

GRATIFICATIONS OF THE NEWER TELEVISION TECHNOLOGIES

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### Abstract

This study focused on the gratifications of some of the newer television technologies. Specifically we expected that cable television, videocassette recorders, and remote control devices would increase the gratifications people receive from watching television and the satisfaction they derive from television use. Telephone interviews were completed with 615 respondents in a midwestern town. There was only limited support for our expectations. Use of new technologies had an impact on receiving pass time and companionship gratifications from television viewing. Instrumental viewing motives, television exposure, and receiving informational gratifications from television viewing were the strongest predictors of television satisfaction. The discussion relates these findings to the ambiguous meanings that the new technologies have in U.S. society.

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Satisfaction is an important concept in consumer research because it directs product purchase and consumption. Satisfaction includes elements of pleasure, need fulfillment, and evaluations of product and consumption benefits (Oliver, 1981). But, mainly, satisfaction is an affective reaction to product use. If expectations about the product are met, satisfaction results; if expectations are not met, dissatisfaction results and use discontinues (Oliver, 1980; Westbrook & Oliver, 1981). Satisfaction has been related to mass media use; satisfaction predicts cable subscription and newspaper readership (Burgoon & Burgoon, 1980; LaRose & Atkin, 1988). LaRose and Atkin (1988), for example, found that intention to disconnect cable was significantly predicted by less perceived value of cable, less satisfaction with the cable company's customer service, and finding that expectations about cable were not met. Satisfaction, then, grows out of expectations and experience.

This study focused on the gratifications that viewers obtain from the newer television technologies. Because cable, videocassette recorders, and remote control devices increase availability of program options, allow viewers greater control over their exposure, and allow viewers to be more active while they watch television, we expected that use of new technologies would increase the gratifications that people receive from television viewing and their perceptions of television viewing satisfaction.

Gratifications and Satisfaction

According to uses and gratifications, people use media and their content to gratify certain needs. Use results in differential need gratification (Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch, 1974). Early research, however, did not distinguish between gratifications sought (GS) and gratifications obtained

(GO) (Katz, Gurevitch, & Haas, 1973; Greenberg, 1974). Palmgreen, Wenner, and Rayburn (1980) argued that GS and GO were conceptually distinct.

Gratifications sought are based on expectations about media content; gratifications obtained are based on experience with content and medium.

Several studies focused on the kinds and levels of gratifications people received from television exposure. Palmgreen and Rayburn (1979) observed that the discrepancies between gratifications sought and obtained from public television discriminated between viewers and nonviewers of public television as well as predicted exposure to the channel. Palmgreen and his associates (1980) later found that the GS from a particular news program were more strongly related to GO from that program than the GO obtained from other programs. Moreover, the factor structure of GO from the three network news programs differed. Viewers derived different gratifications from different news programs.

McLeod, Bybee, & Durall (1982) tested two competing models (drive-reduction and exposure-learning) of predicting gratifications obtained from political debate exposure. They found that the drive-reduction model, which identified a significant influence of GS on GO, explained most of the variance. The researchers, however, also noted that some gratifications obtained from debate exposure were sensitive to content. Thus, they concluded that both GS and use are important determinants of gratifications obtained.

Levy and Windahl (1984) tested the relationships between GS, types of audience activity, and GO from television news. Similar to early research, they found that GS and GO were significantly related. They also observed that audience activity (making arrangements to watch the news, greater attention to the programs, and thinking about and discussing the programs) and

gratifications obtained were positively related. Clearly, more active and aware experience with media affects the gratifications obtained from use.

Palmgreen and Rayburn (1985) argued that media satisfaction was distinct from gratifications obtained. As the writers explained, satisfaction is a general affective reaction to exposure, while gratifications obtained are perceptions of the specific benefits derived from exposure. So, while GO differ from satisfaction, "the extent to which a person actually obtains such gratifications from media consumption should contribute to a person's satisfaction with the experience" (p. 336). Consistent with their expectations, they found that gratifications obtained from news exposure were the strongest predictors of news satisfaction.

