IV. THE KEY STUDIES


**Principal Findings:** Reports from fifth-grade children and their parents differed sharply in regard to amount of children's television viewing and degree of parental restrictiveness in regard to television. Disagreement occurred regardless of social status, and social status was unrelated to total amount of viewing reported.

**Design and Methodology:** The sample consisted of two fifth-grade classes. One represented a lower-middle-class and the other an upper-middle-class population. There were 29 boys and girls in the former, and 27 in the latter. Questionnaires were administered in the classrooms, and another questionnaire was sent to parents.

**Theory and Discussion:** It was expected that social status would be related to children's use of television, with higher status being associated with less viewing, greater parental concern, greater restrictiveness, more suggestions about educational problems, and more use of television as a reward or punishment. No such pattern was found. One of the few differences was that television was reported as being used more often as a punishment in the lower social status families. Children and parents generally disagreed. In regard to amount of viewing, only five out of 32 parent-child pairs agreed, with the higher status parents all making lower estimates of viewing and the lower status parents making both higher and lower estimates. Parents tended to report more restrictiveness in regard to special hours for viewing, more use of television as a punishment, and less use of television as a reward.


**Principal Findings:** Seventy-seven percent of an adult sample viewed the original television broadcast of President Johnson's announcement at 9:45 (EST) on Sunday evening, March 31, 1967, that he would not run again for President in 1968 and that the bombing of North Vietnam would be reduced. An additional 17 percent learned about it later directly from the mass media. Only five percent heard about it by word-of-mouth, and most of these heard about it within an hour, in their own homes and from a relative or a neighbor.

**Design and Methodology:** The data were collected from a probability sample of households in Willimantic (pop. 14,000), Conn. One adult respondent was randomly selected within each household. The survey was in the field 19 hours after the event and interviewing was substantially completed within the next 48 hours. The completion rate was only 73 percent of the drawn sample, with 78 interviews completed, but the investigators feel that the use of strict probability sampling methods gives confidence in the results.

**Theory and Discussion:** The study sought to assess the amount of word-of-mouth diffusion of important news under time and space conditions that would maximize the likelihood of persons getting news directly from the media, and minimize the opportunity to relay the news by word-of-mouth. The data showed that under certain conditions instant saturation by electronic media can make interpersonal relaying of news relatively unimportant in the diffusion of initial information. The study thus offers evidence that constrains the generality of the two-step hypothesis of information flow. Constraints on interpersonal diffusion of news are (1) level of attendance to media when the news breaks, and (2) the opportunity to receive the information by word of mouth before one's exposure to mass media.

Respondents were first asked, "During the past day or so, have you heard anything about President Johnson's plans for the coming Presidential campaign?" Eighty-seven percent of the weighted sample had heard the news when interviewed. The knowers were asked, "How did you first hear this news—from T.V., radio, the newspaper or some other person?" Seventy-three percent of the knowers heard the original broadcast on television; five percent of the knowers heard the original broadcast on radio; three percent a later broadcast on television; ten percent a later broadcast on radio; and five percent read it first in a newspaper.

Eighty-nine percent of knowers had essentially correct information about the event; ten percent had partially correct or confused information. Almost all the respondents who had not heard the news when interviewed were members of blue-collar households and had less than high school education. Knowers were also asked, "About how many persons have you talked to about this news, including strangers, members of your own family, and friends?" The more gregarious discussants were significantly more apt to be male, in white-collar households, and high school graduates.


**Principal Findings:** Viewing by high school students of the National Citizenship Tests, one of CBS-TV's "audience participation" series, resulted in: (1) changes in knowledge; (2) changes in attitudes; and (3) the persistence of both kinds of changes, although in attenuated form, six months after exposure to the original program.

**Design and Methodology:** A survey instrument was designed to measure knowledge and attitudes toward constitutional rights and obligations. The 51 items were classified as either "experimental" (about laws discussed in the televised presentation), or "control" (about laws not discussed in the presentation). The questionnaire was first administered to a national sample of 5,000 high school students one month before the CBS-TV presentation. Later, the same questionnaire was administered to a sample of 11,000 high school students one week after the presentation. Samples of 1,505 matching the characteristics of this viewer sample were drawn from the pre-program and from the post-program nonviewer groups. The result was three matched samples of 1,505 each: (1) a pre-program sample; (2) a post-program viewer sample; and (3) a post-program nonviewer sample.

