radio. In this way, television provides less opportunity for them to enfold their personality as clear-cut communicators. Without wishing to touch upon an irritating question, offending various sensitivities, namely, who is considered by the viewers and why as a "television personality"<sup>22</sup> it is a fact that the pendulum of the balance swings in favour of men.

#### Interpretation of roles and attitudes

Similarly to the radio, it also refers to the television that primarily the communicators' tasks (themes) determine the interpretation of the role and the attitude of the two sexes as communicators. The communicators ("We men" and "We women") almost never refer to their sex. This also belongs to the mainly neutral interpretation of roles. One almost never finds out whether a woman reporting about the

supply of food has experiences as a housewife in shopping. When the topic is the modern division of labour within the family, we never find out whether the men involved in the programme participate and if yes to what extent in the practical side of this. To avoid misunderstanding, it is correct that in general there is no "peeping" into the activity of the communicators, and that a certain objectivity dominates in the information. It seems natural that the institution is represented by men and women, speaking about the various affairs of the world and life. At the same time, the absence of the personal angle evokes alienation and distance-keeping effects. Viewers have difficulty in imagining that the female reporter ambling along in the attractive shops and making mini-reports with the shoppers, can experience how difficult it is - even in the case of a good supply - to do shopping and to rush after goods in short supply. Naturally, this is not connected with the sex role of the communicators, but to a more comprehensive sphere of questions, namely, to social sensitivity. And in this, there is no essential difference between men and women, among whom we may find equally deaf and blind, or sharp-eyed and sharp-eared communicators.

Communicators of both sexes are primarily characterized by a trend to appear in a neutral and objective role - and this refers to both the radio and the television. (The ratio of men among these is 53% and among women 50%.) It is noteworthy that - in contrast to the radio - more female than male communicators in the television (17:21%) strive to fulfil some type of controlling role. They keep their interviewees to the point, they do not allow them to wander away from the topic, and drive them strictly onto the path of the planned report. At the same time, none of the female communicators belonged (during the surveyed week) to the



type of aggressively questioning communicators, while one tenth of the male communicators appeared in this - less sympathetic - role. (In a similar manner, males represented this type in the radio.) The aggressively questioning communicator, gravely misusing the position, pushes the interviewee into a corner, occasionally openly, occasionally slyly. They participate in the public vivisection with lust and then - if in a symbolic manner - they "execute" their victim. This attitude of the communicator cannot be excused, even if the aim is to deter the viewers from deviant behaviour.

More than twice as many women as men excelled in creating a familiar atmosphere. (Of course, this also depends on the topic.)

It seems that the type of communicators representing two extremely important attitudes and roles occur to a lesser number in the television than in the radio: communicators thinking along with their interviewees and excelling with their empathic abilities. In the small group of those thinking along their interviewees, there is no significant difference between male and female communicators and in fact this was experienced in the acceptance of the empathic communicator role and attitude too. In the radio, female communicators lead the way in front of men with regard to empathic abilities. In the television, women only led with a minimum of 2% in front of men in this field. Similarly to the radio, only women were pushed into a type of passive carried-off role in the television. (True enough, this only refers to a one-week programme.) Compared to the radio, less of the television communicators were placed in the miscellaneous category, remained colourless and odourless, neither meat nor fish. This is also the result of the fact that visuality provides a number of items of information - about everybody, - which is missing or is present, but in a more concealed manner, in the merely verbal message.

Notwithstanding the initial difference in the radio which favours males, it can be said that with the exception of the number and quality of coverage about the events of foreign and domestic policy and scientific instructive programmes, women are more successfully rivalling their male colleagues in the television. And this particularly applies to the cultural and artistic programmes.

Although the communicators almost never refer to their own sex, masculinity or femininity is frequently part of their metier in their appearance. Reports made by emphatically feminine communicators follow a particular choreography. It starts with a modest smile, primarily reserved for famous interviewees. Its function is a type of apology, naivety. "I am not familiar with the thing, try to explain it so that I should also understand it." If the interviewee accepts the "game" then the second phase of the choreography includes a type of "society humour", discrete witticism: "Of course I'm not as naive as I look". The interviewee - having a sense of humour - reciprocates the witticism. This should be confirmed with a fine pearly titter. This closely ends the personal block. Then the substantial discussion starts, which reveals that the female reporter - as a good scholar - studied the material. ("I read this and this by you, or by somebody else, here and there".) It also demonstrates that the female reporter is far from being a naive interrogator, but the initiated and intimate cognizant of the concerned topic.

However, the choreography is different when the female reporter talks to "average" people (and this is not a female specialty). There is no naive inquisitiveness, female charm or titter honouring the humour of the partner. (Particularly not because the poor, mostly inhibited interviewee is pleased to say his or her text without a mistake, not being able to engage in witticism.) The average person is

interrogated not by the inquisitive woman, but by the communicator, representing the institution, on behalf of hundreds of thousands of television viewers, pursuing and administering justice like a whip lash. It is worthwhile to quote this example, because it highlights the stumbles of democratic communication. The communicator - independently of sex - behaves in a very different manner with interviewees on the various grades of the social hierarchy, which can contribute to the conservation of anti-democratic examples, or at least instead of dissolution to binding.

In fact, we should have spoken about the type of communicator who has a finger in every pie and about the humour of the communicators, when we mentioned the interpretation of roles and the attitudes of the communicator. I left it to the end of the chapter, because the one-week survey only provided sparse experiences. Nevertheless, it seems that the communicator who has a finger in every pie and has a tasteless humour, mostly appears among men (similarly to the radio). This disadvantage, at the same time, has the advantage that humour is a stronger side of men. (Which naturally should not be mistaken for the obligatory smile, with the Hungarian version of keep smiling, or with a snigger in which men take the laurels.)

Naturally, it depends on the topic and on the situation what bears humour - not in a cabaret. Bad tasting, over familiar humour - which only entertains the communicator, highly enjoying it - cannot be excused by anything. The same refers to the demure tone. (Although the latter is more a fault of women. But not of many. And there are also men who affectate like tooth paste ads on the screen, dripping honey.)

Did the net of the one week survey catch all types of television communicators? Hardly. On the other hand, we do not

want to provide a recipe of what types of communicators the television should prefer and which should be pushed into the background. It should follow the versatility of life. There is a place for both the "naive pussy cat" /female/ communicator and the so-called intellectual type. But three fundamentals should not be forgotten: without tolerance, empathy, and ability of communication, nobody can be a genuinely efficient communicator.

A few more words about the address. There is so much confusion in everyday life and in our behaviour culture that we can read an increasing amount about this topic.<sup>23</sup> The mass media also suffer from this confusion. Although on this occasion, the mistake is not (primarily) in us, it has its roots in our everyday reality, we should take care that by addressing and handling people "on top" and "on the bottom" the formal brakes on democratic publicity should not be reproduced (because we would like to believe that democratic publicity is a value, it exists the way it is allowed to by our historic past and present).

Naturally, these are not connected with the quantitative and qualitative proportions of the two genders. Nevertheless, the principle also advocated by UNESCO is not to be ignored: the presence of women is a necessary element in democratic mass communication.

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# THE PUBLIC OF THE FUTURE

*Ildikó Szabó and György Csepeli*

## The School of Political Emotions

Is it possible to carry out a sociological study about the affection of children towards the trade unions, socialism, the National Anthem or revolution - and is it of any significance if they answer in this way or in that way? First, Annick Percheron in France proved at the end of the sixties that this seemingly profane question can be answered with a "yes".<sup>1</sup> She applied an ingenious examination method according to which the interrogator reads various political terms and expressions to the children and the children announce their opinion whether they like or dislike each in turn.

This method was applied in several West European countries. It proved successful, because while examining the children's relationships to the political world, a general evolution-psychological fact could also be taken into consideration - namely that at that age children are primarily orientated on an emotional basis among political phenomena - and also the concrete relationships of the concerned society by the appropriate selection from the words of the vocabulary.

When in the spring of 1982, the Mass Communication Research Centre entrusted us with the survey of the peculiarities of 10 to 14 year old Budapest children's political culture - we also applied this method.<sup>2</sup> We picked 26 words from various fields of political reality, which in our justified opinion must have frequently been heard by the children. Naturally, we did not believe that they can define these terms. However, we hoped that from the frequent mass commu-

nicational, school or other occurrence of these terms, they primarily hear the value content of their text connection, or they can most easily express the image of the terms with a positive or negative value judgement.

With the help of this method we endeavoured to come closer to what is considered a basic question of political socialization in every society: namely, what roles the most important socializing factors play in the development of emotions concerning the phenomena of the political world (which are significant from the point of view of later political attitudes). In order to be able to interpret the answers of the children from the socializational point of view, we also asked them where they hear more about these concepts: on the television, in school, at home or among their friends, for we justifiably presumed the influencing effect of these sources behind the positive or negative evaluations. The list of terms also appeared in the questionnaires, which the interrogators handed over to the parents before the interview started - asking them to fill them in. We wished to find out from them, where - in their opinion - do the children hear mostly and in a positive tone about these terms.

### The evaluation of political concepts

The evaluation of the 26 terms caused no difficulty to the children: there were only 7 terms concerning which a quarter or a fifth of the interviewees could not decide whether they like them or not.

What stands nearest to the children and what farthest? The first Table reveals that the most unambiguous emotions were evoked by the Hungarian national symbols: National Anthem, tricolor - red-white-green - flag, parade and voluntary social work. More than four fifths of the children liked these. At the same time, they unanimously refuted terms suggesting confrontation such as strike and demonstration.



It seems that the latter phenomenon generally characterizes the political world concept of the age group 10 to 14. In Percheron's 1969 survey in France, children similarly disliked words connected with confrontation. These stand farthest from their search for identity and their desire for security, whatever "intellectual content" they express. This is well indicated by the case of revolution, exclusively known from positive contexts, which was placed 18th, and presumably army is also unpopular among children, because the term provokes confrontational images in them.

At the same time, it is thought-provoking that politics primarily means a fearsome world for children, full of confrontation. When we asked them to mention words connected with politics, 50 to 100% of the occurring terms by 39% of the children were threatening concepts, negative phenomena and reference to confrontation (mostly war: this word appeared in the answer of more than one third of the interviewees).

They mentioned political phenomena, which they have hardly heard in their direct environment or could not have experienced personally and in this respect they are completely at the mercy of the mass media, primarily the television. (In fact the majority do not like politics, according to the Table, which is understandable on the basis of the mentioned associations.) It is worthwhile mentioning that negative emotions towards the army, demonstration and strike are unanimous in such a way that neither the age of the children nor the occupation of their parents influence them. Very positive and very negative emotions develop at the earliest age, and these are the most stable.

The third group of words consists of those, which during the survey many of them tried to avoid. It is conspicuous that political phenomena coming near to the everyday experienced life of the children (and their parents) were in this group

without almost any exception. Many could not tell us what emotions they feel for political institutions (parliament and trade unions), and to persons exercising power (county chairman, party secretary, politician, and minister). The higher ratio of reservations can most probably be explained with the conflict in the evaluation of these phenomena. (Many of them avoided taking an emotional standpoint with regard to God. Possibly this is not independent from the fact that concerning religion, children do not experience genuinely orientating sources around them, neither in the positive nor negative direction.)

In general it can be observed that the abstract ideological concepts (socialism and the party - under which children unambiguously understand the communist party, which was revealed in connection with another question - and the working class) appeal more to the children than the more concrete political concepts. The older the children, the more frequently they say that they are fond of socialism, the party and the working class, particularly those whose parent or both parents are intellectuals. This indicates that the older ones more powerfully feel the direct ideological content of these categories than the younger ones, and this is also reflected in their answers. (It is noteworthy that socialism and the party appeal least to the children of working class parents, and 10-12 year old children of manual workers do not even like the working class. Children of intellectual parents answered in a positive manner at the age of 10-12 to the same proportion as children of workers at the age of 13-14.)

In the case of words connected with the concrete practice of power, this tendency only took effect with regard to one concept: a positive answer about the party secretary was given to a large proportion by those children whose one or both parents are intellectuals. With regard to the police, the ratio of positive answers unambiguously decreased parallel with the increase in age, whatever the parents' occupation.

(Among children of workers, the appeal of the party secretary and the council chairman also decreased parallel with the increase in age.) In their entirety, concepts nearer to practical politics provoke more negative emotions from children than ideological concepts always transmitted with a positive content through the socializing institutions.

The attitudes toward political concepts are mostly determined by a more general factor than the parents' place in the division of labour, namely by age.<sup>3</sup> This is not surprising if we consider that in the communication within the family, political topics are pushed into the background, one third of the children never chat with their parents about political topics and half of the children only rarely. Thus in their political socialization, the value transmitting institutions make their effect more powerfully felt with the increase of age. This is also confirmed by the data gained about the sources of political concepts evaluated by the children.

#### The sources of political concepts

In her political socialization survey among 5-6 year old nursery children in 1971, Edit S. Molnár came to the conclusion that "While primarily the family transmits information to the children about contents experienced in everyday life, in those contents which have less or very strong political charge, the role of the television dominates. (...) Because the family does not 'recommend' the contents in a direct manner, does not carry out a conversation with the children about these contents, namely, does not promote with its attitude that these contents should in fact reach the children, the political contents screened on the television reach the children without the transmission of the family in a certain sense. Therefore, the material of knowledge is of lower standard than in the case of other contents" (but similarly well arranged, like the everyday contents transmitted through the family - she added in another place).<sup>4</sup>

Table 1

Evaluation of political concepts  
(percentage)

|                              | <u>Likes it</u> | <u>Does not<br/>like it</u> | <u>Cannot<br/>decide</u> |
|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Hungarian National Anthem | 99              | -                           | -                        |
| 2. Tricolor flag             | 98              | -                           | 2                        |
| 3. Parade                    | 88              | 6                           | 6                        |
| 4. Red flag                  | 81              | 7                           | 11                       |
| 5. Voluntary work            | 81              | 7                           | 12                       |
| 6. Pioneer's scarf           | 76              | 14                          | 10                       |
| 7. Socialism                 | 75              | 12                          | 13                       |
| 8. Money                     | 70              | 15                          | 15                       |
| 9. Party                     | 66              | 15                          | 19                       |
| 10. Working class            | 65              | 15                          | 20                       |
| 11. Parliament               | 60              | 15                          | 25                       |
| 12. Minister                 | 54              | 22                          | 24                       |
| 13. Police                   | 50              | 34                          | 16                       |
| 14. Festive speech           | 45              | 40                          | 15                       |
| 15. Trade union              | 45              | 21                          | 34                       |
| 16. God                      | 42              | 29                          | 29                       |
| 17. Party secretary          | 40              | 30                          | 30                       |
| 18. Revolution               | 38              | 47                          | 14                       |
| 19. Politician               | 28              | 44                          | 28                       |
| 20. Council chairman         | 28              | 40                          | 32                       |
| 21. Army                     | 26              | 61                          | 13                       |
| 22. Politics                 | 23              | 58                          | 19                       |
| 23. King                     | 21              | 63                          | 16                       |
| 24. Capitalism               | 11              | 68                          | 22                       |
| 25. Demonstration            | 7               | 89                          | 5                        |
| 26. Strike                   | 4               | 91                          | 6                        |

Eloven years later (and among somewhat older children), we also experienced that television plays a determinative role in the political socialization of children. Out of 26 cases, in 17, more than half of the children answered that they hear the most about the queried concept on the television. Only twice was the family mentioned to a bigger extent, and as the source of 7 concepts more than half of the children pointed out the school. The ratio of those who mentioned the company of friends did not come up to 50% in either case. An average of 62% pointed out the television as the primary source, 26% the school, 6% the family, and 3% the circle of friends.