A later exploration of soap opera satisfaction did not include measures of gratifications obtained from exposure (Perse & Rubin, 1988). The research, however, supported that view that satisfaction was related to expectations about a product and use of the product. Soap opera satisfaction was significantly predicted by entertainment and escapist viewing motives and higher levels of activity during program exposure: viewing attention and experiencing parasocial interaction, or a sense of liking and friendship, with a favorite soap opera character. Similar to Levy and Windahl (1984), Perse and Rubin concluded that a more active use of television was more satisfying.

This research, then, points out that there are several influences on satisfaction with television exposure. First, the gratifications that people seek from television are related to satisfaction because they represent expectations about television use. Second, actual use and experience with television is important to satisfaction. Third, the gratifications that people obtain from exposure affect satisfaction because they represent

evaluations of the benefits derived from use. Finally, a more active use of television is more satisfying.

#### New Television Technologies

The focus of this study is the influence of media experience on gratifications obtained from television viewing and satisfaction. We were especially interested in the influences of cable television, videocassette recorders (VCR), and remote control devices (RCD) on satisfaction. There are several reasons that these newer technologies would increase perceived benefits from television viewing. Most simply, these technologies have been widely embraced by the audience. Between 1980 and 1990, cable subscription increased from 22% of the U.S. population to 59%; VCR ownership increased from 1% to 73%; and remote control penetration increased from 18% to 66% (Gross, 1992). Clearly, people adopt these technologies because they fulfill some needs (Rogers, 1983). These new technologies should also increase GO from television because (a) they increase the ease with which viewers can locate appealing content and (b) they lead audience members to be more active television viewers.

Cable. Cable television increases the programming options available to viewers. Subscribers make use of that increased variety. Cable subscribers have higher channel repertoires, that is, they watch more different channels than nonsubscribers (Heeter, D'Alessio, Greenberg, & McVoy, 1988). Increased choice can lead to more television viewing. Basic cable subscribers watch more television than nonsubscribers; pay-cable subscribers watch the most television (Garay, 1988). Cable subscribers also become aware of and value the specialized programming offered by cable (Sparkes & Kang, 1986). Most valued cable channels are those that provide content not duplicated by broadcast television: CNN, ESPN, FNN, MTV, TNN, Nickelodeon, and The Weather

Channel (Garay, 1988). Cable should increase GO and satisfaction with television viewing because viewers will be more likely to find programs to fill their particular needs.

VCR. Videocassette recorders increase viewers' control over television. VCR use allows people to select not only what they will watch, but when they will watch it. An important reason people use VCRs, for example, is so they don't miss their favorite programs (Shatzer & Lindlof, 1989). Control means that viewers can make better use of their leisure time (Massey & Baran, 1990).

Viewers have found new uses for VCRs that surpass the uses of television (Rubin & Bantz, 1987) and new types of media behaviors, such as time-shifting, tape rental, and library building (Levy, 1983). VCRs lead people to be more active in the use of television content. VCR users plan their viewing more and make greater use of program guides (Lin, 1990) and replay material so they can learn from it (Dobrow, 1990). Viewers find more uses for their VCRs as length of ownership increases (Klopfenstein, Spears & Ferguson, 1991). Control and opportunity for greater activity should increase satisfaction with television and the gratifications obtained from viewing.

Remote control devices. Two major uses of RCDs are grazing (changing channels frequently to sample television's offerings) and zapping (changing channels to avoid commercials). Ainslie (1988) reports that the grazing itself provides its own gratifications. The constant shifting images and highlights of program bits may provide perceptual stimulation.

Remote control devices should be linked to greater television satisfaction because RCDs increase the ease with which viewers can select and reevaluate television programs (Heeter, 1985). When viewers find themselves watching something dissatisfying, they can instantly change the channel. James Webster has said "Grazing by definition is a sign of dissatisfaction"

(Castro, 1989). The most salient reasons for changing channels are to avoid people, commercials, and to reject unwanted information (Ainslie, 1988; Walker & Bellamy, 1991). Viewers also use RCDs to get "more out of television" (Walker & Bellamy, 1991). They access music videos, news, weather, and shopping during commercial breaks. In general, RCDs make television more interesting (Walker & Bellamy, 1991).