Because of the large sample sizes a double criterion for significance was used to test hypotheses—statistical significance and "practical or meaningful significance," defined as differences equal to a whole item on either the knowledge or attitude scales. Six months later, sample items from the four scales were included in a national survey of 9,000 students who were classified as viewers and nonviewers of the CBS presentation.

**Theory and Discussion:** The hypotheses tested were that there would be no significant differences between the two nonviewer samples; that there would be no significant differences between the viewer sample and the average of the two nonviewer samples in their responses to the "control" knowledge and
attitude scales; and that there would be significant differences between the viewer sample and the average of the nonviewer groups on the "experimental" knowledge scale and attitude scales.

Analyses of variance revealed no significant differences among the three groups on either the "control" knowledge or attitude scales. However, analyses revealed significant differences among the groups on the "experimental" knowledge scale. As hypothesized, the viewer sample was superior in knowledge to the average of the two nonviewer samples, which did not differ significantly from each other. There were also significant differences between the viewer sample and the average of the two nonviewer samples on the "experimental" attitude scale.

When the responses of the follow-up sample were analyzed, no statistical tests were attempted because of the limited number of items used. However, the trends suggest that after six months the impact of the National Citizenship Test on knowledge and attitudes had dissipated but not disappeared. The authors conclude that the data indicate that information transmitted through television can lead to knowledge and attitude change.


Principal Findings: Two doctors report on the case history of an adult female in Britain whose only generalized epileptic seizure occurred while she was adjusting a faulty television set. The occurrence of "television epilepsy" is now generally accepted by the medical profession.

Theory and Discussion: The patient was examined using standard neurological procedures, including medical history, physical examination, and electroencephalography.

Theory and Discussion: The woman related that while adjusting a black-and-white television set, she became uncomfortably aware of the movement of the images on the screen. These hurt her eyes so much that she screwed them up. She then saw pale blue and yellow flashes on the screen, which were visual hallucinations not seen by her companion. She moved her head to avoid looking at the screen, but her head moved involuntarily back to its original position. This happened three times. She then lost consciousness, and her companion saw her fall backwards and have a generalized seizure. Although the woman had not previously shown epileptic symptoms, an electroencephalographic examination yielded a clear diagnosis of photosensitive epilepsy. But despite the marked photosensitivity demonstrated in the examination, her only generalized seizure had occurred when she was exposed to the flicker of her faulty television set.

The authors state that seizures while watching television occur mainly but not exclusively in the second half of childhood: they are often "grand mal"-type fits and are particularly likely to occur if the patient is close to the set, in dimly-lit surroundings, or looking at a faulty set. Such patients are sensitive to particular frequencies of flicker, and the occurrence of television epilepsy is more frequent in Europe than in the United States because of differences in scanning rate and the number of lines scanned.


Principal Findings: When various scales measuring Jungian dimensions of personality were correlated with self-estimates of media use in a sample of students, positive correlations were found between sensation-orientation and use of television and movies, and between intuitiveness and use of novels and magazine fiction. Among males, but not among females, an emphasis on feelings correlated with use of television and movies, and an emphasis on thinking with use of novels. Among males, extraversion correlated positively with use of the print media, and introversion with use of television and movies, but among females the relationship was somewhat reversed, with extraversion correlated positively with use of movies and introversion with use of novels. When media use was correlated, movie and television use were positively correlated, and each correlated negatively with use of magazine fiction, novels, and nonfiction reading; magazine fiction use correlated slightly negatively with the other four.

Design and Methodology: Respondents were 209 students—98 male and 111 female—taking introductory psychology courses at Eastern Washington State College. Jungian dimensions were measured by a standard psychological inventory. The measure of media preference was self-estimated time spent on movies (exclusive of those viewed on television), television (including movies on television), magazine fiction, novels, and nonfiction reading apart from school work.

Theory and Discussion: The results are interpreted as supporting the hypothesis that television viewers and moviegoers fit Jung's sensation-oriented personality type, and readers of novels tend to be intuitive. Four of the five correlations between media preference rank and sensory-intuitive scores were in the predicted direction, three reaching statistically significant levels. The investigator suggests that the sizable sex differences in the correlation between media preference and extraversion-introversion scales may be explained by social norms. Finally, since none of the correlations found in the study was very large, it is suggested that there are other factors which have an important influence on media preferences.

Armstrong, D. J. Measuring the effects of television on aggressive behavior. Santa Monica, Ca.: The Rand Corporation, in press. R-1759-MF.