It seems that only two concepts are not alien to intimate communication: money and God. The most political concepts were unambiguously connected to the television by the majority, while the school was connected with national and international symbols, the elements and accessories of school festivities, social work and the king.

Nevertheless, the socialization possibilities of the school are not hopeless with regard to concepts which appear in the curriculum /capitalism, socialism, working class, party, revolution and - king/: older children specified the school as their primary source to a larger proportion than the little ones. It is noteworthy that while children of intellectuals referred to the television less with the increase of age, concerning concepts carrying national identity /national flag and national anthem/ children of workers mentioned the television to a larger extent parallel with their increase in age. In two cases, the ratio of those who mentioned the family increased significantly parallel with the increase in age: in the case of money and God. /About the latter, most of them said that one cannot hear about it anywhere, and the older the children were the more frequently they mentioned it/.

The sources transmitting political contents are at the same time the competent sources of evaluation for children. The majority of parents pointed out the sources which transmit most positive content about the queried concept to their children, about which the majority of children stated that they hear most about these concepts from them. The quantitative and qualitative cultivation of the concepts both draw up a television-centred political orientated structure. It seems that the television undertakes the popularization of these concepts, replacing both the school and the family, and also evaluates them - while the school's role is limited to popularizing the symbols of national and international identity, the formal attributes to school festivities and voluntary social work, and the role of the family and of the group of contemporaries is reduced to a negligible extent in the elaboration and interpretation of these concepts and in fitting them into the political culture of the children. (There were some differences in pointing out the television as the primary value transmitter, depending on the educational level of the interviewees' parents - those with a higher education referred to the television to a smaller extent and more to the school. However, this also means that children of the least educated parents are most deprived of the possibility to participate in politics in active communicational relations.)

The justified question may emerge: what role do the family and the school play in the political socialization of children? Naturally, political socialization does not merely consist of making political phenomena, facts and their value references known. In political socialization, children learn the general relationship to politics and basic political attitude patterns: they can orientate themselves among their various types and develop their own. Consequently, children learn the rules of social relationships, the nature of politics, and the citizen's relationship to politics within

Table 2

Sources of political concepts  
(percentage)

|                  | Television | School | At home | Friends | Nowhere |
|------------------|------------|--------|---------|---------|---------|
| Minister         | 96         | 2      | 1       | 1       | -       |
| Demonstration    | 95         | 2      | -       | 1       | 2       |
| Parliament       | 94         | 3      | 1       | -       | 2       |
| Strike           | 93         | 5      | 1       | 1       | -       |
| Politician       | 93         | 2      | 3       | 1       | 1       |
| Politics         | 93         | 3      | 2       | 1       | 1       |
| Party secretary  | 86         | 6      | 6       | 1       | 1       |
| Council chairman | 86         | 6      | 4       | -       | 4       |
| Trade union      | 81         | 7      | 9       | 1       | 2       |
| Party            | 81         | 11     | 6       | 1       | 1       |
| Army             | 74         | 7      | 11      | 7       | 1       |
| Socialism        | 72         | 23     | 3       | -       | 2       |
| Police           | 72         | 11     | 6       | 10      | 1       |
| Capitalism       | 69         | 21     | 2       | 3       | 5       |
| Working class    | 67         | 25     | 4       | 1       | 3       |
| Parade           | 60         | 25     | 8       | 7       | -       |
| Revolution       | 59         | 29     | 2       | 2       | 7       |
| Pioneer's scarf  | 1          | 93     | 1       | 5       | -       |
| Voluntary work   | 12         | 75     | 6       | 7       | -       |
| National Anthem  | 24         | 68     | 6       | 1       | 1       |
| Tricolor flag    | 28         | 68     | 4       | 2       | 1       |
| Festive speech   | 35         | 62     | -       | 2       | 1       |
| Red flag         | 41         | 55     | 2       | 1       | 1       |
| King             | 35         | 53     | 1       | 6       | 5       |
| Money            | 39         | 4      | 47      | 10      | -       |
| God              | 14         | 11     | 29      | 19      | 27      |

the entirety of the school - as within a system which transmits and represents society, but is a separated system - they learn the explicitly or inexplicitly desirable methods, even if the school does not speak about it expressis verbis. In fact, the school with its internal relationships and in general with its practice can transmit as a social aptitude the more or less democratic mechanism of society for children, together with its expectations towards the hierarchic or emancipated attitudes. It can exemplify for the children the complete separation of ideological and practical values (or exactly each other's contradiction), but can also provide an example for their linking - and in general for the determination of values by practice. Returning to the concepts, it can be said that the school with its flexibility and openness can develop in the children the desire to learn and implement political knowledge, but with its rigidity and closeness, can wither the existing requirements. Undoubtedly, from this point of view, the Hungarian school system operates far from satisfactorily.

With regard to the family, with the avoidance of the political world, with excluding politics from the relationship between parents and children, willingly or unwillingly, it also socializes in some direction. Namely, that politics is independent from everyday life and from the competency of the citizens, and that those things which belong to "our" competency are organized along other values and other rules than "their" politics. Thus the family reproduces a characteristically "little man" consciousness; while it believes that it spares children from politics, it leaves them defenceless and unprepared for the conflicts of the relationship between the individual and politics, which may already occur in childhood. And because the parents only try to keep their children away from politics and not from the television, they allow its socializing effect limitlessly and uncontrollably to take validity. Undoubtedly, these confusions and dysfunctionality of political socialization have determinative consequences on the adult social attitudes.



## Notes

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3. The determinative role of age was also confirmed by the two factors variance analysis.
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*Katalin Hanák*

## **Fantasticity—Reality—Fantasy**

Children's programmes and tales in the mass media play an important role in the process of socialization. Gender roles transmitted follow stereotypes: adventure is a privilege of boys, while girls only submit to adventures.

This study is an excerpt from a broader research report, which summarized the results of an investigation concerning the role and image of women in mass communication - on the radio and television /K. Hanák, 1982/.

Naturally, the sex roles, models, male and female images presented by the children's programmes, tales and bedside stories of the radio and television were only a part, a relatively small segment of the one-week survey (in December 1979), which covered the entire programme structure and almost every type of programme. We concentrated on the explicit and implicit messages about the historically and socially determined roles of the two sexes, transmitted by the electronic mass media.

Thus, the quantitative and qualitative content analysis primarily strived to reveal the socialization functions of radio and television programmes for children in learning the sex and family roles: to what extent they reflect and suggest a traditional, a realistically modern or an idealized futuristic picture about the two sexes with the particular means of tales and the world of fantasy, with the combination of reality and fantasticity, and with the inspiration and expansion of fantasy.

Fantasy, imagination which can be expanded in space and time, is a basic feature of human essence, but it is not an inborn

faculty as, for example, the needs dictated by instincts. The direct and broader family and social environment can both expand and reduce, build up and destroy the realm of fantasy. Grey and unimaginative people were not born as such, but were brought up, conditioned to be like this. Although - only to mention a few examples - creativity, innovative abilities, the desire to know and the capability of taking decisions (which are also strengthened by the "what would happen if..." imaginary situations) can hardly be developed without the rich fantasy of the individual and social personality. If mankind is deprived of the possibility to exercise and experience fantasy, the world of human existence will be reduced and little chance will be given to the realization of the ideal type of man as depicted in the "inquiring hero" of Thomas Mann.

This is also true for learning the sex roles and implementing them in everyday life. Therefore, tales are particularly important in the socialization of children. In addition to or exactly within the social, moral, cognitive and emotional values, they provide patterns for the varied individual and social roles of the two sexes.

#### Children's programmes, tales and bedside stories on the radio

Children's programmes and tales not only play an important part in the socialization of the youngest generation - in its ethic and social knowledge and sex role concept - but also orientate the parents to what "good" tales and stories are like. This dual task particularly increases the importance of children's programmes and tales transmitted by the mass media. The specific system of symbols and signs, the pictures, conventional idioms, proverbs, structures of the world of fables and last - but not least - the lesson contained by the tales help children to learn - within the frame-

work of social learning (Bandura, A. 1969) - what is "good", "bad", "exemplary", "rejectable", what is "truth" and what is "falsity". They also learn how society punishes or rewards the forms of behaviour and ethic qualities. Among others, the world of tales, the world of fantasy also transmits the basic knowledge and stereotypes of sex roles. (What characterizes boys and girls, fathers, mothers and in general adults of the different sexes.) One of the most interesting questions of current research in socialization is to what extent the patterns of the sex role stock are stereotypes and to what extent they are open, stepping beyond the stereotypes /H. Sas, Judit, 1980).

During the one-week programme survey, we tried to trace how the radio participates - as a direct and indirect pattern provider - in the socialization process concerning sex roles.

Our expectations were first a little bit cooled by the fact that during the surveyed week, the tales, bedside stories and children's programmes were extremely "mixed" in quality. Many of them lacked fantasy and several stories had neither rhyme nor reason (only some kind of not very sophisticated didactic lesson).

The other surprise came from the relatively little message of most stories concerning sex roles and their interpretation. Of course, this could also be considered as a favourable feature, if we believed that radio stories primarily emphasize social justice and injustice, moral and ethic norms - such as helpfulness, solidarity, collectivity and so on - indifferently from sexes. But if we think of the children and adults - the recipients - paying attention to the stories, which are abstract, sexless and organized around some idea or ethic norm, then we shall find that exactly these "sexless" stories were mostly lacking in fantasy and imagination. In other words, the conventional stories were the "best".

Ignoring the qualitative, aesthetic requirements, we can say that one merit of the children's programmes is exactly the fact that certain ethic qualities - e.g. honesty, uprightness, frankness, and helpfulness, etc. - are not bound with any sex and owing to this, the programmes successfully campaign against sex stereotypes. Other stories - to a larger extent than the previous ones and with greater effect - followed the traditional sex stereotypes. According to these, cleverness, wit, shrewdness (even that with a social content), courage and boldness are boys' qualities. Adventures are also the privilege of boys or men. Mostly they are the active participants of the adventures. (Girls or women are generally victims, passive participants of these adventures.) Then, what remains for girls? A good heart, faithfulness and modesty. And, of course, vanity: a pretty appearance means more for them than high inner values. This is illustrated with classic clarity in an - excellent - Indian folk tale: The Golden Shelled Turtle. Two sisters give birth to their offspring; one of them has a handsome son, the other a turtle. The two children are very fond of each other. When they grow up, the handsome lad takes to sea and the turtle follows him. (Mothers and women have to stay at home.) A storm hits the ship, they land on an island populated by monster-women, some kind of man-eaters. (The message starts to be motivated!) It is the turtle who saves the ship and the crew several times. It is due to him that his cousin can marry the beautiful princess. When the young turtle returns, he conjures up several miracles at home as well. He can also marry a beautiful princess! But she finds the turtle repugnant. However, one morning the turtle turns into a handsome young man and now the beautiful princess really loves her husband.

The lesson: a horrid exterior can conceal a fine interior. Nevertheless, beautiful "princesses" (women) prefer the attractive exterior and handsome men to noble, but ugly turtles! Furthermore, courage and unselfish helpfulness will be worthily rewarded: the turtle, turned into a handsome young man not

only wins the hand, but also the heart of the beautiful princess. This is how it happens! (In fairy tales...)

An Italian story "Bessy and Ilona" also represents the victory of the better in love. The prince turns away from the competing dishonest girls and marries modest Ilona. In fact there are many tales involving love stories. Love is the reward of the good, which sweeps away all social obstacles, and differences.

Social justice and personal happiness - in a traditional manner - are interwoven in fairyland. An example of this was "The Tail of the Mouse" - a Hungarian story. The king promises his daughter to the young man who lives on the least for one week. (This is really a very up-to-date story in the present world economic situation.) The wealthy suitors try everything - in vain. Péter Csutorás - a typical folkloristic Hungarian figure - only needs the tail of a mouse and his wit to win the competition. But he graciously refuses the princess's hand, because he loves a beautiful maid. And what happens? To his greatest surprise the maid and the princess are one and the same person. (The lesson is obvious!)

In the animal stories, in tales with many animal figures, the sex of the animals becomes mostly pale (in fact the animals embody human qualities).

Both the male and female programme observers of the "Winnie the Pooh" series realized with astonishment that most of the lovely animals had no definite sexes. "Kanga is a female because she is a mother. But what is Piggy's sex? And Pocket Baby's? Piggy is a "very small animal" but Pocket Baby is a young "child". This is a story, which has (almost) nothing to say about sex roles: it only speaks about children and even more childish children. Perhaps this is one of the attractions of this story." (From a male observer.)

Stories situated in reality - and not in fairyland - are usually poor and lacking in imagination. They do not suggest more modern sex roles than the stories from the symbolic fairyland. The wife, the mother stays at home and brings up the children. If there is something wrong, she only despairs. The husband, the father works. He embodies strictness. It is he, whom the children are frightened of in the worse families. Nevertheless, if anything goes wrong, the authoritative father takes the necessary measures, because the warmhearted, but helpless (or stupid?) mother can only yammer. (This is not quite the best modern division of labour between the parents, within the family!)

The sex role interpretations of some of the stories situated in present reality resemble a popular Hungarian story from the 1930s, the Book of the Bogey-man. In this story, the family lives happily in the depths of Hell around the eternal fire. Mother Bogey cooks and bakes, sews the shirts and does the washing (etc.), while Father Bogey smokes his pipe and reads the newspaper.

The "lesson", "message" and structure have not changed at all if today the textile worker mother bakes, cooks, cleans and darns and the metal worker father sits at home in his armchair, smokes his cigarette, reads the paper or watches television. This is how the child will learn! For example, which are the typically male and female activities and qualities, and which are the typical male and female family and social roles.

The programmes of nursery-school children usually do not distinguish between boys and girls concerning cleverness, skill and activity. They play, sing, dance and learn together. Here children of different sexes are equal.

In children's programmes the content features reveal much more than statistical divisions, this is why we started this

summary with them. But to add to the picture, here are a few data.

Altogether 18 programmes were broadcast for children during the surveyed week. Two thirds of the stories were situated both in a realistic and fantastic (fairy tale and sci-fi) milieu at the same time. Many of them primarily contained some type of abstract moral lesson, while one fifth of them - and this is really surprising - contained a lesson which was understandable only for adults.

What are the situations in which we find the characters of children's programmes? Without any precise data, in the order of frequency, these are: 1. learning, gaining knowledge; 2. entertainment, education; 3. games and war games; 4. adventures and some simple, non-recurring (non-typical) activity; and 5. compulsory activity and trips. The adventure, the "special", the fantastical activity mostly belonged to the terrain of boys. The girls are primarily depicted in an everyday milieu.

Only 37% of the children's programmes were produced domestically. 22% were imported from the socialist countries, 17% from Western and 6% from the developing countries (or originated from their folklore). And 12% were "coproductions" of these countries. In half of the children's programmes an adult was involved in one way or another. This attempt to link the world of children and adults is really necessary and useful.

