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***Psychological mediation between the instrumental
and terminal values****

Abstract

Starting from the standard division of values to terminal (such as freedom, equality or happiness) and instrumental ones (such as responsibility, kindness or obedience), and taking into account that they are significantly related to motivation, this paper points to the possibility of certain values from one category to be 'presented' in the other one. Also, for the sake of argumentation, the paper explains the term of 'functional autonomy of motives' as a psychological mechanism which thereby takes on the role of mediator. Certain types of personalities are being considered within the same context, first the individual and then, moving from the individual to the collective, the modal one. Afterwards, in the main part of the paper, the focus is on the motivation of achievement (as well as the values accompanying it) which, as a condition *sine qua non*, correlates with the prosperity or the stagnation of societies and individuals, as suggested by numerous researches in (primarily American) psychology. There is also an outlook on chosen strategies which (for the sake of the mentioned motivation, and being an integral part of social engineering, with indubitably positive effects) are being applied to certain populations in America, Europe and Asia. Alongside the appeal for the mentioned strategies to be taken on and applied on 'local terrain', the paper also contains the results of measuring of the achievement motive on a former-Yugoslav sample in the early 1980 s and a Mng sample in the late 1990 s. Throughout the lecture, the transformation of instrumental values into terminal ones and vice versa is taken as a topic which, beside other things, touches upon the quite depressive theme of the 'sunset of values' and, in a way, opposes it.

* The paper is printed as submitted.

That values are also a psychological theme can be proved by the fact that the psychological constructs of values usually manage to justify their methodological and practical validity. This holds equally true for both individual psychology, in which the mentioned constructs supplement and refine the evaluation of personal dispositions, and for social psychology, in which that is the case with the evaluation of attitudes.

Literature most frequently cites, and practice applies, three psychological evaluations of the theory or of the model (depending on the approach) linked with values. The first is the Allport-Vernon-Lindzey's study on value orientations and the scale constructed for their measuring, from the 1950 s. Then there are Rokeach's research from the 1970 s and Schwartz's from the 1990 s, the latter of which established a list of ten values based on collective proofs from twenty countries concerning the question of their universality (which was the aim and the criterion).

We are here initially interested in the mentioned research from the 1970 s and its resulting division of values into two types that will help us contemplate the issues expounded in the following text. One of these types contains eighteen values (such as freedom, equality, happiness, achievement or salvation of the soul), which concern the ultimate and desirable state of inner harmony, and that is why they are referred to as terminal, while the other type contains as many instrumental values (such as responsibility, honesty, bravery, ability or obedience) which refer to idealized ways of behaviour that intercept with certain objects or situations. Since its reliability has been proven, when taken as a measure of a permanent system of values, the mentioned model could be used as a basis for prediction in very concrete situations. Such a situation is, for example, the attachment (or more precisely the degree of the attachment of an individual) for certain political or religious or ideological ideas: this model, in this sense, differentiates quite precisely active and passive followers and is able to, if measurements are conducted, to forecast specific outcomes as well as to formulate the suggestions concerning the sustainability or alterations of ideological, religious or political positions. This model is completely right at the above mentioned level and it is at our disposition for many occasions, such as, among others, the matter of good or conflicting relations concerning national or religious issues, or the prognosis of presidential, parliamentary and alike elections (See: Rokeach, M., 1973.)

However, an interest in another aspect of this model can be expressed, too. We can be interested in whether to the above mentioned list we could add some other values and whether, potentially, some of the existing ones should be excluded. Schwartz's research from the 1990 s has already been mentioned, and it includes a list of ten, as is claimed, universal values (Schwartz, S., 1992.). It is alright if we know how these values persist, i. e. how they are profiled here, in our territory, or in yours, dear guests from abroad, for that can be of particular significance, since it can serve for the purpose of better understanding. The significance of it is naturally derived from the fact that the list includes power, achievement, security, conformity, charity, stimulation, hedonism, self-orientation, tradition and universalism. Another important thing would be to assuage to which extent this otherwise quite influential model, which we have focused on and which considers itself as a theory of self-actualization, can claim the right to truthfulness in cases when it suggests that within us, as human beings, there is a congenital, allegedly programmed by evolution, ethical protection from arbitrary manipulation of values and that, due to it, people can be influenced in such a way that they do develop values, but that they cannot make an influence in the retrogressive direction. It would, undoubtedly, be quite good if it were true: in such a case worries and troubles would be much lighter and much easier to resolve. However, who is the one who knows this for certain, and there certainly are reasons for a reserve concerning that kind of optimism. Besides, psychological theory places self-actualization at the top of just one of the hierarchies of motives and suggests that relative fulfillments at lower levels of the hierarchy (linked primarily with survival and organic needs, but also with emotional, inter-and-intra-personal ones) represent previous and *sine qua non* conditions, whether speaking about individuals or communities.

Meeting of the mentioned necessary requirements (which, in this case, are in fact the instruments) is directly connected with terminal values, since this partly determines whether they would be the sources of life power and energy, foundations of inter-personal and inter-cultural linking and directing signposts, or, otherwise, whether they would be just hollow words and void dreams, mere phrases and statements, as well as instruments of manipulation.