Principal Findings: When data from three recent naturalistic field experiments concerned with television violence and young persons' aggressiveness are reexamined, there is no evidence that television violence contributed to aggression although there is some evidence of a treatment effect. When the data from a ten-year panel study concerned with the same issue are reanalyzed, the authors' conclusion that the data indicate television violence caused later aggressiveness proves untenable. When the two alternative methods for studying television's influence which readily and convincingly permit generalization to real life are compared, the naturalistic field experiment appears to carry a high risk of an unintended treatment effect because of the intervention in people's habitual viewing as well as a risk of noninterpretable because of the difficulty of achieving true random assignment of subjects outside of the laboratory. The longitudinal panel study can be more highly recommended because, in addition to not suffering from these problems, it measures events as they actually occur. The ability to make causal inferences from such panel data appears to be enhanced by the development in connection with the reanalysis of the ten-year panel data of a model for analyzing change over time.

Design and Methodology: The data from three naturalistic field experiments and one longitudinal panel study were reanalyzed. The data for the field experiments by Feshbach and Singer (389), Wells (389), and Friedrich and Stein (120) consisted of scores obtained from publications or directly from the authors. In the case of the panel study by Eron et al. (1130), the computer tape of the original data was obtained from the investigators. In all instances, the model used for analysis focused on
the change in scores between points in time. In the case of the field experiments, the reanalysis was restricted to changes in group scores because of limited data availability. In the case of the panel study, the reanalysis was based on changes in individual scores.

Theory and Discussion: In the cases of Feshbach and Singer and Wells, there appears to have been an intervention effect. The act of depriving the subjects of the customary violent television fare resulted in frustration and increased verbal aggression among subjects from families of lower socioeconomic status. In the cases of Feshbach and Singer and Friedrich and Stein, the random assignment of subjects seems not to have been entirely successful. As a result, regression effects are likely confounded with any effects of television. In the case of Eron et al., the model used in the original analysis of data did not narrow possible explanations of reported correlations to only one most plausible hypothesis. In the reanalysis, a model is used which permits superior selection of the most plausible hypothesis. It turns out that the most plausible hypothesis is contrary to the conclusion reached by the original investigators. In this exercise, the variables were accepted as named by the original investigators, and the principal issue is the merits of alternative models for the analysis of panel data. The most important outcome is the development of the model employed in the reanalysis, a model which focuses on changes on the grounds that cause can only be inferred when changes occur because lack of change for both treatment and control groups in an experiment leads to the inference of null effects.


Principal Findings: Telling high school students that they would participate in a group discussion of national, local, or school problems increased receptivity to news relevant to the topic area, but did not cause the students to seek information outside of their usual sources. In new analyses of two different completed surveys, positive correlations also were found between discussion with other persons and media use.

Design and Methodology: The secondary analyses are based on correlation studies that are detailed elsewhere. Subjects for the experiment were 68 high school seniors enrolled in an introductory sociology class in a Wisconsin town. As part of their course requirements, the students were told on a Monday that they would be expected to participate in a three-person discussion group focused on national, local, or social problems that Thursday. The students were given a brief description of the discussion theme and suggestions of specific events currently developing in that area. The dependent measures were obtained during the administration of a questionnaire purportedly dealing with attitudes toward violence on television, which was given out during the same class session as the group discussions. Exposure to various types of mass media content were analyzed according to probable relevance of the content for the expected discussion topic.

Theory and Discussion: This report describes findings from an experiment and two secondary analyses relating news media use to interpersonal discussion of the news. A secondary analysis of one set of survey data shows that the number of social groups to which a person belongs in which news is discussed "often" correlates significantly with the number of newspapers read daily ($r = .20$) and is positively related to the amount of time spent reading newspapers ($r = .15$) and magazines ($r = .14$). Discussion is also a better predictor of these media use variables than are the traditional demographic factors. Secondary analysis of another set of survey data explores this relationship in the case of news about an election campaign. These data show that frequency of campaign discussion correlates strongly with exposure to campaign coverage in the print media ($r = .49$), convention viewing ($r = .29$), and watching news and public affairs programming ($r = .24$).

In the experiment conducted by the author, high school students were told that they would participate in an informal discussion group focusing on either national, local, or school social problems. Then, their mass media exposure was measured, both for an average day and for the two days after the announcement, via a questionnaire. This resulted in an strong receptivity to subject matter that would be useful in the area of discussion, but very little evidence of information search outside the students' usual information sources. The purpose of this preliminary study was to demonstrate the potential significance of communicatory utility in understanding mass media information-seeking. The evidence suggests that the anticipated conversational utility of news stories may be one factor determining their selection. The author notes that media content may have varying kinds of communicatory utility, depending on the uncertainties of the potential communication situation.