#### Children's programmes, tales and bedside stories on television

The preliminary hypotheses of the research and the code instructions based on these mainly failed in the case of fairy tales, although the observation aspects implemented in the radio were naturally extended with the information and ex-



perience provided by the spectacle when we dealt with the television tales. Particularly with the fact of how far the spectacle contributes to the imaginative depiction in the transmission of the sex roles.

The reasons why the research hypotheses and the tales screened by the television were not quite adequate can be summarized in the following.

1. Few of the tales contain any sex roles. Most of them are sexless (as regards children, adults, imaginary fairy tale figures or "human faced" animals). The tales do not exploit their possibilities of anthropomorphism, which is inseparable from the preparation for sex roles of any value content: for either traditional, pseudo-traditional or modern, genuinely up-to-date sex roles.

2. In the tales in which the sex can be determined or at least guessed from the appearance and from the metacommunicational signs, four fifths of the realistic and imaginary figures are male, thus the dominant characters of the tales are boys and men. So the "symbolic annihilation" of women is demonstrated in the tales, too.

3. If females appear at all in the puppet and animated films situated in a realistic milieu, they only represent stereotyped, traditional female attitudes and values. Since there are relatively many "present day" stories among them, the traditional presentation of the sex roles is even more emphasized.

This is how the traditional and mostly outdated sex stereotypes are "based" in an early childhood. These then flourish to completion in adolescence - and adulthood. To avoid misunderstanding, it should be emphasized that we approve of the effort that certain general social and ethic values (truthful-

ness, courage, and good behaviour, etc.) are not strictly connected with special male or female roles. The only problem is that when the existence of the two sexes carries some type of "thought", some ethic or moral lesson in the "sexless" - or better to say, in the general human - world of the tales, it mainly, consistently and tendentially points "back" into the lost world, into the unrepeatable past.

From among the 15 programmes aired for children during the week, only those which transmitted explicit sex roles are dealt with in detail.

In "The Larder" (a Hungarian puppet film) two female mice intend to catch the long-tailed Tomcat. (As it is a tale, we should ignore the implicit sexual-social psychological message.) As the female mice realize that they themselves are not strong and clever enough, they employ the old Bleet master (the goat) to manufacture a gadget which will catch the Tomcat which raids the larder. Unfortunately, the "expert" master measures Pussycat instead of Tomcat. (This is where several features of Hungarian reality are reflected.) And what is even worse, the goat allows himself to be corrupted by Tomcat. He makes a cat trap from which "Mr. Tomcat" can proudly and mockingly walk out. The female mice are frustrated. (Naturally, it is a part of social and ethic reality that more cats catch mice than mice catch cats. Nevertheless, in some places a charmingly pedagogic counterpoint can be seen. For example, in the well known American series "Huckleberry Hound" where the two female mice frequently outwit the cat.) The point of the Hungarian story is the attitude of the schlerotic or in general conformist Bleet master, the goat. His attitude is: who cares? At the end of the story, he licks the salt with great satisfaction, as the reward for his compromise and dishonesty.

Another - outstanding - musical puppet film was the Hungarian "Nutty, the Dragon". The dragon (as lovely a creature as E.T.)

is not "nutty" at all. He is not loony. He is only "deviant". Both in his appearance, because despite being a dragon he has only one head (instead of seven), thus being a "freak", and in his behaviour, because he ignores the dragon morals. Instead of killing his father's enemy, he cures him. Therefore, the dragon-hearted father throws him out. People are frightened by the news that Nutty is approaching, because he is "ugly" and he is "big", and a dragon can only be vile. (See: bias and prejudice...) Thus, Nutty wanders on his own and, using the modern term, he suffers from an identity crisis. In the meantime, the old king (an old man with a big beard) offers half of his kingdom and his beautiful daughter's hand to the person who saves his country from the danger. At last Nutty meets a companion and protector, the wandering prince who in return gains Nutty's help in saving the country and winning the whole kingdom and the beautiful princess (also in whole). In gratitude, the new king provides Nutty with security, protection and a home.

The male figures are partly customary, partly not. The old, weak and absent-minded king is a traditional figure, who nevertheless reserves the right to decide over the future of his country and daughter. (Contemporary children cannot completely identify him with the role of a father any more.) The prince is more modern, a more complex figure. In addition to the conventional princely qualities (courage and so on) he also represents more modern values (e.g. understanding and empathy).

The really traditional figure is the princess. She embodies the usual passive female attitudes and image of traditional fairy tales. She sits at home waiting for the prince. She is one of the female figures who is usually kidnapped, held for ransom, married or given away without her doing anything against or for it. These women cry, wail and wait for the improvement of their future. However, this can only happen

with the help of the active men. And the aim and sense of their lives is conquering the "real" and "honest" man's heart in marriage. In order to live in "unclouded happiness" - until death. Even if this unclouded happiness is not supported by either current family sociology, or the high divorce statistics. Never mind! This is only a fairy tale.

"Orange Cream" is an episode of the Hungarian puppet film series called Goblin and Sultana. Goblin prepares an orange cream for his guests - the Owl (male) and Bunny (female). Sultana does not like the guests and does not fancy the orange cream. After having eaten the dessert, Owl and Goblin go to pick up Sultana's hat (to prevent a cold). Bunny - the lady - tries to humour sulky Sultana, but in vain. Then she suggests washing up together in order to give a pleasant surprise to the others. This excellent idea makes Sultana even more sullen. He refuses to cooperate. So who else should do the washing up, but the female Bunny? Sultana, who is unwilling to wash up, is not only a spleenful child, but also a spleenful boy. What would happen to him without the constant care of Goblin, the all-round male household manager? Here the two sexes take approximately equal shares in the household work. On the other hand, the programme suggests that capriciousness and petulance (with a feminine character) are not only girls' features...

"The Skating Rink" (Polish) is an episode of the well known Teddybear series. The case of young animals include six (!) boys and one (!) girl. (In fact she is the naughtiest.) Among the adult animals, the male-female proportion is balanced (1:1). The adults warn the children that it is dangerous to skate on the road. First Mother Duck warns them while carrying heavy buckets. The water spills from the buckets and freezes immediately - to the greatest joy of the children. The children are more willing to obey Uncle Donkey's warning who slowly passes along the road. And when Teddybear also

confirms the adults' warning, the children prepare a genuine skating ring and happily skate around. The story can also be interpreted as a road safety advisory film: don't risk your life skating in the road!

"The Fisherman's Catch" (Czechoslovak) does not contain any sex role. Nevertheless, the two fishing dwarfs (imps?) may be males, because they have beards. But this is of no consequence in the story. The two animal figures are absolutely sexless. A hidden message of the story is: protect the ecological balance of nature and protect nature itself.

It is also worth mentioning "The Three Lazies" (Polish). It is about three stylized insects, most probably ants which instead of hoeing sit down to play cards. The happy card party (a typically male amusement) and the outfit - slacks, shirts and broadbrimmed straw hats - suggest that they are males. In any case, there was no skirted insect amongst them. In the story, an old insect uses a trick - hinting at some treasure - to make the three lazies dig the soil. (Their personalities considerably differ from the famous seven Bremen lazies.) Of course, there is no treasure. But the main thing is: diligent work! The moral lesson of this story - teaching diligence and discouraging laziness - is spoilt, because it was more charming and amusing to see the insects' playing cards than to see them "working". Therefore, it is not absolutely certain that children will understand why laziness (loitering) is ugly and work is an elevating and noble act. Particularly work which is senseless. (As it was mentioned, there was no treasure!) The lazy insects did not show much willingness to dig and diligently hoe for the sake of work alone.

In the Romanian animated circus film "The Circus has Arrived" the cast consisted of clowns, magicians and acrobats. There was only one female among them, the tight-rope dancer. The

crowd of spectators, the children had neither sexes nor faces. (Each child was indicated by a circle with a triangle on two sides.) The message of the film was: circus is good entertainment! (Of course, this also depends on who, how and what role is concerned.)

The series "Start the Game" (GDR) introduced excerpts from the puppet shows in various countries and towns. On this occasion, the ingenious and colourful programme of the Moscow Puppet Theatre was presented. The children and the puppets had to solve a task, equally important for everyone, with the help of the inventor and the jack-of-all-trades. Only one girl appeared among the puppets. She excelled - with her passivity. She assisted the skilled and clever acts of the boy puppets. She served the jack-of-all-trades. And she was pleased with their success. Cleverness and skill were represented by the males - boys and men. It should be added, however, that it is particularly difficult to decode the sex roles in a modern, double transmitted film where a puppet theatre is depicted in the puppet theatre and where the puppets play the role of puppets.

Compared to the above described stories "Wisp and the Grey Horse" - a juvenile film based on the work of Iván Mándy (a contemporary eminent Hungarian writer) with a scenario by Zsolt Kézdi Kovács and directed by Zoltán Várkonyi - represents a different genre. Not only because it is set in a realistic domestic milieu with a realistic cast, but because the world of children and adults gives a serious, although lyric depiction of society. A quotation from the recommendation of the Radio and TV Magazine (1979): "Wisp - the blonde and brown eyed boy - is unsuccessful in everything. He has no mates, because in their opinion he spoils the games. In addition he lost 100 forints given to him for some shopping by his mother." The fate of Wisp - according to the multiprismal light of the inner life of everyday

people depicted by Mándy - turns to the better. But not without conflicts, not without moral cathartic experiences. A boy and a girl (the latter as a supporting character, but not as an insignificant prop) appear on the screen. Among the adults, there are eight men and three women. In fact the numerical representation of the two sexes is irrelevant. It is much more important what shaded father, mother, child and adult roles and what patterns are presented. One of the film's main virtues is that the abstract sex and social roles are filled with the life and authenticity of the reality of Hungarian society, and above all with the values of humanism.

#### The family and gender roles of tales

While almost half of the literary works addressed to adults transmitted traditional and realistically modern sexual and family roles (and there were very few imagined, utopistic and futuristic stories among them), the majority of the juvenile programmes both on the radio and television depicted outdated traditional sexual and family roles. Both in the historic fog of folklore, and in tales set in the present,

Thus, the total picture reflects the fact that the electronic tales and juvenile programmes do not dissolve the traditional stereotypes connected with the sexual and family roles. Moreover, they strengthen them, in fact - divorced from reality.

This is far from trying to suggest that there are no considerably outdated traditional features in the norms, values, and practice of the existing sexual and family roles of our contemporaries. But reality - whether because of compulsion or because as an accepted and undertaken new thing - is much more advanced than the sexual and family roles depicted by the electronic media.

If for nothing else, for this reason we can remark on the juvenile programmes and tales of both the radio and the television, which transmit a picture of the two genders, that they can only slightly assist the children to learn more modern sexual and family roles, which stand nearer to reality.

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## Children in front of the Screen

How much time on average do children today spend in front of the television in Hungary? If we consider the situation characteristic of the beginning of the 1980s as unchanged and presume that infants do not watch the television then it can be said that each youngster spends 15 months up to its 18th birthday with watching the programmes of the Hungarian Television. Taking 8 hours sleep a day into consideration, this is more than 10% of the waking hours.

### Who watches most

The Child and Youth Research Group of the Mass Communication Research Centre has been collecting data since 1979 about the viewing habits of youngsters between 3 and 17. /In 1980, the data collection was temporarily suspended./ These examinations are carried out with the help of so-called programme diaries. Viewers between 9 and 17 fill in their own programme diaries, in the case of younger viewers we ask the parents to do this.

Based on the first experiences we drew the conclusion that in 1979, Hungarian children spent half the time in front of the television as American children, and about 40 minutes less a day than British children at the beginning of the 1970s.

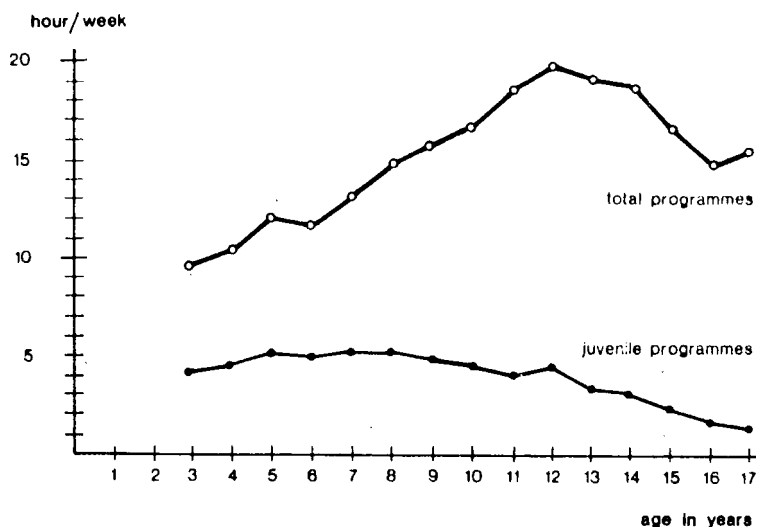
During the mass spread of television, the structure of people's /both adults and children/ daily activities was

radically transformed, and after the first major breakthrough, the advance of the television continued for a long time. With regard to the domestic situation, we presumed that "with the increase of the transmission time, with the extension of the assortment of programmes, and with the eventual introduction of Monday transmissions, the quantity of viewing will most probably increase." /Dankánics, RTV Szemle 1979/4./ However, the results of surveys undertaken since then have indicated that after a short period, this growth stopped and the time spent with television viewing started to decrease.

In 1979, 1981 and 1982, children between 3 and 5 spent 9.5 hours a week, those between 6 and 8 years of age 11.5 hours, the next three age groups somewhat more than 14, 16 and 13 hours in front of the television. Between 1979 and 1981, there was a relatively strong increase in every age group, and by 1982 a mild reduction. Because of the uneven breakdown of the schedule, this tendency was primarily determined

Figure 1

**Average weekly time spent with the viewing of juvenile and adult programmes in 1981-1982 according to the age of the children**



by attention paid to channel one, while interest towards channel two gradually increased in every age group.

It seems that by the beginning of the 1980s - at least within the age group examined by us - the increase in television viewing was halted. Naturally, it is not known whether this relapse will be durable or transitory, and so many factors play a role in its existence that we cannot even attempt to analyze them in this article. However, it seems certain that a type of filling up occurred in our days, and this means the end of the television's "romantic period". In our opinion, the difficulties of the beginning of a new era can be overcome by the Hungarian Television, not by the further extension of the schedule, but with the qualitative improvement of the programme structure and produced programmes.

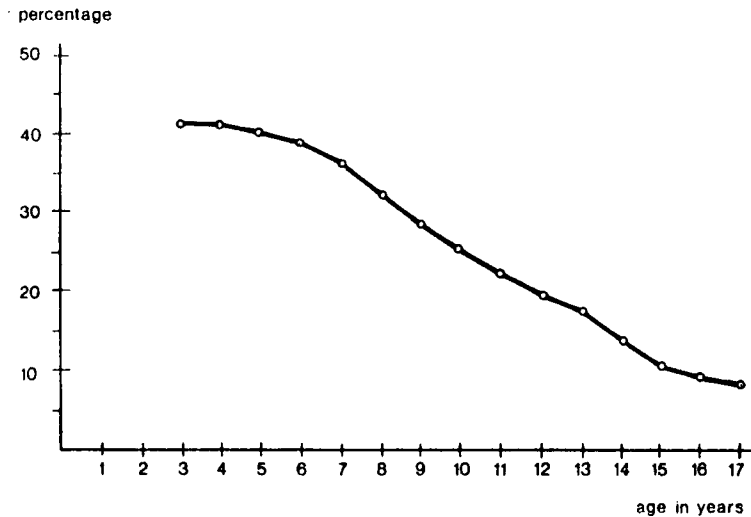
#### What was successful

Similarly to the adult viewers, the audience of children watching the television is not homogeneous, but divided into groups and strata. A current task of audience research today is exactly to recognize with certainty and to identify the various types of viewers. In the meantime, until this typology is available, there is a possibility to compare the behaviour of a few groups of viewers - differing according to social and demographic criteria. Let us observe how much time the children spent in front of the television in 1981 and 1982, depending on their age, sex, domicile and the schooling level of their parents.