### Hypotheses

The first goal of this study was to explore the impact of newer television technologies on the gratifications obtained from television viewing. Prior research holds that there are two influences on GO: gratifications sought and media experience (McLeod et al., 1982; Palmgreen et al., 1980). Earlier research has considered how individual GS are related to GO. Rubin (1984), however, noted that there are two general orientations to the gratifications sought from television. Ritualistic television use is a passive use, that focuses on use of the medium out of habit, to pass time, companionship, or to escape. Instrumental television use focuses on television content and is more active. It reflects watching television for entertainment, excitement, learning, and social utility reasons. In this study, then, we focused on general uses of television, rather than specific GS.

Because cable, VCRs, and RCDs increase control, programming options, and viewer activity, we expect use of the new technologies to have a positive impact on the gratifications obtained from television viewing. Thus, the first hypothesis was:

- H1: Gratifications obtained from television viewing will be predicted by (a) ritualized and instrumental television viewing motives and (b) increased by use of cable, VCRs, and RCDs.



Because gratifications obtained are not the same as satisfaction, but are a direct influence on satisfaction (Palmgreen & Rayburn, 1985), our second hypothesis was:

- H2: Television viewing satisfaction will be predicted by
- (a) ritualistic and instrumental television viewing motives,
  - (b) increased use of cable, VCRs, and RCDs, and (c) more gratifications obtained from television viewing.

#### Method

##### Procedure and Sample

A random-digit-dialing telephone survey was conducted in Spring 1991 among adults living off-campus in a university town in the Midwest. Out of the 813 valid attempts (excluding business numbers and no answers), there were 615 completions and 198 refusals, for a 75.6% completion rate. The sample was 45.1% male and ranged in age from 17 - 93 ( $M = 36.27$ ,  $SD = 17.01$ ). The average respondent had completed 14.45 years of education (ranging from 8 - 20 years,  $SD = 2.45$ ). Hollingshead's two-factor social position index measured occupational level (Miller, 1983) and ranged from 11 - 73 ( $M = 46.50$ ,  $SD = 18.52$ ).<sup>2</sup>

##### Media Use

Because the focus of the study was on the impact of new television technology use on GO and satisfaction with television, we considered four media use variables in this study: cable subscription, VCR ownership, VCR use, RCD channel changing. In addition we considered the impact of overall television exposure.

Cable subscription. Of the sample, 68.7% subscribed to cable television. This is above the national average of 59% at the time of the survey.

VCR ownership. Of the sample, 76.9% had access to a VCR where they lived. This compares to the national average of 73% at the time of the survey.

VCR use. Respondents indicated how much time they spent using their VCR by answering the question, "What percentage of the time you spend watching TV is spent watching a videotape?" The responses ranged from 0 to 95% ( $M = 18.76$ ,  $SD = 17.85$ ).

Channel changing. Ferguson (1992) reported on the unreliability of asking respondents to indicate how many times per hour they change channels. Such mundane behavior is difficult to recall precisely. Instead, respondents with RCDs described their frequency (1 = never, 2 = seldom, 3 = often, 4 = very often) to the question "How often do you flip channels?" The mean score was 2.37 ( $SD = 0.81$ ).

Television exposure. Respondents indicated how many hours they viewed "yesterday" and "on a typical day." Averaged numbers of hours ranged from 0 to 17 ( $M = 2.98$ ,  $SD = 2.24$ ).

#### Gratifications Sought

Respondents indicated their agreement (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree) with 16 statements about their own reasons for watching television. The 16 statements were drawn from larger sets of television viewing motivations (Rubin, 1983). These statements were selected because they were items that loaded on instrumental and ritualistic motive factors in previous research (Perse, 1990).<sup>1</sup> Eight items concerned watching television for ritualistic reasons: pass time, habit, companionship, and escape. Eight items focused on instrumental reasons: entertainment, excitement, learning, and social utility. A principal components analysis with varimax rotation identified two factors that accounted for 39.9% of the variance and supported the conceptual distinction between ritualistic and instrumental motives. Item

responses were averaged to create scale scores. Ritualistic reasons ranged from 1.00 - 3.63 ( $\underline{M} = 2.44$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 0.48$ ,  $\alpha = .83$ ). Instrumental reasons scores ranged from 1.00 - 3.63 ( $\underline{M} = 2.59$ ,  $\underline{SD} = .33$ ,  $\alpha = .68$ ).