Principal Findings: Survey and experimental evidence are inconsistent with the contention that de facto selective exposure can be explained by unbalanced information availability and audience education. The significant proportion of Republicans viewing the 1968 Republican Convention fits a motivated selectivity interpretation. Field data collected in the 1940s also shows that unbalanced availability has little impact on the exposure preference of partisan individuals. Persons low in formal education have been found to engage in more selective exposure than persons whose education is high, perhaps because of their lesser confidence in their ability to refute discrepant information. Findings of a new experiment show that the relative availability of news items has a clear effect on exposure preference only when the subjects had no pre-existing opinions on partisan issues. Partisan individuals were highly selective under both the high and low availability manipulations.

Design and Methodology: Survey data included a review of 1948 and 1954 voting studies, along with secondary analyses of data collected during recent election campaigns. The experiment tested the effect of the level of availability and supportiveness on student preferences for news articles about current political and social issues. The subjects were 82 undergraduates randomly assigned to high and low availability conditions on every topic covered in a "dummy" newspaper, with half receiving a newspaper where a "pro" story had an advantage in size and placement over the "anti" story and half receiving a newspaper in which the treatment of a given topic was reversed. Supportiveness was determined by the relation between the subjects' opinions and the direction of the message on each topic. Measurement of exposure preference was obtained by asking the subjects to rank order the seven headlines on the newspaper page in the order of preference.

Theory and Discussion: "Empirical evidence from a wide range of sources indicates that de facto selective exposure cannot be adequately explained by factors of audience education or information availability," the author concludes. Instead, the findings tend to support the idea that people are motivated to seek information supportive of their beliefs and to avoid discrepant information. The author suggests that the idea of motivated selectivity not be hastily abandoned.
Principal Findings: Voters who made up their minds during a campaign cited televised political spots for both chosen and unchosen candidates as helping them reach a decision. Spots reached a large majority of voters. Frequency of presentation was related to exposure, but not to level of attention. Spots overcame predispositional selectivity; only a small minority gave closer attention to their candidate's ads or avoided the opponent's. Factors more important than partisan preference in selective behavior were personal interest in the campaign and information and entertainment needs. Viewers reported that candidate qualifications and positions on issues were the most widely learned content. Learning was much more strongly related to attention level than to quantity of exposure. Entertainment value also was related to learning.

Design and Methodology: The 1970 campaigns for governor in Wisconsin and Colorado were studied. Spots began in late September and continued to the end of the campaign. Just before the election, voters were interviewed in greater Madison, Wisconsin, and the Ft. Collins, Colorado, area. The Wisconsin sample was 262; the Colorado, 250.

Theory and Discussion: The concept of "electorate penetration" through television spots was introduced in the 1962 Eisenhower campaign. Spots, it was argued, could reach a wide audience at low cost, could reach undecideds and persons favoring the opposition, and could be concentrated on closely-contested areas. Three behavioral science research propositions support these contentions—selective exposure limits conventional party efforts at persuasion; message availability is related to exposure; and familiarity tends to lead to positive evaluation. In the present study, spots proved very effective in reaching the mass of voters, and seemed to overcome partisan selectivity. The finding that knowledge about candidate qualifications and positions on issues were more widely affected than "issues" contradicts much that has been written about television advertising; however, the data do not indicate whether the qualifications and issues learning goes much beyond the superficial. The authors conclude, "Although correlation data based on self-reported effects does not provide a sound basis for inferring causality, the preliminary evidence in this survey suggests the following model: frequency of presentation ... has a direct impact on exposure, but has no effect on attention levels; quality of message content (whether the ads are perceived as informative, interesting, honest, entertaining, and professionally produced) combines with audience characteristics (personal interests, partisan preferences, and needs for knowledge and enjoyment) to determine attention and information gain; and the content factors then work indirectly through their relationship with attention and information gain to influence voting decisions or produce shifts in the strength of voting intentions."

10


Principal Findings: Children's thumbucking was reduced by the punishment of withdrawing television cartoons, but thumbucking returned to the same level fairly quickly when the punishment was discontinued.

Design and Methodology: In two experiments, five-year-old boys who had become comfortable watching television cartoons in the experimental setting were "punished" (negatively reinforced) by withdrawal of television cartoon sight and sound for thumbucking, which was at a high rate in all cases. In one experiment, one boy was and was not subjected to cartoon withdrawal in alternate time periods. In another experiment, two boys were subjected to cartoon withdrawal contingent on thumbucking, and random cartoon withdrawal, in alternate time periods.