Because of the beginning of schooling at the age of 6, the occupation of this age group is also reflected in the viewing. Most time is spent at the television by 12 year old children, namely, the 6th and 7th graders, but the next two

Figure 2

**The proportion of juvenile programmes within the entire viewing time according to the age of the children in 1981-1982**



age groups do not spend much less time viewing television. After this, a steep reduction can be experienced, due to the transforming interest and manner of life of the adolescents. This harmonizes with our experience that three quarters of the interviewed elementary school children /9-14 years old/ and only half of the secondary school children /14-18/ announced that they have sufficient time to view the television. It would be worthwhile to ponder whether the elementary and secondary schools put too much burden on the children.

The juvenile programmes of the television are mostly watched by children between 4 and 8, but the interest in these lasts until the beginning of adolescence /12 years/. The reduction of viewing by the adolescents can be observed in two different manners. It can be regarded as a natural phenomenon, because these children are already "half adults". At the

same time, it also indicates that this age group does not find the desired adolescent programmes.

None of the children's age groups watch only juvenile programmes. Within the entire time spent with viewing, the ratio of juvenile programmes is 40% among the youngest, and this decreases to 15% by the age of 14.

Girls watch the television about half an hour less a week than boys. This difference is in our opinion slighter than to allow the conclusion that girls are less attracted by television. However, 1 or 2% more girls watch the juvenile programmes than boys.

In the countryside, generally children of parents living in the villages and being of lower schooling level, watch more television. Within this, the time spent on juvenile programmes is different with regard to the small ones and bigger ones. It is noteworthy that among the little ones, the children of Budapest resident parents with the highest level education - who watch television the least - sit through the most juvenile programmes, and among the bigger ones, those who are living in the villages and have the least educated parents. On the basis of this it seems that intellectual parents and Budapest residents allow their children to watch adult programmes at a later age, while among the older ones, children of provincial parents and those with lower schooling level remain fans of the juvenile television for a longer period. For the sake of precision, it should be remarked that these differences can be less sensed in groups according to domicile and more according to schooling level.

#### Children's band

The category of juvenile programmes, with regard to the creative aim and genre, includes a variety of programmes;

and naturally it is not indifferent which day and which period of the week these programmes are transmitted. Let us see the range of viewers, the various types of juvenile programmes attracted in 1981-1982, within the individual age groups, and how this audience enjoyed them.

The audience of the juvenile programmes is recruited from the age group 3-11, and within this particularly from among the 6-8 years old. Within this group, juvenile programmes reached a 50% viewing index, while among the older children, the viewing time diminished to a great extent. The viewing extent of the different types of programmes can be compared to this general picture - and this is very well worthwhile.

Programmes for nursery age children - Bedside Story, Pocket TV, Hip-Hop, and films for the nurseries - were most successful among the 3-5 years old - obviously. The audiences of the bedside story and films for the nurseries among the 6-8 years old are only 4-5% smaller than among the nursery age children. However, the audiences of Pocket TV and Hip-Hop are much lower in this age group. The 62% to which these two programmes amounted to within the 3-5 year age group is not a negligible result. Among the teenagers - with the exception of dramas - not one type of programme gained such viewing.

"Only for Children" is a compilation of films, theoretically for viewers older than nursery age children. In fact, most of the 3-8 year old children watch this, similarly to the "Films for Nurseries" with the difference that they are 15-20% less.

From among the Hungarian and imported series, the Hungarians are unambiguously more successful. This has to be cautiously evaluated; because during those examined two years Hungarian production was represented by outstanding programs, such as "Süsü" and "Vuk". Without wanting to lessen the merits of

Hungarian series, it should be added that their success may have been influenced by factors such as the infinite appetite for animation, and the connected "publicity campaigns".

The age group of 6-14 is the proper audience for longer dramas. /In addition to Hungarian series/ these were the more popular from among the juvenile programmes, which the age group of 15-17 watched to the largest extent. Although obviously the younger ones enjoy juvenile films, teleplays, cartoons, and theatre transmissions, relatively few children sit down to watch them, and even if they make an attempt, they cannot attentively follow them.

Natural scientific instructive, literary, musical and art educational programmes are essentially less watched than the drama programmes. And even if this is not natural, it is customary. From among the two types: Kuckó, Perpetuum mobile and Fűrkész are natural scientific instructive programmes, with a 6-8% larger audience than the others. Most of their viewers belong to the age group of 6-8, although these programmes were not primarily made for them. The viewing index is decreasing towards the teenager age groups, and this is a warning that these programmes should be made more attractive for older children. Similar tasks are indicated by the diminishing values of viewing in the case of artistic educational programmes, because their majority are made for older children and not for the little ones, who view them in greater numbers.

The category "Sport, Games, Hobby" includes stratum programmes, such as "Philatelist World" and "Battle in Black and White", which obviously counted on a narrower audience, and on the other hand, the category included for example football competitions attracting older children, and talent spotting actions /Mister, Where Can One Play Football? and To Stay On The Pitch/. In contrast to the other types, these pro-



grammes were viewed by most of the teenagers. In each age group, programmes of this type had relatively few viewers, and this reflects the basic dilemma of activity programmes. Namely, they are primarily interesting for the participants and less for the viewers.

How does the time of transmission influence the viewing of juvenile programmes?

It is surprising that the viewing of juvenile programmes is relatively low on Saturday afternoons. However, in this case the averages cover the fact that viewing in every age group decreased to half from 1981 to 1982. On weekend mornings, there are not so many children sitting in front of the screen as it is often said, when we are anxious about their healthy manner of life. Average viewing on a Sunday morning is only over 50% among the age group 6-8. Naturally, we do not say that it is appropriate if every second child is tied to the screen on Saturday and Sunday mornings. However, the evaluation, anxiety, and the assignments can only be based on the confirmation of these facts.

Finally, we would like to discuss a question, which has been worrying the creators of juvenile programmes for a long time, together with all those who consider the relationship between children and the television as their labour of love. Briefly, would it not be more favourable for the children's manner of life if juvenile programmes would be concentrated in regularly repeated bands, similarly to the radio? Obviously this question can only be decided upon after the thorough deliberation of various circumstances. In order to survey the opinion of the interested parties, we asked whether it would be appreciated if there was a part of the day when the television would always screen juvenile programmes. As in the case of children between 3-8, we were also interested in the opinion of the mothers, we also asked

them this question. The answers indicated that both mothers and children would appreciate such a children's band, and it would be primarily preferred by the younger children.

Mothers who did not approve of the children's band, usually reasoned that children watch the television too much anyway, and not even juvenile programmes could absorb the attention of the younger children for a considerable time. According to older children, who answered with a "No", the children's band is superfluous, because they are also interested in the adult programmes, and they suspected that such a band would mainly include programmes for the younger children, so they believed that after a time it would become boring for them.

We asked those mothers and children who desired a children's band, which period would be the most favourable for them. Both the mothers and older children would put the children's band in the late afternoon - early evening period.

When asking what programmes should be included in the children's band, the mothers primarily mentioned cartoons, puppet films, tales, and juvenile films. Older children enumerated cartoons, juvenile films, and primarily adventure films /Westerns and Red Indian films/, a considerable part wanted adult films, moreover, crime. Every fourth of the mothers and children suggested that natural scientific instructive programmes should also be part of the children's band.

The requests forwarded by the children raised the question whether juvenile television is necessary at all. In our belief it is. Namely, children have particular requirements, which can only be satisfied by programmes produced directly for them. However, the older the children, the more frequent-

ly requirements appear, which were mostly awakened by the adult television. Therefore, in our opinion, the responsibility for the children's television would be to satisfy particular infantile requirements, as well as educating future adult viewers.

## THE WORLD OUTSIDE

*Zoltán Jakab*

### Television Programmes on Offer in Some European Socialist Countries

In the autumn of 1983, the Director-General of UNESCO presented the results of a world-wide mass communication survey covering about 50 countries to the General Assembly. The title of the survey sounds innocent; "The international flow of television programmes and news". In fact, major storms and debates could be expected to follow the research report, because it covered a conspicuous case of world-wide communication inequalities and disproportions. For example, about the role of a few developed capitalist countries dominating the world market of television programmes. Exactly about those countries who are the most militant representatives of the principle of the "free flow of information", while they belong among those markets, which are most closed to television programmes from abroad.

When writing this article, the survey had not been completed, nevertheless, the outcome can already be seen. In fact the research is the repetition of a similar survey of 1973<sup>x</sup> and in fact there was not much change in the world during the past ten years, with regard to the international traffic of television programmes.

For the survey, organized and carried out during hardly more than a year, the world was divided into 8 regions, and in these areas one or two research institutes co-ordinated the work of the participants. In the "East Europe" region UNESCO

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<sup>x</sup> See: Nordenstreng, K. - Varis, T.: Television Traffic: A One-Way Street? - Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, No. 70 - UNESCO, 1974.

invited the Mass Communication Research Centre, Budapest, to play the role of co-ordinator, and research institutes in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the G.D.R., and in the Soviet Union participated in the survey.

This cooperation is a welcome - and regrettably rare - occasion to compare a few characteristic features in the television of the European socialist countries, based on data collected according to a unified system. Although the survey only covered a two week period /January 31-February 13/, the participants agreed that this period in general correctly reflected the usual programme schedule of the individual countries.

#### Transmission time

The survey included the national programmes, namely, in general two programmes in each country. In Czechoslovakia the data collection covered the federal and the Czech and Slovak programmes.

Major differences appeared in the weekly average transmission times. The Czechoslovak Television /CSTV/ transmitted 195 hours, the Soviet Television /STV/ 184 hours during one week. The corresponding data of the G.D.R. Television /DDR/ was 135 hours, that of the Hungarian Television /MTV/ 98, and that of the Bulgarian Television /BTV/ only 93 hours. Because of the difference in the number of transmission days and of the examined programmes, the average quantity of transmitted programmes on one channel and in one transmission day is a better index. Accordingly, the largest offer was provided by the STV with 13.1 hours, that of the CSTV and of the DDRTV was similar /9.3 and 9.6 hours respectively/, while the MTV transmitted 8.1 and the BTV 6.1 hours. To explain the outstandingly long transmission time of the Soviet Television, the dimensions of the country have to be

taken into consideration together with the many time zones it belongs to, which means that the actually received quantity of programmes in the different areas of the country is lower than the duration of the transmissions.

### Programme supply

During the survey, the content and functions of the programmes were categorized according to the system approved by a UNESCO conference of government experts in 1976. The categorization of the programmes was promoted by useful definitions, which did not exclude the possibility of different categorization of identical programmes, but considerably reduced it. /Differing evaluation particularly appeared in the "cultural" and "entertainment" categories and somewhat influenced the ratios of the "informative" and "educational" categories. All in all, it seems that the categories were sufficiently unified to sensibly compare the national data. /See Table 1./

The structures of the complete programming of five socialist countries differ to a considerable extent. The proportion of the informative programmes is rather high in the BTV and STV, almost 30%, while the counter-pole is represented by the DDR and the MTV with less than 20%. The proportion of the educational programmes is uniquely high in the MTV, the same refers to the cultural programmes of the MTV, and STV. The BTV screens the largest number of children's programmes, while the ratio of entertainment programmes is by far the highest in the DDRTV. /In the Hungarian Television, the ratio of entertainment programmes did not come up to 35% of the complete transmission time, which at the same time, meant the smallest proportion. It seems that this ratio was the manifestation of a long existing tendency<sup>x</sup> in

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<sup>x</sup> Peak transmission time is not identical in the different countries. In the BTV and STV, the period between 19.00 and 23.00 is considered peak viewing time - based on the

the surveyed period./ Naturally, the composition of the peak transmission time<sup>xx</sup> considerably differs from the general television menu, particularly because of the much lower proportion of educational and juvenile programmes. In general, many more entertainment programmes are screened in the peak viewing time than otherwise /with the exception of the BTV/. At the same time, some characteristic features of the countries unambiguously appear in this period. Even in this period, the ratio of informative programmes is very high in the BTV and the STV, it is over 30%. In the MTV, the proportion of cultural programmes is high in this period, almost 20%, while entertainment takes a particularly large proportion in the transmission of the DDR. /As compared to 70% in the DDRTV, the relative weight of the entertainment programmes in the CSTV and STV is somewhat over 50%, in the MTV under 50%, and in the BTV it is under 40%./

In the entire offer of entertainment programmes, there is a considerable difference between the individual television networks, with regard to the percentage of drama and music materials. In the CSTV and MTV almost 60% of entertainment consists of cinema films, teleplays and TV series /while in the case of the other three countries, the proportion varies between 50-56%, the relative proportion of music programmes in the entertainment offer of the BTV and STV is very large: 20 and 26% respectively /in contrast to the 11-15% of the other three countries/.

#### Imported programmes

The proportion of imported programmes is almost similar and it is a general feature that more imported programmes are

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viewing customs - in the other 3 countries the data refer to the period from 19.30 to 21.30-22.00

xx/ See "Tömegkommunikációs adattár". Vol. II., pp. 52-53. MCRC, Budapest, 1978.

screened in peak viewing time than at any other time. /See Table 2./ Compared to the 1973 survey, it seems that the ratio of imported programmes increased in the DDR, MTV, and STV, while there was a considerable reduction in the case of the BTV.

Naturally, programming policy, production capacities, and financial possibilities play - even if not to the same extent - the most important role in the extent of the imports. This is most clearly and most convincingly illustrated by the proportion of imported programmes within all entertainment transmissions. The outstanding proportion of imports is not so obvious in any other category. 18% of the entertainment on the STV, 44% and 41% in the BTV and CSTV, 50% in the DDRTV and 57% in the MTV is of foreign origin. (The MTV data reflect a 10-15 year long tendency, as it was shown by earlier full surveys.<sup>x</sup>)

With regard to the entire region, the STV is the most significant source of imports; more than 20% of imported materials originate from there. /The proportion of Soviet programmes is higher than average in the Bulgarian and Czechoslovak schedule./ There is a considerable proportion of West German, French, British, and US programmes in the schedule of the region - altogether about 40%. /With regard to the role of the F.R.G. it should be noted that the European Skating Championships at Düsseldorf took place during the surveyed period, which made the ratio of West German materials much higher than the average in almost every country, which participated in the research./ The list of imports continues - with practically identical proportions - with Czechoslovakia,

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<sup>x</sup> See: Jakab Z. - Losonczi I.: Importműsorok a képernyőn 1962-73. MCRC., 1973 (mimeo)



Hungary, and the G.D.R., altogether with about 13%. During the surveyed period, the examined television organizations screened programmes from altogether 26 countries, not including coproductions with foreign countries.