#### Gratifications Obtained

Respondents expressed their agreement (1 = strongly disagree, 4 = strongly agree) with seven statements that concern gratifications obtained from viewing television. The statements asked about three ritualistic gratifications (pass time, companionship, and escape) and three instrumental gratifications (learning, entertainment, and excitement). A seventh asked about receiving relaxation gratifications, a dominant use of television (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 1990).

The seven gratifications statements were: "TV viewing helps me learn things that can help me" ( $\underline{M} = 2.70$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 0.53$ ), "Watching TV helps me pass the time" ( $\underline{M} = 2.69$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 0.57$ ), "TV keeps me company" ( $\underline{M} = 2.47$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 0.59$ ), "Watching TV helps me forget about my work and worries" ( $\underline{M} = 2.46$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 0.62$ ), "Watching TV helps me relax" ( $\underline{M} = 2.88$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 0.41$ ), "Watching TV entertains me" ( $\underline{M} = 2.94$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 0.38$ ), and "Watching TV peps me up" ( $\underline{M} = 2.24$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 0.53$ ).

#### Satisfaction

Satisfaction was measured with the following question: "On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 means not at all satisfied and 10 means completely satisfied, how satisfied are you with the overall job that television does in providing you with the things you are seeking?" Satisfaction ranged from 1 to 10 ( $\underline{M} = 5.96$ ,  $\underline{SD} = 1.95$ ), the median value was 6, and the distribution was bimodal with 20.3% answering 5 and 21.5% answering 7.

#### Statistical Analysis

Hierarchical multiple regression was used to test the hypotheses of the study. In all cases, demographics were entered on the first step to control for any variance they might contribute to the equation. Gratifications sought

from television use were entered on the second step, followed by the new technology use variables entered on the third step. In the regression of satisfaction, the seven gratification obtained were entered on the final step.

## Results

### Gratifications Obtained

Hierarchical multiple regression tested the first hypothesis, that gratifications obtained from television would be positively related to the use of new television technologies. The regressions are summarized in Table 1. The analyses provide partial support for the first hypothesis.

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Table 1 about here  
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Learn things that can happen to me. Demographics, entered on the first step, accounted for 0.9% of the variance ( $p = .54$ ). There were no significant predictors. At the second step, instrumental and ritualistic television viewing motives added 9.9% to the variance ( $p < .001$ ). The instrumental motive became a significant, positive predictor and the ritualistic motive became a significant, negative predictor. Media use variables, entered on the last step, added 0.8% to the incremental variance ( $p = .70$ ). The final equation accounted for 11.6% of the variance in perceiving learning gratifications from television viewing. Instrumental viewing motives ( $\beta = .32, p < .001$ ) were a significant, positive predictor. Ritualistic viewing motives ( $\beta = -.13, p < .05$ ) were a significant, negative predictor.

Helps pass the time. At the first step, demographic accounted for 4.2% of the variance ( $p < .01$ ). Occupational status was initially a significant, positive predictor. Television viewing motives increased the variance an additional 27.6% at the second step ( $p < .001$ ). Age and ritualistic motives became significant, positive contributors. Occupational status no longer was

part of the equation. New technology variables, entered on the last step, added 1.8% to the variance ( $p = .12$ ). In the final analysis, the equation accounted for 33.5% of the variance in receiving pass time gratifications from television viewing. Ritualistic viewing motives ( $\beta = .55$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and age ( $\beta = .13$ ,  $p < .01$ ) were significant, positive predictors.