Theory and Discussion: Thumbucking was controlled by the withdrawal of the positive reinforcement of viewing television cartoons. In the first experiment, thumbucking was reduced when cartoons were withdrawn, and in the second thumbucking was reduced only in the condition in which cartoon withdrawal was contingent on thumbucking. However, the effect was short-lived, and in the first experiment once cartoon withdrawal ceased recovery to the previous level of thumbucking occurred quickly. The implication is that the child learns very quickly to discriminate when withdrawal will or will not occur.

11


Principal Findings: Although news decisions about the exclusive NBC television coverage of the pistol execution of a helpless prisoner by a South Vietnamese general were made at a variety of points, the final gatekeeper was the executive producer of the Huntley-Brinkley program. The rationale for the decisions suggest the strong influence of conventional journalistic norms.

Design and Methodology: By personal interview and correspondence, the history of the film story which has been called "one of the most powerful ever shown by television news" is traced. The focus is on the various decisions made upon which eventual national broadcast was contingent. The film covered General Loan as he walks up to a prisoner after street fighting and "blows his brains out."

Theory and Discussion: The filming represented one of six Viet Nam stories filmed by NBC at about the same time. Eventually three were broadcast. Total original footage for the three was 4,150 feet, or 1 hour and 15 minutes running time. The total film eventually broadcast was 7 minutes 40 seconds, a reduction ratio of 15 to 1. This reduction could be said to represent the gatekeeper function.

The reporter on the scene was pleased to have filmed the event but was afraid that the film would be seized. For more rapid transmission, the film was edited in Tokyo and transmitted to New York by satellite. The expensive transmission was authorized by the Huntley-Brinkley executive producer on the basis of telegrams outlining story content. In the case of General Loan, the description emphasized that the film was an NBC exclusive. When the film arrived, the executive producer viewed it in the company of John Chancellor. The executive producer's reaction was that it was "too strong." He described Chancellor as speechless and deeply affected. In the original version, the General, after shooting the man, walks away into the film frame while blood gushes from the body. With several seconds removed, the film ended with the shooting. When shown, the screen went black at the end of three seconds, an unusual device for the news program.

The authors interpret the two rationales offered by the producer for using the material—that it was an exclusive not filmed by the other networks and that it was a highly significant story because of the prominence of the General—as indicating the influence of journalistic norms, because the two are highly conventional news criteria. They imply that the same criteria were used at the various decision points—the original filming, the Tokyo editing, the satellite transmission decision, and the New York decision to broadcast. They suggest that the presence of
Chancellor also reduced the individual character of any decision, because he represented the introduction of the views of a second professional. The prevailing criterion for final editing was audience taste. The authors suggest that the news organization and not a news editor should be the focus of gatekeeper studies.

12

Principal Findings: Four factors associated with children’s high exposure to pictorial media—television, movies, and comic books—were lack of parental restrictions, low IQ, father’s reading/worker or service occupations, and Catholic religion. In regard to content preferences, there were sex differences. Boys showed greater preference for aggressive-hero content—stories centering on a hero who aggressively defends himself and others. Among the boys, rebellious, independent tendencies and lower IQ were positively correlated with a greater preference for aggressive-hero content. Boys with a great deal of exposure to aggressive-hero content were apt to like it more than those with low exposure, and this association was particularly strong among boys with many problems about themselves, their friends, and their families; with extraputricular leanings; or with rebellious, independent tendencies.

Design and Methodology: A questionnaire was administered to over 600 boys and girls in the fifth and sixth grades of the public school of a suburb of Boston, Mass., to obtain information on media use, social background, and psychological characteristics. The principal psychological variable was the child’s consciously perceived problems about himself and his relations with the people in his immediate environment.

Additional interviews were conducted with 100 boys in regard to a specific mass medium—the comic book. The boys were told to read a comic book in the same way they would at home. The interviewer kept track of the time the boys spent reading a comic book and looking at pictures. The interviewer also recorded the degree of the child’s absorption in the comic book, his awareness of people and events around him, restlessness and other nervous gestures, and expressions. Children were tested on amount of story recalled. Finally, children’s attitudes toward content were examined.