However, considerable differences can be seen in the different countries of the region with regard to the import orientation. /See Table 3./

With regard to the ratio of the import structure, the non-representative character of the surveyed period undoubtedly showed its effect. For example, in the Hungarian programme imports; usually the ratio of programmes produced by the European socialist countries is much higher, almost half of all programme imports. At the same time, it is obvious that the television market of the surveyed countries can hardly be considered a closed market surrounded by protectionist bastions.

Table 1

Breakdown of programmes according to categories and countries  
/percentage/

| Programme category                       | BTV  | CSTV  | DDRTV | MTV  | STV   |
|--|------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| Informative                              | 28.5 | 21.2  | 17.7  | 16.4 | 29.4  |
| Educational                              | 7.6  | 13.0  | 8.5   | 21.0 | 14.3  |
| Cultural                                 | 12.7 | 12.0  | 7.6   | 17.7 | 15.3  |
| Juvenile                                 | 12.2 | 8.3   | 9.1   | 7.1  | 5.3   |
| Entertainment                            | 38.2 | 41.4  | 56.7  | 34.3 | 35.6  |
| Others /commercial<br>and miscellaneous/ | 0.7  | 4.1   | 0.4   | 3.4  | 0     |
| Total                                    | 99.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 99.99 |

Table 2

The proportion of imported programmes in the schedule,  
in peak viewing time, according to countries  
/percentage/

|                               | BTV  | CSTV | DDRTV | MTV  | STV  |
|-------------------------------|------|------|-------|------|------|
| Complete schedule             | 27.4 | 23.8 | 30.3  | 26.5 | 8.1  |
| Peak viewing time<br>schedule | 20.7 | 24.9 | 39.4  | 35.2 | 17.7 |

Table 3

Imported programmes according to their sources and  
countries /percentage/

|                                 | BTV  | CSTV  | DDRTV | MTV  | STV   |
|---------------------------------|------|-------|-------|------|-------|
| European socialist<br>countries | 68.7 | 49.5  | 50.9  | 15.5 | 29.6  |
| Other socialist countries       | -    | 1.6   | -     | -    | 6.4   |
| Western Europe                  | 29.4 | 39.2  | 45.3  | 67.6 | 55.3  |
| North America                   | -    | 4.3   | 3.8   | 16.8 | 5.6   |
| Other countries                 | 1.8  | 5.4   | -     | -    | 3.1   |
| Total                           | 99.9 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 99.9 | 100.0 |

*Erzsébet Szilágyi*

## **The Reception of the TV Series "Hospital in the Outskirt of the City"**

According to professional literature, the most important factors of the success of a film series include the epic manner of editing, and the introduction of everyday situations and conflicts in a simplified manner. These factors - demands and attitudes towards the film series - develop in the viewers over a period of long years, under the impact of values, ideals and norms transmitted by various institutions. Literary knowledge acquired in the school influences the effect, as well as the knowledge and taste gained from the cinema, television, radio and so on. The structure of the favourite novels, their themes, the behaviour of the favourite heroes and the value structure operate as a pattern in the perception of the structure, theme and heroes of a new film series.

Most of these films do not undertake to reveal the laws of reality, but - similarly to the fable or the best-sellers - to depict certain myths, stereotypes or "drama".

"From the point of psychological effect, a best-seller is merely an intellectual consumer product. As such, it can be primitively stimulating, or defined spine-chilling, but its effect, similarly to all stimulants - is transitory. Therefore, its moderate "consumption" is never harmful, but it is explicitly pleasant, for it brings relaxation. Its existence is based on this special function: on entertainment. In this connection, one could risk saying that with regard to its impact, a best-seller is not pseudo-literature, but different literature. Its presence can only be understood in the

reading material of those whose taste is refined and whose aesthetic evaluation is precise and correct. It also follows that people should not be warned against best-sellers, but they have to be taught the appropriate "consumption", and they have to be enabled to recognize, although they hold a book in their hands, what they read is not necessarily literature /art/, but it can be something else."<sup>x</sup>

These factors concerning literary best-sellers, differing from literature /art/ in its character and psychological effect, are identical with the characteristics of TV film series and with the characteristics of its impact on the broadest strata of television viewers.

#### An unambiguous success

Literary best sellers and tv-series are characterized not only by their effect on the broadest strata, but also by the fact that in many cases, their success steps beyond the frontiers of the country. The "Hospital in the outskirts of the city" made in 1977 was a similar success. The 13 part Czechoslovak series acquired major success not only domestically, but also in the F.R.G., therefore, the television networks of the two countries cooperated in 1980 and produced 7 more episodes depicting the further life of the hospital staff.

The film series was bought by Austria, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, China, Cuba, Poland, Hungary, the G.D.R., and the F.R.G., Romania and Switzerland, and success followed it everywhere; the leading characters became the favourites of television viewers.

Hungarian Television scheduled the 13 episodes of the "Hospi-

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<sup>x</sup>Simon Zoltán: Lektürolvasás Magyarországon. In: Az olvasás anatómiája. Szociológiai tanulmányok. Gondolat, Budapest 1982.

tal on the outskirts of the city" in peak viewing time, on Tuesday evenings between July and October 1982. The viewing index of the first 6 episodes was 71.5%, the following parts 78.7%, which meant that a gradual "tuning in" occurred. The number of viewers alternated between 4,720,000 and 6,560,000. The lowest viewing number refers to the first, and the highest to the 10th and 13th episodes.

As we wanted to know more about the reasons for this success, in addition to the data provided by the national monitoring service, after the screening of the 13th episode we sent special questionnaires to the viewers involved in the national survey. In this, we also printed the title of 6 other film series, in order to survey what place the "Hospital on the outskirts of the city" took among the film series of the recent past, which acquired major or medium success.

Most people saw one or more parts of the British "Onedin Line" and the West German "It's not always caviare" (97.2%). These were followed by the "Hospital on the outskirts of the city" (94.6%), the West German "Buddenbrook House" (87.2%), and the Hungarian "District 78" (85.2%) and another Hungarian series "The sea" (75.4%). Those who saw all the episodes appeared to the largest extent among the viewers of the leading 3 series, and the least among the viewers of "The sea" and the "Buddenbrook House".

Although the Onedin Line and It's not always caviare were viewed by more people, the Czechoslovak film series appealed to most of the interviewees, which in our opinion was not only the result of the more recent experience, but because the themes, the everyday situations, the personality and value order of the characters stood nearer to the viewers. Its humanist message, the relationship between patients and doctors, which affects everyone, provided more opportunity for an identification with the characters.

## Values

The most important field of values in this series contains the sense of vocation, professional abilities, and medical ethics. At the traumatological surgery, the values take effect, organized in a strict order. In the film, the leading surgeon, Sova, is the best specialist, he is the one who most concentrates on work, and considers the interests of the patients in the first place. His deputy, Štrosmajer, is also a surgeon of exceptional abilities. There is one thing in which they differ, and this is their belief in the order of the world. The chief surgeon firmly believes in the effect of declared values, he always strives to correct the faulty mechanisms and is always just. He is slightly similar to the wise king of the fairy tales, who always decides and acts in the name of a higher, superpersonal order of values.

His deputy Štrosmajer does not believe in the effect of the officially declared values; moreover, he knows - and he gives voice to this - that the world is controlled by intrigue, human weaknesses, and the prestige of power, etc., and nobody is able to put an end to this. Therefore, his aim is not the correction of faulty mechanisms, but to decently carry out his work and help others.

Štrosmajer does not keep a distance from the others, he submerges in the "hell" of everyday life, and his particularly sceptic and absurd humour and life interpretation contain the rationality of the characters in the Czech new wave films, moreover, of Švejk - seeing everything from the reverse side. If Sova is the "wise king" - Štrosmajer is the "wise clown". Sova decides, acts and gives instructions as if his belief and his person were a sufficient guarantee for the implementation of humanist values and justice in his "realm" - the traumatological surgery. The constant grumbling, sceptic humour and problem-formulating attitude

of the "wise clown" open up a gap on the imperturbability of the "wise king" making him aware of what he has to notice<sup>3</sup>, without causing the collapse of the myth of the just "realm".

The second field of values in the film series contained the personality values, mainly determined by age. At the traumatological surgery<sup>2</sup>, high level professional skill<sup>3</sup>, wisdom, and the accurate recognition of the world's connections concur with age, which is also the basis for correct decisions and for the possibility of correct acts<sup>4</sup>, for the older generation. The case is different with regard to the younger ones. They take the positive or negative pole, according to whether they are willing to accept the "wise king" or the "wise clown". The younger doctors and nurses struggle with a number of professional and private problems<sup>4</sup>, they "stumble", then they take their place in the hierarchy<sup>1</sup>, which operates according to a strict conventional order of values.

The third field of values included the values of private life, the relationship between child and parent<sup>2</sup>, orientation to success and career, and the relationship between men and women<sup>2</sup>, the introduction of which is rich and multifarious - although rarely motivated -; that was also a condition for success. In the relationship between parent and child, the parents /Sova and Strosmajer/ are always more clever<sup>3</sup>, because of the effectuation of the earlier analyzed age values<sup>1</sup>, they always see more of the essence than their children and this results in more than a few conflicts. The orientation for career and success is positive /Alžběta<sup>3</sup>, Karel and Blažej/<sup>1</sup>, if it refers to talented /medically able/ people. If this is missing /Cvach/ or if somebody does not acknowledge the greater skill of the older ones /Karel and Blažej/<sup>1</sup>, then the negative features come into the foreground and result in faulty decisions and deeds. The various models

in the relationship between men and women make the story, if not very modern, but contemporary, for the various types of marriages /Blažej's marriage of convenience and Karel's marriage on an intellectual basis/ are introduced together with divorce and the partnership difficulties of modern intellectual women /Danka's extra-marital child and Alžběta's falling in love with her first patient/.

The values effectuated in the reality of the film series, the polarized picture of the world, and the hierarchic order orientate according to the structure and architectural method of the tales. On reception, the associational ability of the viewers shaped by the tales - or by best-sellers - starts to operate.

### Forms

The symbols of content, which made the "Hospital in the outskirts of the city" into an intellectual consumer product, would in themselves be insufficient for the success, if their effect was not amplified by formal elements.

Two of the formal symbols are emphasized: the locations, and the frequency of the appearance of the characters.

Altogether 383 locations appeared in the 13 episodes, almost 30 settings by episodes. In our opinion, this suggests the variegation and animation of the series. The fact that 78% of the locations were set within the hospital indicates that work of feverish rhythm is carried out. But if we take the order of frequency in which the locations within the hospital appeared, then it is found that the concentration on work and the patients is not so strong, for the illustrated hospital life is carried out in the corridors, and in the doctors' room, where they do not work so much as they intrigue and chat. The other frequented location is the oper-



ating theatre. At least two operations are carried out in each episode, but in several cases this concerns the same patient. Namely, intensity and animation cover more ceaseless coming and going, than the effectuation of values in many cases. /Is it possible that the film series really reflects reality?/

The frequency of the casts' appearance indicates their importance, but not the fact whether the character was active or passive, and represented a positive value or not, from the point of view of the progress of the plot. /Soya appeared more frequently in each episode, followed by Alžběta and Strosmajer than Blazej./

### Themes

Those who returned the special questionnaire<sup>x</sup> were strongly captivated by the "Hospital in the outskirts of the city": the film was such an experience for them that they were willing to formulate their opinion. Their link was indicated by the fact that two thirds of those who saw the series watched each episode, one quarter saw each with one or two exceptions, and only 6.7% saw a few of the episodes. (Even in the latter case, it is not certain that they watched only a few episodes because of the lack of interest. Most probably this happened because of the lack of time.) On the basis of our survey, in our opinion, it can be revealed how

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<sup>x</sup> We sent out 1,126 special questionnaires, 536 /47.6%/ were returned, which based on the experience of many years can be described as satisfactory. Our sample consisted of 503 members. Blank questionnaires, as they did not provide any information, were omitted from the sample.

far the personality, the order of values of the cast of the characters and the elaboration of the various themes linked the Hungarian viewers to the world of the film series.

First we listed those who evaluated the intimate sphere, the aspirations and the life aims.

Love received a significant place in the life of 8 characters, all of them belonging to the young generation. These love relationships moved on a broad scale, because they ranged from the interest to passionate emotions through the acceptance of partnership in order to overcome loneliness. Viewers regarded the introduction of love scenes as sufficient. In this respect, we did not find any considerable difference in any demographic group.

The evaluation of the introduction of friendship was not so unambiguous, and the largest sense of dissatisfaction was caused in the viewers by the depiction of the child-parent relationship. In the series, the wise and cognizant parents /Sova and Štrosmajer/ usually have dissatisfied and naughty children, who do not find their place, either in work, friendship or partnership. This was mainly the opinion of women, people over 50, of low educational level, and those who live in villages.

The depiction of the generational conflict was strong not only within the family, but also within the hospital, and the various demographic groups considered the depiction to be satisfactory.

The viewers considered the depiction of work as satisfactory. In many cases, too much. The proportion of the latter was higher among those of low educational level, and villagers.

## Heroes

Professional literature frequently deals with the experienced determinative role of main heroes correctly depicted and possessing a conventional order of values, which could belong to the viewers. According to our earlier surveys, these are among the most important factors to become a success and this is fully understandable, for they provide the possibilities of identification, which shape the tuning onto the world of the film series in the viewers, plus the curiosity concerning the development of the story.

In the case of the "Hospital in the outskirts of the city" identification was promoted by several factors. One pole is provided by the known /experienced or experienceable/ social situations, and the other by the /target rational/ clichés of behaviour.

Sova was the most popular character of the Czech film series. When reasoning this choice, almost all of the viewers described him as the chief surgeon, or the "doctor". A type of respect developed towards him. It seemed that Sova remained the wise king of the folk tales for the viewers /a good surgeon, moreover, a good chief surgeon; worthy of absolute respect/.

The other favourite figure was Štrqsmajer, a more everyday doctor-character. His rationalism and excellent humour gave him an individual colour, which found response in the viewers. Nevertheless, Štrqsmajer did not become the favourite, because this type of humour is not so well known from Hungarian literature and films than among the Czechs.

Among the older and less educated viewers, Sova's success in the rating of favourites is much stronger than among those under 30, with higher education, and living in Budapest. In

the latter groups; the camp of those who favour Štrosmajer grew to a considerable extent, for example; among university graduates, there is a 50:50 choice between Sova and Štrosmajer. Perhaps this also indicates that these groups know the Czech new wave films and Svejtk's humour better, and on the other hand, not only the fictitiousness of the film series and the declared values were important, but also the indirect messages, together with the missing values concealed by the surface, most of which were reflected by the sceptic wisdom of Štrosmajer.

From among the characters of the film series, only a few were less appreciated than the two "key" doctor characters. In addition, the negative emotions towards the non-appreciated figures were not always strong, because the viewers appreciated the story, the plot itself, they were interested in the life of the entire community, they looked forward to the continuation of the internal events of the group of doctors and nurses /including both the good and bad characters/.

While the sympathy ranking was led by the older and wise characters, the ranking which expressed empathy was headed by young or middle aged characters, searching /and not finding/ their place. One of them /Cvach/ was negatively evaluated with regard to all fields of values, and the other /Blažej/ was not considered completely negative, because he was perfect from the aspect of professional expertise and sense of vocation, even if many human weaknesses dominated his personality.

### Domestic impact

Czechoslovak viewers saw the first 13 episodes of the film series in the Prague Television two years earlier, between May and December 1978.