Keeps me company. The demographics, entered at the first step, accounted for 4.4% of the variance ( $p < .01$ ). Age and occupational status were significant, positive contributors. At step two, the viewing motives added 24.2% to the explained variance ( $p < .001$ ). Age and both viewing motives became significant, positive predictors. Occupational status was no longer significant. The media use variables, entered at the third step, increased the variance 4.5% ( $p < .001$ ). The final equation explained 33.1% of the variance in receiving companionship gratifications from television viewing. Age ( $\beta = .32$ ,  $p < .001$ ), ritualistic motives ( $\beta = .43$ ,  $p < .001$ ), instrumental motives ( $\beta = .16$ ,  $p < .001$ ), television exposure ( $\beta = .13$ ,  $p < .01$ ), and channel changing ( $\beta = .15$ ,  $p < .01$ ) were all significant contributors to the equation. VCR use ( $\beta = .10$ ,  $p < .05$ ) was a significant negative predictor.

Helps me forget about work and worries. At the first step the demographics accounted for 1.9% of the variance ( $p = .17$ ). Age was a significant, negative predictor. The viewing motives added 10.3% to the variance at the next step ( $p < .001$ ). Both motives became significant, positive contributors. Age was no longer part of the equation. At the last step, the media use variables increased the variance by only 0.7% ( $p = .73$ ). The final equation accounted for 12.9% of the variance in receiving escapist gratifications. Instrumental ( $\beta = .23$ ,  $p < .001$ ) and ritualistic viewing motives ( $\beta = .19$ ,  $p < .001$ ) were the only significant contributors to the equation.

Helps me relax. At the first step, the demographics accounted for 0.9% of the variance ( $p = .53$ ). The viewing motives, entered at the second step, added 4.1% to the explained variance ( $p < .001$ ). Only the instrumental motive was a significant, positive predictor. At the third step, new technology variables increased the variance 1.8% ( $p = .29$ ). The final equation accounted for 6.9% of the variance in perceiving relaxation from television viewing. Instrumental viewing motives ( $\beta = .17, p < .001$ ) were significant, positive predictors. Television exposure ( $\beta = .11, p < .07$ ) was a near significant, positive predictor.

Entertains me. The demographics accounted for 0.4% of the variance at the first step ( $p = .82$ ). At step two, the viewing motives added an additional 12.6% explained variance ( $p < .001$ ). The instrumental motive was the only significant, positive contributor to the equation. At the third step, the new technology variables added 1.3% to the explained variance ( $p = .35$ ). The final equation accounted for 14.4% of the variance in perceiving entertainment gratifications from television viewing. The instrumental viewing motive ( $\beta = .33, p < .001$ ) was a significant, positive predictor.

Peps me up. The demographics entered on the first step accounted for 0.9% of the variance ( $p = .54$ ). At the second step the viewing motives added 10.6% to the incremental variance ( $p < .001$ ). The instrumental motive was a significant, positive predictor. The use of new technologies increased the variance 2.7% at the third step ( $p = .07$ ). In the final analysis, the equation explained 14.3% of the variance in perceiving excitement gratifications from television viewing. Instrumental viewing motives ( $\beta = .33, p < .001$ ) were a significant positive predictor and VCR ownership ( $\beta = -.11, p < .05$ ) was a significant, negative contributor to the equation.

Television Satisfaction

Once again, hierarchical multiple regression tested the impact of use of newer television technologies on satisfaction with television viewing. The regression is summarized in Table 2.

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Table 2 about here  
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The demographics entered at the first step accounted for 1.6% of the variance in satisfaction ( $p = .25$ ). At the second step, the television viewing motives added 9.5% to the explained variance ( $p < .001$ ). The instrumental motive was a significant, positive predictor. The media use variables, entered at the third step, accounted for another 3.6% of the variance ( $p < .05$ ). Television exposure entered the equation as a significant, positive contributor. At the final step, the gratifications obtained from television viewing added 3.5% to the explained variance. The final equation accounted for 18.3% of the variance in satisfaction with television viewing. Instrumental viewing motives ( $\beta = .22, p < .001$ ), television exposure ( $\beta = .18, p < .01$ ), and receiving learning gratifications from television viewing ( $\beta = .14, p < .05$ ) were significant, positive contributors to the equation. Perceiving companionship gratifications ( $\beta = .12, p = .07$ ) was a near significant, positive predictor of satisfaction. The regression provided no support for the second hypothesis.

## Discussion

The results of this study support the view that gratifications obtained from television viewing are influenced, to a large degree, by the gratifications sought (McLeod et al., 1982; Palmgreen et al., 1980). In all regressions, viewing motives were significant predictors of gratifications obtained.