Theory and Discussion: Parents’ child-rearing practices also played a role in preference for aggressive-hero content: children whose parents restricted the amount of exposure to the media showed less preference for this type of material, and children who were spanked showed greater preference. High exposure boys, especially when they have many problems and extraputricular tendencies, see comic books more as a type than as a unique story. In their way of looking at the people in these stories, their emphasis is on physical characteristics—stereotyped evaluations, and explanations centering on social factors. No cognitive correlates of high exposure were found among girls. Three were isolated among boys: First, boys with high exposure tended to classify people in a stereotyped way—into black-and-white categories. Second, high exposure was related, among boys, to a passive attitude—an attitude of acceptance of the socioeconomic situation of the father and a lack of interest in changing it. Finally, the fancied self-image of boys with high exposure was colored by the mass media. The people chosen by these boys as people they would like to change were taken from the content of the pictorial media.

The researcher concludes that the function of the mass media in the life of the child reflects his psychological predisposition, and it also influences his mode of perception. The amount that a child is exposed to television is determined by his social environment as well as his intelligence. However, when a child does watch a lot of television, his psychological characteristics become very important in that they determine the function of television programs for him, differentiate the type of content he prefers and how he perceives it, and affect any influence this content may have on him.

13

Principal Findings: Network entertainment in 1967 and 1968 was filled with violence. In both years, about 80 percent of programs contained one or more violent incidents. A majority of all programs contained violence, but crime-Western action programs led, followed by cartoons, and comedies. A majority of American adults disapprove of the amount and of the kind of violence on television.

Design and Methodology: One week of fall entertainment programming for all three networks was coded in 1967 and 1968; the sample included each season’s prime-time series and Saturday morning shows. Violence was defined as “overt expression of force intended to hurt or kill.” The content analysis was conducted by George Gerbner, University of Pennsylvania. Public attitudes were measured by a survey based on a national probability sample conducted by Louis Harris, 1,176 adults and 496 teenagers were included.

Theory and Discussion: Effects cannot be inferred from content. However, the similarity in age between characters engaged in violence and many viewers, and the similarity between many of the circumstances in which television violence occurs and situations encountered by viewers in real life, would seem to increase the likelihood that a viewer might be influenced in his behavior. One mitigating factor is that only about half of programs containing violence were set in the present; time, however, is only one dimension figuring in similarity between television and real life. Violence occurred in eight of every 10 plays; there was an average of five violent episodes per play. Most violent episodes were portrayed as serious rather than humorous. Violent acts were usually performed at close range, and usually involved a weapon. Half the time the victim was a stranger; in most cases, he could not or did not resist. Violence was generally undertaken in self-interest. Violence resulted in little visible pain. The casualty count of injured and dead was at least 790 during the two weeks. “Good guys” inflected as much violence as “bad guys” but triumphed in the end. Nearly half of killers suffered no consequences. The typical violent actor was an unmarried young or middle-aged male, and foreigners and nonwhites committed more violence than white Americans. The conflict between enforcers and breakers of the law accounted for one-third of all violent aggressors and half of all killers. Violence was rarely portrayed as violating the law; when law was involved, as in crime shows, the law itself was likely to be extremely violent.

The norms which might be inferred include: (1) Unmarried young to middle-aged males are more violent than others. (2) Violence can be expected more from nonwhites or non-Americans than from whites and Americans. (3) Be wary of situations where you encounter strangers at close range; violence is to be more expected from strangers than family, friends, or acquaintances; to avoid violence, avoid strangers. (4) When involved in violence, those most likely to be killed are middle-aged men and nonwhites. (5) Law enforcement people are as violent as the most violent citizens. (6) Past and present may be saturated with violence, but the future will be even more violent. (7) Violence may lead to death, but the inflicting of physical injury doesn’t cause discomfort or pain. (8) Witnesses to violence seldom inter-
vene. 9) Users of violence need not be concerned about punishment. 10) Violence is used as much by "good guys" as by "bad guys," and by "winners" as often as by "losers"; violence is a legitimate and successful means to attain a goal; use of violence is consistent with being a "good guy."

The overall impression is that violence, employed as a means of conflict resolution or acquisition of personal goals, is a predominant characteristic of life," conclude the authors. "Cooperation, compromise, debate, and other nonviolent means of conflict resolution are notable for their lack of prominence."

There is little evidence that the public approves of the violence on television. When asked whether "there is too much, a reasonable amount, or very little" violence on television, 59 percent of a national sample said there was "too much." When asked whether they "generally approve of or disapprove of the kind of violence that is portrayed on TV," apart from the quantity, 63 percent said they disapprove.