The viewing index of the series moved over 90%. The outstanding success was indicated not only by the high viewing rating, but also by the appreciation indices. According to many years of experience, the value (in the Czechoslovak measurement system) over plus 7 indicates success, and over plus 8 - explosive success. The satisfaction coefficient of the "Hospital in the outskirts of the city" was plus 8.1.

Thus, in its homeland the film series was a unanimous success, and similarly to Hungary it became the example of a success pattern.

A study based on the letters of the public was prepared about the reception by the Czechoslovak public, which analyzed the success factors in more detail. After the screening of the 13 episodes, a conversation was carried out with the producers of the series, then the editor-presenter of the programme invited the viewers to write their opinion about the film series. Altogether, 1,450 letters were sent to the Prague Television, out of which 813 were used as the basis of the research. Dr. Mruzek Oldřich and his team analyzed every 4th letter, namely, 202, from various points of view.

The selected letters were mainly written by women (59.9%), Czechs (89.6%), and the older generation (the average age was 51.5).

According to the letters, the hospital milieu and the illustration of the life of the medical community most attracted the Czechoslovak viewers. Three times more positive features were emphasized than negative.

The Czechoslovak viewers also regarded professional abilities, positive and human values and person faculties as the most important in the film series. If we enumerate the different

positive points of the ranking and based on them, deduct the most appreciated characters, then we find a difference in the sympathy ranking of Hungarian and Czechoslovak viewers. In fact, humour, goodwill towards people, a realistic view of life, identification with work, expertise, honesty, responsibility towards reality, justice and work (84.6% of the positive features), can be found in the figure of Štrosmajer. Goodwill towards people, identification with work, expertise, the calm solving of problems, honesty, justness, modesty, and self-criticism (68.4% of the positive features) are characteristic of Sova.

The rating of the least appreciated characters compiled according to the negative features tallies with that gained from the Hungarian viewers. Greed, vanity, careerism, intrigue, hypocrisy, superficiality, egoism and rudeness (87% of the negative features) characterize Cvach. Vanity, careerism, passion, indiscriminating love, hypocrisy, superficiality and egoism (80.8% of the negative features) are characteristic of Blažej.

The most important common concomitants of the Hungarian and Czechoslovak success of the "Hospital in the outskirts of the city" are the following: hospital milieu, the illustrated life of doctors and patients, the accurately proportioned themes in the different episodes (love, friendship, generation gap, child-parent relationship, work and career), the sufficiently manysided introduction of the two main heroes (Sova and Štrosmajer), who provided ideals for the general public, and who were realistically orientated in everyday situations, and finally, excellent acting.

While among the general success factors (e.g. hospital milieu, everyday life situations) we found roughly complete identity, the ranking of the most sympathetic characters

showed a deviation. In Hungary, the "wise king" was better appreciated, in Czechoslovakia the "wise clown". At first sight this is perplexing and it seems as if Hungarian viewers were more respectful than our neighbours. Even if this presumption was correct in some cases, other reasons explain the differing preference. In Czechoslovakia in addition to the more broadly known and preferred sceptic humour, the actor, Miloš Kopecký, playing Dr. Štrosmajer, is extremely popular. And we should not forget that the familiarity, not only with the actors, but with the locations (Bor, Tyniště and Prague, etc.) promoted association more with everyday life than with the fictitiousness of the film series.

## CROSS—SECTION

*Mária Vásárhelyi*

### Access to the Electronic Media in Hungary

A study written in this field in 1973<sup>+</sup> analyzed the supply of radio and television sets, and concentrated its attention primarily on the quantitative changes. The centre of the question was still the pace of the acquisition and spread of the first sets, and there was a significant ratio of those who did not possess a radio and/or television set. Today, the central question of such an analysis is the qualitative consumption, namely, who has the opportunity to buy the more modern means of mass communication, and differentiation can primarily be interpreted along these qualitative indices. At the same time, the stratum must not be forgotten, which is low in percentage, but numerically amounts to six digits, and which still has no radio and/or television.

#### Radio sets

During our survey (1981) 98% of the adult population possessed radio sets. Since the various types of radio sets presume different listening customs and mean a different quality of access, the analysis examined the supply with sets along this dimension.

In 1981, 57% of the population had one, and 7% two or more table radio sets. The analysis gathered about the stock of table radios was made more difficult, because of the heterogeneous composition of the stock: we considered the primitive

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<sup>+</sup>András Szekfü; *Eszközellátottság és használat*. MCRC 1973.



"folk radio" of the 1950s as a table radio, as well as the most up-to-date stereo sets. However, these two types of sets and the connected listening customs are so far from each other, that the static data of the stock mean very little. Therefore, it would be better to draw valid conclusions from the dynamics of the change in the stock. On this basis, we can ascertain that while in its entirety there was a reduction in the proportion of those who possess table radios within the population, an internal restratification process could be observed among those who possess such a type of radio. In 1972, the youngest age group, under 30, possessed the least table radios, and this is understandable, because the beginning of the 1970s was the peak of the pocket and portable radio fashion, while today members of this stratum who live in Budapest and in provincial towns possess the largest number of table radios. It can be presumed that in the future these sets will acquire an even greater role, because today, when the overwhelming majority of the adult population possess a radio, and a considerable part of them have more than one, the quantitative demands will gradually be replaced by qualitative ones, and these can primarily be satisfied by domestic produced table sets. At the same time, the higher standard table radios - presumably - will put the cultural and entertainment function of the radio into the foreground.

Today, one smiles at the "typical youngster" of the beginning of the 1970s, who strolled along the street carrying his portable radio, because while at that time, the possession of a portable or pocket radio was a status symbol among young people, today the fashion is the small, "walkman"-type tape-recorder carried in the pocket and listened to through stereo earphones. These sets will lose their status symbol character, and will function as they were intended: a more mobile form of listening, within and outside the home. At the same time, the lower prices will also make them accessible for layers of lower income.

During the year of the survey, 56% of the population had one and 28% two or more portable radios. While in 1972, the possession of such a set could be described with layer specific criteria, because mostly young people and intellectuals possessed such a set, today these limits are becoming faded and there is hardly any social stratum whose supply would significantly differ from other strata.

Since the stock or car radios is decisively connected with the increased number of car owners, and the analysis of this surpasses the scope of the present article, we can only indicate the pace of the stock increment with one figure: while the ratio of car radio owners was 7% in 1977, the same ratio increased to 14% by 1981.

The above shows that today the various types of portable and pocket radios are most popular. 75% of those who own a table radio also have a portable radio. At the same time, only 56% of those who possess a portable radio own a table radio. 9% of the radio set owners have a table, a portable and a car radio as well.

#### The quality of the stock of sets

In 1981, altogether 52% of the adult population owned a set with a VHF band. If we survey the stock of sets with a VHF band over the past 15 years, then a not too rapid, but yearly increasing change in the stock can be observed: between 1967 and 1981 the supply of such sets increased from 18% to 52%. The ownership of such types of sets is strongly differentiated alongside the social-demographic characteristics included in the survey. The best supplied layer includes intellectuals under 40 living in Budapest, while the least supplied layer includes people over 50 living in provincial towns and villages. Obviously the listed data also carry the differentiating role of income.

In 1977, the Mass Communication Research Centre for the first time examined - with a national representative sample - what percentage of the population owns a radio suitable for stereo reception. As compared to the 4% of that time, today 28% of the adult population own such a set. However, this does not mean that so many people listen to their radio in stereo mode, because in 1977 one third of those who owned such a set did not listen to the radio stereo programmes, many of them used the stereo amplifier with their taperecorder or record player. The ownership of a stereo radio is also a strong stratum specific criterion. The description of the best supplied layer tallies with that of the owners of sets with a VHF band. The strongest differentiating factor here is the per capita income, which is understandable, because the price of a good quality set with the necessary accessories - in domestic supply - is much higher than e.g. that of a black and white large screen television set. However, it is remarkable that the age breakdown shows that young people possess such sets to the largest extent. It seems that this generation is willing to spend more on electronic media even if their income level is lower than that of the next generation. The order of necessity in their life gives priority to quality radio or music listening, in contrast to other necessities, which are preferred by the older age groups.

#### Who has no radio today?

In 1981, only 1.9% of the adult population did not own a radio, and about 1% did not possess either a radio or television set. This ratio - of course - cannot be termed high, because 10 years ago the ratio of those who did not possess a radio set was almost 10% and those who did not possess either of the electronic media was 5%.

If we analyze the socio-demographic composition of that 1.9% more thoroughly, then we find that most of those who have no

radio set belong to a few social layers and within these layers their ratio is much higher than the above one, and we also find that the majority of those who have no radio set belong to the most deprived, poorest and most lonely layers of society. 4.2% of retired people living in villages, within this 9% of those over 70, 6.4% of retired people with a pension under 2,000 forints, 7.3% of widowed people and 27% of aged, uneducated people do not possess a radio set. Examining the internal breakdown of those without a radio, the contour becomes even stronger: 44% of them are over 70, 67% live in villages or on remote farms, 71% belong to the inactive layers, 76% did not complete the 8 grades of general school, and 66% of them have less than 2,000 forints per capita income. 1.9% in fact is a slight proportion compared to the population of the country. So much so that we do not even pay attention to it. But if instead of 1.9% we say 150,000 people whose majority live isolated and who would have a high need for the radio as a source of information and as a companion, then this figure has a much larger significance. Half of these people do not have a television set either. For these old people of low income, who cannot help themselves, because their income hardly covers the expenses of their livelihood - 400 or 500 forints for a pocket radio is an impermissible luxury. In a social extent, this is not such a high number that society could not help to overcome their loneliness, providing them with a radio set, opening a window onto the world.

### Television sets

While in 1972, altogether 29% of the adult population did not possess a television set, this decreased to 7% by 1981. The same factors influence the access to television sets as that to the radio, although - understandably - the size of the per capita income has a bigger role than with the previous. At the same time, the other indices concerning social stratification, included in the analysis, do not influence the sup-

ply over a certain level of income. Families where the per capita income is higher than 2,000 forints a month are practically supplied with television sets. However, where the income remains below the above level, the indices are sharply separated according to residence, age and occupation.

After the rapid increase of the initial period, naturally, the pace of increment slowed down, because we are nearing the stage of saturation. However, it is worthwhile surveying the supply of the different social layers over the past ten years. The pace of increment was most powerful in those layers, which in 1972 were far behind the average level of access. This is understandable, since they had the most to overcome. However, it is a fact that by today the active layers are practically levelled in this respect, for even among the agricultural manual workers, who were worse supplied in 1972, at present the supply is 95%, though ten years ago only every third household had a television set. In 1981, altogether 97% of the active population possessed a television set. At the same time, the access of pensioners and inactive people to television is only 87% and their backlog seems to be insurmountable under the present price conditions. The reason for this is - as it was mentioned when speaking about the access to radio sets - that this is exactly the layer where social deprivation appears in accumulated manner and which has no opportunity to prosper.

Let us survey the characteristics with which we could describe the camp of those who have no television set, 60% of them are women, 63% have less than 2,000 forints per capita income a month, 77% are pensioners or other inactive people, 71% did not complete the 8 grades of general school, 79% are older than 50, 69% live in villages or remote farms, and 47% of them live alone.

In Hungary, there are about 500,000 people who have no television set and this half a million people - as it was said

before - will not be able to buy a set from their own resources, although a television set would bring the largest qualitative change into their life, because they only make use of the forms of extra-home entertainment on the most infrequent occasions. Goodwill and social cohesion could find a solution for them. One of the possible forms of help could be the production of inexpensive "folk television" sets. Sets which do not include various price increasing and in many cases completely superfluous prestige additions /multi-channel switches, etc./ and in this manner they could be sold at a much lower price, that would make them obtainable for the mentioned layers. Regrettably, during the past ten years, no progress was made in this direction, on the contrary, the average price of television sets is increasing each year, and the assortment of prices is only expanded upward. Of course, it is a question whether the domestic industry would be able to produce a set which could be priced much lower than the level of the present offer... It seems it is a more realistic way to organize social actions, within which still operating old sets with only nominal prices in commercial turnover, would be available for those who are in need of them.

### Second sets

During the year of the survey, 16% of the Hungarian population possessed two and 1.4% three or more television sets. This means that every sixth adult citizen possesses more than one set. Naturally, this is not so evenly divided within the population. Ten years ago, the ratio of those who did not possess a second set was statistically immeasurable, and during the past ten years, as it was indicated by the above data, the presence of the second sets became significant even on national level. The acquisition of these still shows an unchanged ratio of increment. The financial possibilities placed an upper limit on this process; and if

we compare the prices of television sets and the present level of incomes, then it can be presumed that families with lower than average income will not buy second sets in large numbers. Examining the case according to age breakdown, the age group between 30 and 49 possess the most second sets (19% of them have two or more television sets), followed by the age group between 50 and 69. Within the youngest adult generation, it is a rare phenomenon when a family has more than one television set, presumably partly because of financial reasons, and partly because in their life television has no such outstanding role in spending leisure time than within the older age groups, and the younger ones more frequently find entertainment outside their home. This hypothesis seems to be indicated by the fact that in contrast to the other data of access, exactly young people in Budapest possess the least second sets, while it is a fact that people living in the capital have the most opportunity to spend their leisure time outside their home. This also explains that while intellectuals considerably surpass those belonging to other groups of occupation with regard to access to the mass media; among the Budapest residents skilled and semi-skilled workers possess the most second sets, only followed by the households of intellectuals. All this seems to indicate that in addition to the financial references with regard to the second set, it also has dimensions connected with the way of life. The second television set may infer a more mobile form of life to use it during their travel, but primarily it means a strong bond with the television. Supposedly, the television is so organically integrated in the life of a significant part of those who possess a second set, that without it they would be unwilling to spend even a few days.

#### Record player

In 1981 altogether 18% of the population possessed mono record players and 16% stereo record players, while 66% did not own any type of them. Although the increase of the record player

stock was not too rapid during the past few years, the internal composition of the stock changed to a considerable extent and the ratio of better quality stereo record players increased to a greater extent than the total.

The layers supplied with record players can be described in a similar way to those who possess better quality radio sets. According to age groups: the age group between 30 and 40 own the largest number of record players; the age group between 18 and 29 is only a small percentage behind them, but the composition of the record players in their possession shows a more favourable picture as they have more stereo sets than mono. The oldest age group - over 70 - own the least record players; only 10% of them. The type of residence also strongly differentiates the supply: while in Budapest 49% of the population, in provincial towns 40% and in the villages 22% own some type of set. The differentiating effect of the residence is even stronger if we examine the internal composition of the stock. Budapest residents have 3.5 times more stereo sets than those living in the villages. The analysis according to residence and age group shows that while in Budapest 60% of the best supplied layer - between 30 and 49 years of age - own a record player, only 30% of the similar age group in the villages possess one. At the same time, the youngest generation in the villages have hardly any more stereo sets than those over 70 in Budapest. Only 5% of the retired villagers have a set, and the ratio of stereo sets among these is 1.5%. The per capita income has its strongest differentiating effect in the ownership of stereo record players. There is a 25 to 30% difference between the supply of the lowest and highest income layers in all the three types of residence; at the same time, within the types of residence the difference in income - with regard to the extreme income categories in the provincial towns and villages - causes about a fourfold difference in the ratio of the stereo record player owners. With regard to the mono sets, higher income only results in a few percents



of change - with the exception of the lowest income layers, whose supply is 9% in the provincial towns and villages.