This support is strengthened by the methods of this study. Earlier research centered on the influence of specific gratifications sought. Our study considered the impact of more general orientations to television, instrumental and ritualistic motives. The results indicate that an instrumental orientation contributes to receiving more instrumental gratifications, such as learning, entertainment, excitement, and relaxation. A ritualistic orientation is related to more passive gratifications, such as passing time and companionship. People do seem to get what they want from television viewing, to some degree.

There was only limited support for our expectation that use of cable, VCRs, and RCDs would increase the gratifications obtained from television viewing. Media use variables, as a block, added significantly to only three of the seven regressions. Media use had its strongest positive impact on ritualistic gratifications, passing time and companionship, rather than on instrumental gratifications. In retrospect, this is not surprising. Instrumental use of television focuses on the gratifications sought from specific content. Instrumental gratifications should be explained more by use of specific programs, rather than nonspecific use of media.

People report more pass time gratifications when they use VCRs less and they change channels more. Because VCRs require people to be more active before, during, and after exposure (Levy, 1987), it may be an inappropriate medium to use to pass time. Indeed, research has not identified pass time as a salient use of VCRs (Rubin & Bantz, 1987).

The identification of channel changing as a positive contributor to receiving pass time and companionship gratifications points out the theoretical ambiguity of the behavior. On one hand, channel changing is evidence of active program selection and reevaluation (Heeter, 1985). On the other hand, RCD channel changing reflects lack of attention to programs and



less involvement with the content (Perse, 1990). Writers have begun to differentiate types of channel changing. Zapping is related to commercial avoidance, grazing is related to boredom, and flipping is related to specific gratifications (Ainslie, 1988; Ferguson, 1992; Walker & Bellamy, 1991). Researchers should be aware of the different types of RCD channel changing and the different reasons that motivate it (Ferguson, 1992; Walker & Bellamy, 1991).

Videocassette use and ownership was negatively related to receiving entertainment and excitement gratifications from television. As instrumental gratifications, both focus on the content of television. Videocassette recorders offer more control over content and more specialized content. Future research should explore whether VCR use is related to dissatisfaction with television.

Cable television was unrelated to any gratifications obtained from television viewing. Although cable television offers greater program variety, there may be other aspects of cable that are dissatisfying. Some subscribers may feel that cost does not offset the benefits. Other subscribers may be dissatisfied with management and customer service, and the repetition of program offerings, especially on more expensive pay channels (LaRose & Atkin, 1988; Garay, 1988). Future research should continue to explore the aspects of the cable experience related to satisfaction and disconnection.

We found no support for our second hypothesis. Understanding of television satisfaction was not increased by the addition of cable, VCR, or RCD. The most substantial predictors of satisfaction were instrumental gratifications sought, higher levels of television exposure, and receiving learning gratifications from television. Similar to previous research (Perse & Rubin, 1988), television satisfaction is an outcome of an instrumental use of television. And, instrumental use focuses more on the content of specific

programs rather than experience with the medium. Future research should investigate the program or channel use that increases television satisfaction.

One troubling finding of this study is the lack of connection between ritualistic gratifications and television satisfaction. Ritualistic use is associated with higher levels of television exposure and stronger beliefs in the importance of television in one's life (Rubin, 1984). Yet, greater use and importance are not reflected in satisfaction with the medium. Perhaps scholars need to enlarge the concept of television satisfaction. Satisfaction with television may be multidimensional and reflect different elements of the television landscape: programs sought versus programs found while seeking others, offensive commercials versus entertaining commercials, friendly versus unfriendly counterprogramming, and programs available at different times. Ritualistic gratifications may be related to locating easily least objectionable programs. Future research should expand the concept of satisfaction and locate the gratifications of ritualistic television use.