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Principal Findings: The norms for violence portrayed in television entertainment drama conflict sharply with norms of real-life violence in the United States.

Theory and Discussion: The content of television entertainment drama in 1967 and 1968 as analyzed by George Gerbner, University of Pennsylvania, is contrasted with real-life violence. In real life, legality is a requirement for approved violence; in television, illegal violence is often approved. In real life, most violence occurs between family members or friends and acquaintances, between strangers. In real life, few Americans experience violence with a weapon; in television, young to middle-aged males are most often involved in violence. Demographic data indicate that the population groups whose members are most often involved in violence in real life also are the users of television, express greater approval of television violence, and prefer violent over nonviolent television entertainment. This raises questions about television's socializing effects: if young male viewers identify with the violent males on television, imitation of attitudes and behavior may be made more likely.

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Principal Findings: The people responsible for producing primetime television drama believe that conflict is an essential plot element; that violence is synonymous with conflict; that action is the best way to hold attention; that clear-cut and exaggerated attributes of good and evil facilitate understanding and identification; and that the portrayal of physical jeopardy is necessary because it is easily perceived and understood. They are motivated to use conflict by the competition to win and hold the largest possible audience; the need to create quickly; the scarcity of especially innovative writers; the easy rewards of imitating what seems to be successful; and the constraints on deviation from violence imposed by the adversarial nature of action-adventure series.

Design and Methodology: Forty-eight high-level persons concerned with the production of 18 network television series judged to contain substantial violence were interviewed in 1970. The study focuses on: (1) the reasons for violence; (2) network censorship; and (3) attitudes inside the television industry toward critics of violent content. The producers, writers, directors, and others interviewed represented all the primetime Western, police, detective, and spy series ordered at the beginning of the 1970-71 season. Also included were six network censors.

Theory and Discussion: The television people say that they attempt to confine violence to situations where it is essential to plot or character. They often shoot alternative scenes with reduced violence in case the original is rejected by network censors—the "broadcast standards" departments. Each network has a director and about eight staff members on the West Coast where production takes place, referred to collectively as "the censors." At each stage—outline, draft script, revisions, rough film, and completed film—censors' written approval and editorial commentary is involved. However, the pressure to avoid financial loss favors change at the earliest possible stage and may inhibit the harshness of later judgment. The television people see the censors as "buffers" standing between the networks and those who would pressure them—the public, Congress, and the Federal Communications Commission. They also see the censors as adversaries. They believe that the censors are primarily concerned with what will be acceptable, or with taste, rather than with any possible effects of content.

Justifying their irritation at restraint, the television people argue that violent content is beneficial. They assert that television violence accurately reflects life, and that the suggestion of violence may have a more adverse effect than complete portrayal because of the task left to imagination and the absence of perceivable suffering. They also feel that they are unfairly im posed on because news, movies, and sports are not subject to the same restrictions.

The television people are unsympathetic with criticism of television violence. They rebuff by citing influences on viewers other than television, such as parents; possible causes of social violence other than television; ignored parental responsibilities; cathartic benefits; positive contributions of implied messages; and the naive and self-interest of those who criticize. They do believe that television might adversely influence a "disturbed" viewer. However, they do not believe that the industry can be concerned with this minority. They suggest that television may be a scapegoat when poverty, racial hostility, distrust of government, and alienation should be the true focus. They criticize parents on the grounds that the high ratings of certain violent programs indicate the absence of parental objections. They argue that violent entertainment discourages violent behavior because of cathartic emotional release or because violence is always portrayed either as justified or is punished. Violence on television is also advocated as preparing the young for adulthood, on the premise that violence and conflict are common in life and that advance preparation is helpful.

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Principal Conclusions: Imitation is not the only way in which television may affect behavior. Television also may be responsible for some nonimitative behavior, because what is seen at a given time may lead to the subsequent performance of behaviors learned from earlier television viewing or other sources. Television's wide availability has probably increased the role of visual and symbolic models compared to that of live models directly experienced in children's learning of how to behave.

Theory and Discussion: In his experiments on imitative
behavior, the author found that children who observe aggressive models are subsequently more aggressive, that real-life and film models do not differ from each other in influence, but that real-life are more influential than cartoon models. The studies indicate that exposure to human models portraying aggression on film is a highly influential method of eliciting and shaping aggressive behavior. Children in this situation show more total and imitative aggression, more nonimitative aggression, and more aggressive gun play than others. The author hypothesizes that television viewing may also account for nonimitative aggression after observing film models because the cues provided by the aggressive model may also function as eliciting stimuli for aggressive responses previously learned from television and other sources, and may serve as a disinhibiting influence overriding social sanctions against aggression. The behavior of young children is less likely to be controlled internally, so environmental stimuli, including television, may play an especially important role in regard to their behavior.