### Tape-recorders<sup>x</sup>

During the past period, the supply of tape-recorders doubled. At present two out of five people have tape recorders which means that there are such sets in the families of more than 3,000,000 adults. Taking into consideration the low supply of the older age groups it can be supposed that including children, almost 5,000,000 people have access to a tape-recorder. The expansion of the supply of tape-recorders was continuous and rapid in the past years. Based on various facts similar progress can be forecast in the future. This prognosis is supported by the fact that the supply is low in some layers (low educational level, unqualified or old people, and villagers, etc.), whose situation is highly affected by social changes - such as higher educational level and urbanization. Within the supply of sets, the ratio of stereo tape-recorders increased quicker than the total; 5 years ago 12% of the tape-recorders and in 1981 28% of them were stereo sets, but still only a 1/9th part of the adult population have a stereo tape-recorder. It seems that the tape-recorder is increasingly part of the life of the majority of the younger adult population. 57% of those under 40 have a tape-recorder, within this 15% own a stereo set. Within the age group 41 to 50 - 53%; 51 to 60 - 32% and over 60 - 17% own a tape-recorder. The ratio of the stereo sets (in the above order) is 16%, 9% and 4%. Although the increase in the supply of tape-recorders - relatively - is somewhat quicker among the lower educated layer than among the higher qualified groups, the supply according to schooling level follows the same structure as 10 years ago - at most on a higher level. At present 1/5th of those with less than 8 grades of the general school, half of the general school leavers, almost 2/3rds of those who completed their secondary studies and 3/4ths of the

x/ This part of the analysis was prepared by Miklós Tomka

university graduates possess a tape-recorder. Among the secondary and higher qualified people every third set is stereo, while only every fourth set owned by lower educated people is stereo. The differentiating effect of the residence and the per capita income results in similar tendencies as we experienced with regard to the supply with record players.

### Summary

Today the basic tendency of development could be characterized with the change which at present and also in the future will primarily occur in the number and quality of the possessed sets. At the same time, this type of progress will presumably more strongly differentiate the population. The spread of better quality sets depends, on the one hand and primarily, on financial conditions, and on the other hand, higher standard demands will play a greater role in the field of consumption. Ten years ago, social advantages and disadvantages were illustrated by who owned such sets at all, today the same can be indicated by the quality of the sets. At the same time - in my presumption - an analysis to be written in ten years time will face similar problems, because the qualitative progress will probably more slowly advance than what we have experienced in the field of basic supply. In addition - starting out from the present prices of the sets - we can estimate an increasing difference between the social strata, for the extra facilities of the better quality tape-recorders are not in proportion for the lower income strata with the conditions of saving, which the purchase of such a set requires. They would be unable to buy certain sets even if they tried to save money with all their efforts. At the same time, the high income groups engaged in a high prestige occupation buy more quality Hi-fi equipment and even if today these primarily function as prestige consumer goods, most probably they will become a general feature in the near future.

All this, however, should not conceal the problem of those who even today do not own a radio and/or a television set. The most urgent task of society in this field is to help these people.

*Róbert Tardos*

## Colour Television in Hungary

In the 1970s, the Hungarian Television started to transmit in colour. Following the years of experimental transmissions, the ratio of colour transmissions surpassed the 25% limit in 1976. Over a period of five years, colour transmission within the entire programming time rose to an overwhelming majority:

| 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981   |
|------|------|------|------|------|--------|
| 29.7 | 26.3 | 41.8 | 57.2 | 66.3 | 69.6 % |

On the side of programme offers, the path was cleared for the spreading of colour television.

### Supply of sets

As it was expected from the beginning, the supply of sets was slower than the expansion of transmission. Since 1976, the ratio of colour television set owners among the adult population increased in the following manner:

| 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | 1980 | 1981 | 1982 first 6 months |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|---------------------|
| 0.6  | 1.4  | 2.4  | 5.7  | 6.7  | 7.7  | 10.0 %              |

The increase was gradual - annually 1-2 per cent. The leap in 1978-1979 may have been due to the purchasing fever following the general price increases in the summer of 1979, while the 1981-1982 increase indicates the relatively significant expenditure in 1981, and the OTP (National Savings Bank) credit purchase system, which at that time was available.

The above data can be supplemented with statistical data concerning the retail turnover of colour sets; from 1975 until the end of the first 6 months of 1982, somewhat more than 230,000 colour television sets were sold. It should be added that the number of sets imported from abroad (not through commercial channels) or those sent by relatives cannot be ignored. (For a period, colour television sets were in short supply, and had a waiting list.) Until 1981, sales were gradually increased - parallel with production - but in the first six months of 1982, only the same amount of sets were sold as in the corresponding period of the previous year, although the commercial network had serious expectations with regard to the World Cup coverage. Obviously, the stoppage of the credit purchase system was not an insignificant circumstance.

At present, about one million people in Hungary have the opportunity to watch television at home in colour. To evaluate this figure, a comparison should be made with the experiences concerning the supply of black and white television sets, and on the other hand, the spread of colour television abroad.

In Hungary, the supply of black and white sets underwent a rapid upswing even on an international comparison. With regard to the first seven or eight years, about 100 subscribers per 1,000 inhabitants approached the data of the F.R.G., the Netherlands and Austria (in their first seven-eight years), preceding, for example, Belgium, France and Switzerland. During the first four years of introduction, the increase in the number of black and white sets did not significantly surpass the later increase in the supply of colour television sets. However, in the next three or four years the spread of black and white sets was much more dynamic than that of the colour television sets (by 1965, the national (B & W) supply amounted to 30%, among intellectuals 60%, and among workers 45%). The West European upswing in colour television started

during the boom at the beginning of the 1970s. The increase in supply in general did not lag behind that of the black and white television sets, and in certain cases surpassed that. By 1980, the percentage of colour sets in Western Europe varied between 50 and 70% in the majority of the countries (in Italy and in Spain, which started later, a rapid increase of 10% a year, ensured 30%).

For the time being, very few statistical data are available with regard to the supply of the European socialist countries with colour TV sets; however, the existing data indicate that the ratio of those who possess such sets in the Soviet Union and the G.D.R. is higher than in Hungary.

It is not necessary to expound in more detail that in these comparisons, there is a need to take into consideration the particularities connected with the period of dissemination, the production background, the price structure, living standards, social structure and so on.

### Social stratification

The determinative role of income was unambiguous from the beginning, and it seems that during the past period it essentially remained of similar strength. The access of those who belong to the upper income third was three or four times higher - both five and six years ago and now - than those who belong to the lowest third. In the initial period in the spread of colour television, the influence of other factors except the financial situation, did not become clear cut. Later, the effect of social stratification manifested itself more clearly. In 1981, the possession of a colour television set was differentiated according to schooling and domicile on the given grades of income in the following manner (in percentage).

| Income per capita | secondary school or higher graduation |                   |           | 8 grades of school or less |                   |           |
|-------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------------|-----------|----------------------------|-------------------|-----------|
|                   | Buda-pest                             | provin-cial towns | vil-lages | Buda-pest                  | provin-cial towns | vil-lages |
| Over 3,500 Ft     | 24                                    | 16                | 13        | 15                         | 9                 | 4         |
| 2,000-3,000 Ft    | 17                                    | 12                | 10        | 10                         | 7                 | 4         |
| under 2,000 Ft    | 22                                    | 11                | 5         | 5                          | 4                 | 2         |

Access within indential income levels is unambiguously reduced when we move from the capital towards the villages, and from the higher educated to the lower educated persons.

It is worthwhile looking in more detail at these characteristics, and in connection with the factor of occupation. The access of university graduates to colour sets became relatively higher in the past years than of those with secondary education. In 1981, the access value of white-collar intellectuals with colour television sets was slightly higher than that of other intellectuals, production controllers and clerical workers (14% as against 11-11%); while the ratio of set owners among the managers was much higher (31%). The intellectual groups are relatively closely followed by those skilled and semi-skilled workers who are working in the servicing industries. (It is possible that the increased access among the intellectual and manual middle strata will have an effect on the lower income groups of workers who are somewhat farther from the possibilities of the "second economy".)

The access of agricultural manual workers to colour television sets is considerably lower than that of other groups: in 1981 it was only 2%. This stratum followed the others with a several year long "phase delay" even in the field of black and white television. Consequently, the necessity to change the set - which has a considerable role in buying colour television sets - appears again with a few years delay among

them. But it can also be influenced by the position of agricultural incomes (the backlog in access increased after 1979). Naturally, the increased expenditure, which affects the villagers in general (connected with house building and the addition of comfort), also plays a role.

The durable leap of the Budapest residents is also connected with the differences in the use of income and the savings customs. Among the saving targets of the residents in the capital, the improvement of the housing condition played a lesser role in the past years - for various reasons - particularly compared to the villagers. A colour television set as a relatively obtainable, "displayable" (valuable) object, plays a certain compensatory role for a part of the residents in the capital. This is also indicated by the fact that the supply is relatively high in Budapest, even among those of lower income and schooling standards. (In addition, at the given income level, there is a negative connection with the possession of a set and the quality of the home, and with the personal aspirations concerning the improvement of the housing conditions.) Compared to the above, the differences according to age are of lesser extent, but can be well interpreted. These are particularly obvious on the medium and high income levels; since 1977 the access to colour sets of the age group between 31-40 rises above the others. This primarily covers family situations (during this period of life, parents are "tied up" because of the children, and therefore, the role of how to spend leisure time at home is particularly significant, moreover, school children also belong among those who urge this requirement; the major family investments have already been overcome to some extent by that period of life).

#### Demands and plans

In the mid-1980s, altogether 60% among the active earning age group, who did not possess a colour television set answered



that this object would not be greatly missed if they could not sooner or later acquire it. Altogether 24% of those who were interested said that they would extremely miss colour television. (For comparison: 6% of those who did not have a bathroom showed indifference to the question, while 87% announced their strong demand. The ratio of those who did not desire an automatic washing machine or a car was approximately the same as with regard to a colour television set, while the percentage was much higher - 39 and 35 - of those who said that they would extremely miss it if they could not acquire it sooner or later.)

Even if not to a large extent (about 10%) there are some among those who are more or less interested in a colour television set, who are not planning to buy it, not even in the long term. Most of those interested (42%) do not consider buying it within four or five years, only perhaps later. Within one or two years 17% and within four or five years altogether 33% plan to acquire such a set. The previous comprises 6% of the active wage earning age group, while the latter consists of 12%. In our opinion, in addition to the present number of set owners which comes to about 10%, there is a similar group of the population, which will increase the camp of colour television set owners in the coming few years.

Naturally, there are more chance elements in the opinions than in the actual purchase. This is indicated by the fact that interest in a colour television set and purchase plans, compared to the supply, can be explained to a lesser extent with the objective socio-demographic factors. (Opinions about the requirement and plans to purchase a colour television set are generally less defined and less clear cut than with regard to other objects.) Understandably, the number one influencing factor of interest and requirement is the financial situation. In addition, the sexes also play

a role in this: based on the acquired data, men are more interested in purchasing a colour television set in the future. On the identical plane of the financial situation, the difference in the interest according to the types of settlement tends to move towards the countryside: the lower supply in the villages is not caused by an initially refusing attitude.

Among the subjective opinion-like factors, there is a connection between the price of a television set and interest in it. Those who find a colour television set too expensive, show less interest in it. And this was the opinion of the overwhelming majority of the interviewees: 83% answered in this manner (while in the case of a car, which is more expensive in absolute value, the percentage of answers was 77, with regard to travel abroad 61, and in the case of an automatic washing machine 56%).

The main explanatory factor of ideas and plans of purchase was also the financial situation. At a given income level - if the requirement already existed - manual workers formulated short-term intentions. In addition to the supply, the plans also include the family factor: the influence of the number of children.

Is a colour television set a luxury asset? According to the survey data, for a significant part of the population it is. In 1980, altogether 65% of the active earners qualified it as a luxury article, while 20% considered it a natural possession. At a given grade of supply, this evaluation is natural to some extent. (True enough, an automatic washing machine, which is also infrequent, was considered more natural than a luxury.) However, the question is how this opinion will change, when the supply is increasing. During the survey in the autumn of 1982, 59% of the corresponding age group described it as a luxury and 24% as a natural

possession. Consequently, some shift can be observed, although this is not much higher than the increase in supply (the possessors of the sets obviously consider the acquisition as a more natural thing). The connections of the survey indicate that when qualifying a colour television set as a luxury article, this is not so much due to value aspects and moral scruples, but to economic considerations (the burden of the family budget, the requirement of financial security, and the perspectives and insecurity of the economic future). No indication is needed to prove that, under the deteriorating economic circumstances, the role of these factors can only grow.

Most probably the rapid spread of colour television sets is not a vital issue, nevertheless, it cannot be described as completely indifferent whether the supply will increase to at least the same ratio as up to now. An earlier study by the Mass Communication Research Centre, connected with black and white television sets, outlined the significant burden on the family budget, and the high prices on an international comparison. This is even more applicable with regard to a colour television set: the relative set price - compared to the income of the population - comes in several countries only to a fraction of the Hungarian prices.

Most probably the possibilities to decrease the prices are limited by circumstances, such as the obtainable size of the series, cooperational and import conditions, and the limitations on foreign currency, etc. Credit purchase and loans play a similarly important role in this. Even the partial rescinding of the 1982 loan stoppage may have an enlivening effect on demand. This also raises the question: could certain financial solutions and mechanisms be developed, which with the co-ordination of the interests of the concerned parties (producers, sellers, loan providers and consumers) would bring about sensible forms of loans and credit purchase?

## PUBLIC OPINION

### Opinions and Prejudice about the Aged

Sociological research about old age is still inclined to only discuss the financial, socio-political or health problems of this age. The increasing ratio of lonely and aimless old people recently attracted attention to the psychic hazard, which may be of the same importance for old people as their financial or health difficulties. Its moderation can never become a sole task of socio-political and health institutions, but an all social assignment, the solution of which mainly depends on the willingness of the younger generations to increase their tolerance towards the aged.

This willingness of the younger generations is not only shaped by the experiences in the cohabitation of the generations and the burdens of supplying and caring for the elderly, but also by the values and prejudices connected with old people, including many which are rooted in the past.

Sayings and proverbs from the past reveal a good deal about the experiences of the era, and about the samples of life style, in which one of the main characteristics of the manner of living was the "large family", cohabitation with the old people in a close family bond. If we examine this from the point of view whether they were "pro-old" or "anti-old" then we find a 50:50 proportion. But because the "large family" which as an independent production unit entrusted their elders with important tasks and functions - this duality appeared in the value judgements, that had a single, unified, and well defined viewpoint, namely, the use or useless of old people.

One of the most significant changes in our life is that gradually the family ceased to function as a production unit, simultaneously the families nuclearized, which was also indicated by the increased number of households. Today, there are approximately 4 million households in Hungary. In most of them, people of different age groups live together, but almost one fifth of them consist of senior citizens, and more than half of them are single people.

We presume that this basic change in the manner of life contributes to the fact that - as it was illustrated by the result of a national poll - the duality and ambivalent character of our values and prejudices concerning old people still prevail, but its basis, use and uselessness, underwent a considerable change.

Various positive "pro-old" emotions prevail in our public opinion. They show that we are willing to appreciate the values of the old, to respect and love the aged. According to 93% of the adult population over 18 "adult children are obliged to support their aged parents", according to 92% "old people provide significant help in the household and in the care for children", according to 85% "family life only gains with sharing the everyday happiness and problems with the grandparents", according to 71% "old people are unselfish, they are always willing to sacrifice all their assets for their children", and according to 59% "they deserve more respect".