In accordance with the above alternatives and the fact that the necessary requirements are not sufficient, there emerges a question to which extent the division of values to instrumental and terminal can be sustained as a resolute one. „Will freedom be able to sing the way the slaves had sung about it?“, is

a line by a great Serbian, i. e. Yugoslav poet, and this line certainly does not hang suspended over a void, but directly strikes the essence of a value which is the brightest one, but which, throughout the overall history of the world, has been accompanied with the gravest possible complications and which has been frequently made an example of manipulation by the use of values: it was the case, for example, in the famous incident in which one of the leaders of the French Revolution sublimated his programme in the proclamation „no freedom for the enemies of freedom”, by which the terminal value in question was transformed into an instrument of discrimination, and gradually even into an instrument of tyranny. Similarly, we can also point to equality as a value employed by communist dictatorships, with the aim of subjecting certain classes to others. To the values that underwent the described transformation it is quite possible to add democracy, human rights, universalism, in not so infrequent situations in which these values turn into means of manipulation and in which (including the previous examples), with quite a large degree of assertion, we can speak about the „twilight of values”, despite the fact that more recent sociological research¹ carried out in Western countries do not suggest anything like that. All of the mentioned cases display the transformation of terminal values into instrumental ones – this is in fact a „trick” which does not work out due to, among other things, certain mediation through mechanisms such as explained by depth psychology.²

We shall now take a look at the transformation in a reverse direction, i. e. at the transformation of instrumental values into terminal ones, and it shall be, with quite a clear intention, demonstrated by a single example that we emphasize as one of the main points of this paper. The first act of the example in question has taken place in the historical past, and its second act is taking place in the presence, which is proving to be a historical continuation of the first act.

Namely, when the Protestant Reformation was started in the sixteenth century, a certain kind of ethics emerged from it, and, as explained by sociological theory, a particular kind of ‘spirit’ was glorified, which gradually incarnated in a, historically speaking, unified industrial code based on which modern capitalism was formed and based on which it has continued to function. At that time, through the teaching of predestination, in order to save the soul and

¹ We primarily refer to poll data reported in 1998 by Inglehart, Basanez and Moreno

² We primarily refer to those regressive psychological mechanisms that E. Fromm marked the mechanisms of „escape from freedom”

attain life eternal (which are, let us note, terminal values) an implicit order was introduced that all people were to work diligently on the production of goods, and ascetically on consuming them (which are, on the other hand, instrumental values). So, accepting the implicitly imposed orders, human nature turned against its basic passivity and inclination to laziness, and, alongside the prescribed abstention from hedonism, it started using the capital it won with the primary aim to enlarge it as much as possible. The increase of capital, as a fundamentally instrumental value, has thereby been transformed into a terminal value and continued further on to act as an independent mechanism which no longer needed Protestant ethics.³

The matter with the motivation of achievement in this region is not at a satisfactory level at all, as shown by psychological research in the early 1980 s (thus forecasting the troubles) done at a sample representative of the Yugoslav population (See: Havelka, N.; Lazarević, Lj., 1981.), and as proven by our evaluations completed in Montenegro in the second half of the 1990 s. For such obvious reasons, this paper will instead with a conclusion be ended with an appeal that I, not really knowing whom to address it to, humbly repeat at appropriate occasions (this is the third or the fourth one). This appeal is about the urgent work on the improvement of the motivation of achievement (quite in line with Voltaire's suggestion from *Candide* in which he says: „We must cultivate our garden”) – accentuating that achievement is also a value and that an achieving society guarantees the terminal values to be alive and valuable. It seems that there are serious reasons to believe that an achieving society can, though not necessarily, be an open society⁴ too, i. e. a real, not a manipulative or a declarative one, it can be democratic, and such *achieving and open society* perhaps exists in accordance with bio-axiological mechanisms which, as some

³ When speaking about this kind of transformation, psychology normally uses the term ‘functional autonomy of motives’.

⁴ That the point is in the development of the motive of achievement and that there is a good path from the achieving to an open society, not the other way round, as is frequently thought, has been suggested (also) by the results of a research we conducted several years ago (more on this: Simunović, M., 2001). In this research we considered the motive of achievement in a ‘cross-section’ with psychological variables that, according to the principle of obvious validity, can be deduced from the theory of an open/closed society the way it was defined in the work of Karl Popper. It turned out that the three thus gained variables (authoritarianism, traditionalism and conformism, as dimensions of an anti-democratic orientation) are not in any way related to the motive of achievement, while the correlations of this motive with the remaining two variables (moral reasoning and convincingness in self-determination concerning one's own behaviour) were at a rather low level.

scientists think, are inherent in us as a result of the evolution of humankind. My appeal motivates (and) expresses an expectation that the mentioned social engineering and motivation techniques would have positive effects in this region, just as they had it when applied to certain populations in America, Europe or Asia, as described in the literature.

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