In general, the results of this study support prior research. Gratifications sought from television direct the gratifications that people derive from use. This study's findings also explain why actual media experience has been less strongly linked to GO (McLeod et al., 1982). Exposure levels influence only ritualistic gratifications; they are unimportant to instrumental gratifications. In order to understand how people derive instrumental gratification, scholars need to consider exposure to and active use of specific media content. Although cable, VCR, and RCD use did not contribute to television satisfaction, the specialized content they offer can be gratifying.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>The eight ritualistic statements were: (I watch television) "Because it gives me something to occupy my time," "Just because it's on," "When I have nothing better to do," "When there's no one else to talk to be with," "Because it passes the time away, particularly when I'm bored," "So I can get away from the family or others," "Because it makes me feel less lonely," and "Because it's a habit, just something I do."

The eight instrumental reasons were: (I watch television) "Because it helps me learn things about myself and others," "Because it entertains me," "Because it's thrilling," "Because it's enjoyable," "So I can talk with others about what's on," "Because it's exciting," "Because it amuses me," and "So I can learn about what could happen to me."

<sup>2</sup>Lower scores indicate higher social position.

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Table 1  
 Hierarchical Multiple Regression Summary:  
 Regressing Gratifications Obtained

Gratification	Step Entered	1		2		3		4		5		6		7	
		R <sup>2</sup>	Final $\beta$	R <sup>2</sup>	Final $\beta$	R <sup>2</sup>	Final $\beta$	R <sup>2</sup>	Final $\beta$	R <sup>2</sup>	Final $\beta$	R <sup>2</sup>	Final $\beta$	R <sup>2</sup>	Final $\beta$
Demographics	1	.01		.04**		.04**		.02		.01		.00		.01	
Age			.08		.13*		.32***		-.04		.06		.03		-.01
Sex			-.04		-.01		-.01		-.02		-.01		.01		-.05
Education			-.02		.00		.02		-.04		.12		.02		-.08
Occupation			.03		.05		.03		-.11		.08		.02		-.06
GS	2	.10***		.28***		.24***		.10***		.04***		.13***		.11***	
Ritualistic			-.13*		.55***		.43***		.19***		.04		.04		.08
Instrumental			.32***		-.05		.16***		.23***		.17**		.33***		.33***
Media Use	3	.01		.02		.04***		.01		.02		.01		.03	
Cable Subscription			-.01		.04		-.08		-.02		.05		.01		-.09
VCR Ownership			.01		.00		-.04		-.07		-.00		-.01		-.11*
VCR Use			-.07		-.08		-.10*		.02		.07		.09		-.03
TV Exposure			-.04		.06		.13**		.04		.11		.05		-.01
Channel Changing			.05		.08		.15**		.04		-.02		.06		-.06
Total R <sup>2</sup>		.12***		.34***		.33**		.13***		.07*		.14***		.14***	
Final F		3.93***		15.09***		14.76***		4.41***		2.19**		5.01***		4.97***	

Note. Gratification 1: Learn things that can help. Gratification 5: Helps me relax.  
 Gratification 2: Helps me pass the time. Gratification 6: Entertains me.  
 Gratification 3: Keeps me company. Gratification 7: Peps me up.  
 Gratification 4: Helps me forget about work and worries.

\*\*\* p < .001 \*\* p < .01 \* p < .05



Table 2

## Hierarchical Multiple Regression Summary:

## Regressing Satisfaction

"How satisfied are you with the overall job that television does in providing you with the things you are seeking?"

	Step Entered	$R^2$	$R^2$ Change	Final $\beta$
Demographics	1	.02	.02	
Age				.02
Sex				.03
Education				.00
Occupation				.03
Gratifications Sought	2	.11	.095***	
Ritualistic				-.04
Instrumental				.22***
Media Use	3	.15	.04*	
Cable Subscription				.06
VCR Ownership				-.02
VCR Use				-.01
TV Exposure				.18***
Channel Changing				.04
Gratifications Obtained	4	.18	.035	
Learn things that help				.14**
Pass the time				-.03
Keeps me company				.12
Forget work & worries				-.05
Helps me relax				.05
Entertains me				.00
Peps me up				.03

Note. Step 1:  $F(4, 333) = 1.35, p = .25$   
 Step 2:  $F(6, 331) = 17.69, p < .001$   
 Step 3:  $F(11, 326) = 2.76, p < .05$   
 Step 4:  $F(18, 319) = 1.99, p = .06$