However, according to the answers, today the appropriate framework and conditions are often missing to implement and practice these positive attitudes. Many people would not like to live together with their old parents, even if housing conditions would be suitable (56%), particularly because the younger generations live according to different life style patterns and this would result in contradictions. Many

people experienced it (or are worried) that the constant presence of the grandparents does not have a beneficial effect on the children. In general, a major complaint against old people is that they "interfere with the life of the younger ones" - this was the opinion of 70% of the interviewees.

As young people are working during the day, even if they make time to look after the old ones (washing, cooking, and eventual nursing) they have no time for "intimate chats" and a joint pastime. In this way, it is an increasingly general opinion that even old people living with the family suffer from loneliness and the sense of superfluity. (Perhaps this is the reason that there is much more tolerance today in judging the search for mates and the satisfaction of sexual desires by old people, than a few decades ago. According to 80% of the interviewees "old people have the right to love": those who find their mate at an old age - at least in the psychic sense - are not a burden on the neck of the family.)

Proverbs from old times also suggest that good physical and intellectual abilities and noble human qualities can remain for a long time - even to the very end of human life - if there is no interruption in the intergenerational cooperation. However, according to our present experiences, many people become tired and worn out by the time of their retirement. Almost one quarter of the interviewees regard the present retirement age as being too late, mostly reasoning that people become too tired by that time to actively participate in the family affairs.

Helplessness and impotency bring a considerable big proportion of negative, sometimes almost unjust opinions onto the surface. For example, according to one third of the interviewees "old people do not need that much help as they say", according to 41% "they are not willing to accept that they have to give their place to the younger ones", according to

48% "they would like to be followed in everything". Negative opinions occasionally intensify to frustration. When we asked what would be the solution to ease the loneliness and the sense of uselessness in old people who live in families or alone - some recommended "to settle them in the provinces", and "to let them live together in their own company". /It is another question that a flexible network of institutions, which in addition to certain care would provide some occupation and fill the life of old people with content, would in fact be necessary./

The other side of the coin is that we - ourselves - are not consciously preparing for old age and for life in retirement. Our retired interviewees explained that they had no special plans, mostly they dreamt about the ideal "peaceful and relaxed life" when they thought about their future old age, which then did not develop the way they would have liked it, because of the lack of money, or because of family or health reasons. The same characterizes the middle generation (40-50 years old) for whom the retirement age is in the foreseeable future.

Both the tolerance towards old people and the more realistic and more conscious preparation for old age should be promoted by the dissemination of knowledge, publicity, and mass communication - which at present primarily emphasize the problems and difficulties of old age - if they discuss these questions in a more differentiated manner and on more levels. In addition to unveiling the social and health problems of old people, it would be very necessary for the younger generations to learn that the preservation of the abilities and health of old people, and the lengthening of their life is part of the preservation of our general human values, and also that a more full-bodied old age requires certain initiatives and more planned and conscious preparations.

Edit S. Molnár

## „Poor” and „Wealthy”

After an interval of ten years, we again surveyed the image of the groups situated on the two extreme poles of society, namely, of the number, financial circumstances and composition of - using everyday terminology - the wealthy and poor.

According to the majority of the population (95%) there are wealthy people in Hungary today, and according to four fifths (83%) there are poor people too; the existence of the latter is not admitted by 14% of the interviewees. In 1973, 20% said that there are no longer wealthy or poor people. The present higher ratio confirmation of the existence of the two marginal groups is most probably due to the fact that the stagnation of the living standards and personal financial situation, or in the case of certain strata the considerable deterioration of living standards made the members of society more sensitive to recognize social groups that strikingly differ from the average.

According to the estimation of the people, 17.6% of the country's population are rich, and 21.3% are poor. (Those with lower educational level estimate the ratio of both groups higher than the average.) Among those who attempted to estimate the number of both groups within the population, the following picture developed about the ratio of wealthy and poor: according to 26% there are equal numbers of wealthy and poor, according to one third of them (31%) there are more rich and according to 43% there are more poor people in the country.



On the average, people set the limit of 5,938 forints and 1,361 forints per capita above which or under which a family can be described as wealthy or poor. The previous sum is about 2.3 times higher than the available per capita income data for the population, and the latter is half of it. (The higher somebody's per capita income, age, and educational level, the higher the sum in which he marked the threshold of wealth or poverty.) The outlined sums indicate that according to the idea of people "wealth" is coupled with higher income than "to live without problems" (3,848 forints), while poverty is coupled with a lower income than with "one can just manage" (1,741 forints).

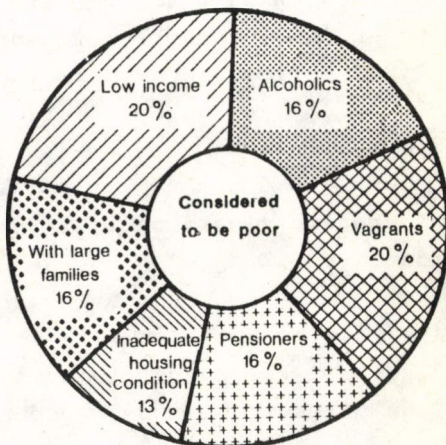
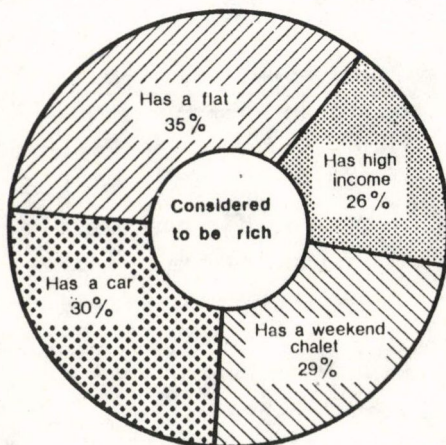
Wealth and poverty are much more complex social phenomena than to be able to characterize them with the extent of the available income. When defining the rich or the poor, the population not only speaks about high or low incomes, but the possession of material assets, living standards and numerous elements of the manner of life, about affiliation to social and occupational groups, about the acceptance or violation of social moral norms.

Similarly to the survey ten years earlier, those people are considered wealthy who have a flat (35% of the interviewees mentioned this), a car (30%), a weekend chalet or plot (29%) and high income (26%). While in 1973, the interviewees frequently referred to occupational categories when describing the wealthy, in 1982 that was only sporadic; thus the mentioning of the intellectuals dropped from 29% to 6%, of the managers from 13% to 6%, and of the private entrepreneurs from 17% to 10%.

The picture which developed about the poor did not change during the decade. Those are poor who, on the one hand, have a low income (20%), large families (16%), inadequate home

(13%), or are pensioners (16%). On the other hand, those who violate the social - moral norms, for example who are vagrants (20%) and alcoholics (16%).

### "Poor" and "wealthy"



Lajos Géza Nagy

## Savings

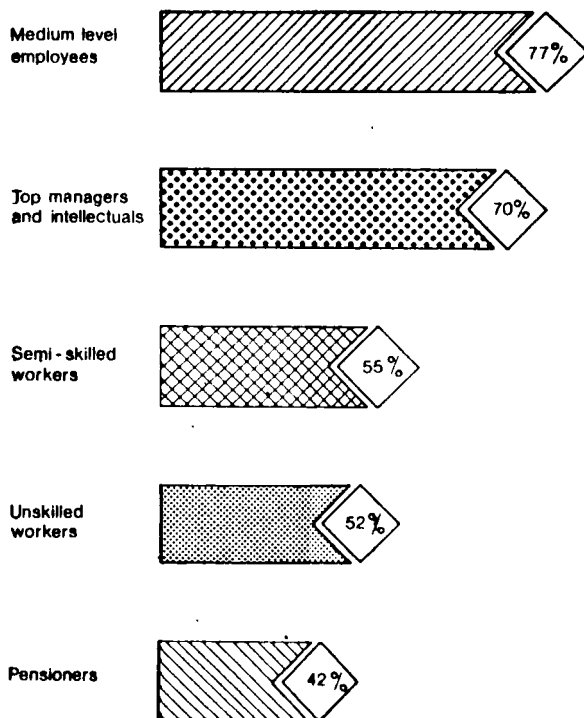
During a survey of the opportunities and customs of savings, 61% of the interviewees said that they customarily save a certain part of their income. Saving customs are strongly influenced by the per capita income: only 44% of those with under 2,000 forints per capita income and 57% of the 2,000-2,800 forints per capita income can save something, while 69% of those who have more than 2,800 forint per capita income.

There are significant differences in the savings customs of families, depending on the number of children. While families with one child can save more than the average national ratio (71%), the families with two children save according to the national average, families bringing up three or more children can save only under the national average (41%).

Young people are saving to the largest proportion, most (75%) are between 18-24', while the least (51%) are over 50.

Most of the medium level qualified employees answered that they save (77%); 70% of the top managers and of intellectuals regularly save a certain amount, and the proportions are similar among skilled workers, agricultural manual workers, and clerical employees. In the household of unskilled and semi-skilled workers, the ratio of savers is 55% and 52%, while only 42% of retired citizens can save minor or major sums.

## Savings

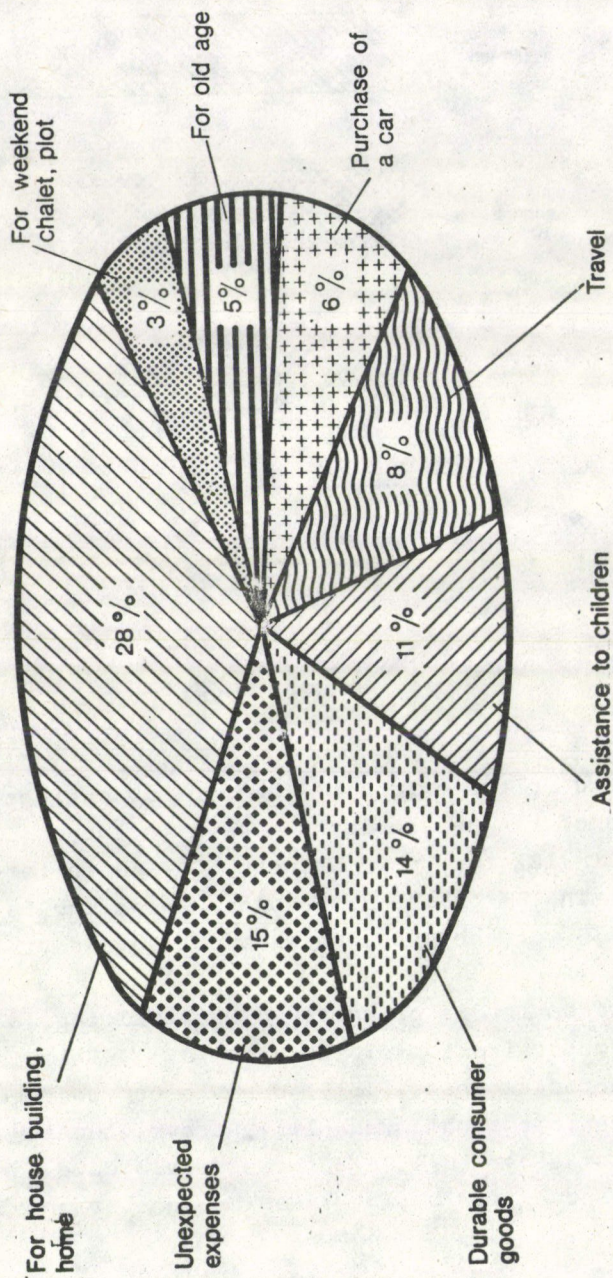


With regard to the extent of the monthly savings: less than one third of the households can save more than 500 forints a month, in 18% they save between 500-150 forints, and less than that in 15% of the households. According to their replies, 39% of the population do not save anything.

The aim of saving is primarily house building, a change of flat, or modernization of the home (28%). This is followed by unexpected expenses (15%); durable consumer goods (14%), assistance to the children (11%), travelling (8%), and the purchase of a car (6%). 5% of the people save money for their old age, and 3% for buying a weekend chalet or plot.



## Savings



Mária Szurkos

## On Social Political Problems

Compared to earlier surveys, during the past four or five years an opinion gradually became more frequent according to which the state should primarily "support those who are poorer and live under adverse circumstances" and there is a more infrequent opinion, according to which "those should be supported who deserve it, with their work and attitude". From 1978 to 1982, there was a change in the majority opinion: the ratio of the previous view increased from 33% to 47%, and that of the latter decreased from 50% to 40%. (Even to a lesser extent, there was a reduction in the opinion that "nobody has to be supported".)

This shift more or less occurred in every social stratum, but mostly on the two poles of the social-economic hierarchy: among the top managers and intellectuals, and among the unskilled manual workers.

The different concepts are linked with the different socio-demographic groups. The older, less educated, unskilled manual workers and women believe to a greater extent that "poor people living under adverse circumstances should be supported", while younger people, those with higher education, higher qualifications and men mostly emphasize output and merits. However, characteristic opinions are not only linked with such objective social characteristics, but also with other factors of outlook (e.g. the role of state subsidy in child care, the evaluation of the various social groups, and an explanation of the reasons for poverty, etc.)

There was a divided opinion about whether the circle of supported people should be reduced or expanded compared to the present situation. 45% of the interviewees belonged to the expanding, and 37% to the reducing viewpoints, while 18% were satisfied with the present situation. According to the educational level or social strata, on the lower levels, the expanders, while on the higher levels, the reducers were in the majority.

In the evaluation of the various socio-political facilities (e.g. creche, nurseries, and hospitals), groups in a more unfavourable situation seemed considerably more satisfied than those in a more favourable situation. It seems that the latter developed their opinion not so much according to the opportunities of availability, but according to quality aspects.

In the definition of "groups to support" two views could be distinctly traced, which either preferred the various inactive groups (pensioners and sick people), or the various active groups (families with many children or single parents, etc.). Support for the inactive groups was urged by those with a higher income and with self-supply possibilities (household plot and market garden owners), while the support of the active groups was primarily urged by those on a lower financial level and those who have no opportunity for self-supply.

Among the major problems connected with pensions, the answers contained the particular requirement that pensions should keep pace with price increases, and many people considered the increase of low pensions of primary importance. The majority of the interviewees considered the present retirement age to be suitable. Efforts were made to reveal what sum in the people's opinion would be "just enough to live" for a single pensioner. According to 60% of the interviewees, this

varied between 2,000 and 3,000 forints and the average estimated sum was 2,380 forints.

The attitudes concerning family allowances are directly influenced by the differing concern. This refers both to large families and to those single parents who bring up their children on their own and even families with one child. According to their personal situation, they all claim the increase of family allowances primary for their own group, or they claim the regrouping of the allowance. The opinion that "the present allowance has to be increased for everyone" was mostly approved by the couples with two children and least agreed with by single parents bringing up their children.

Róbert Angelusz - Róbert Tardos



## APPENDIX

### List of studies published by the members of the MCRC in foreign languages

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- SZECSKÓ, T.: The Grammar of Global Communications. The New Hungarian Quarterly, Summer, 1982, pp. 66-71.
- About the Structure of Communication Problems. Paper presented at the symposium "La comunicazione: il problema della strutture", Venice, December 9-11, 1982, p. 8.

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