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**Principal Findings:** Imitative performance by nursery school children of aggressive behavior shown on a television receiver was greater when the portrayed aggression was rewarded. However, learning of what was observed occurred regardless of the portrayed consequences. Children who saw an aggressive model whose behavior was punished performed significantly fewer imitative aggressive acts than children who saw the model either rewarded or receive neither reward nor punishment. Boys imitated the aggressive models more than girls. When a reward was offered to the children for imitating the aggressive model, the differences between the three groups—model-rewarded, no-consequences, and model-punished—disappeared, and the sex difference was greatly reduced.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 33 boys and 33 girls enrolled in the Stanford University nursery school assigned randomly to the three experimental groups, 11 boys and 11 girls to each group. All subjects saw a five-minute film, presented on a television console by rear projection. In the model-rewarded group, an adult male punched with his fists, hit with a mallet, kicked, and threw rubber balls at a Bobo doll accompanying these acts with assertions of "Sockeroo . . . stay down!" and afterwards a second adult male entered the room with refreshments—7-Up, Crackerjacks, and chocolate bars—and expressed admiration for the performance. In the model-punished condition, the adult expressed disapproval ("Hey there, you big bully . . .") and, when the aggressive model tripped and fell, stood on him and spanked him. In the no-consequences condition, the reinforcement sequence was omitted. Imitative performance was measured by observing the children for 10 minutes in a play room equipped with a Bobo doll, a mallet, three rubber balls, and various "non-aggressive" alternative toys. Raters were not aware of treatment conditions; scoring agreement was 99 percent. Acquisition of the observed behavior—that is, learning—was measured by offering the child fruit juice and "sticker pictures" to be pasted on a pastoral background for recalling what the aggressive model said, or imitating what he had done.

**Theory and Discussion:** The differences between groups in performance indicate that the kind of reinforcement received by a model can affect observer performance. The disappearance of these differences when a reward was offered indicates that observation alone can be sufficient. The failure for imitation to be complete when the reward was offered indicates that observation is not the sole factor involved. Thus, learning from observed behavior is not totally dependent on whether the observed behavior is rewarded. Acquisition is dependent on a wide range of factors, including those which affect attention and comprehension, and on the extent to which the observer acquired some of the required elements of behavior in his repertoire. The much higher rate for motor imitation (67 percent) than for verbal (20 percent) is probably attributable to the fact that nursery age children have more highly developed motor than verbal repertoires. Subgroups for which post-experimental reward led to significant increases in imitation were those whose immediate experience or prior history would be expected to deter or inhibit aggressive behavior—the boys who had seen the model punished, and the girls in all conditions, a group for which aggression is typically labeled as inappropriate.

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**Principal Conclusions:** Children may acquire behavior patterns simply by observing others, such as in films or on television. Children can acquire a behavior even if they do not practice it right after observing it, and whether or not they are rewarded when they practice it.

**Theory and Discussion:** The focus is on "vicarious" or observational learning, in which children acquire behavior patterns without immediate practice ("no-trial learning"). On the basis of his own research, the author hypothesizes that an observed response becomes acquired or learned when the stimuli elicit mental representations of the behavior, which in turn are incorporated into a symbolic pattern by the child.

Actual performance of the learned behavior, however, is governed by reinforcements given to both the model and the child. For example, preschoolers imitated aggression much less when he was punished than when he was rewarded or received neither punishment nor reward. However, when they were later offered rewards for reproducing the model's behavior, the children imitated whether or not they had seen the model punished or rewarded. Other findings on aggression indicate that punishment of the model or child may affect only directly imitative responses, but not other aggressive behavior. In addition to teaching new behaviors, witnessing the consequences of the behavior of a model, such as a television character, may also influence the child's existing patterns of behavior, inhibitions, and emotional reactions.

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**Principal Conclusions:** Children acquire the capability to behave in new ways not only through direct instruction, but also through observing the behavior of others, such as parents, teachers, peers, and television and film characters. Television and films play a more important role than often assumed, since these media and parents may contradict each other in the norms conveyed, and the influence of parents may be lessened—although a strong, direct media effect may not be observed. As children between 3 to 7 years of age spend more and more time observing television and film models, and as communications technology improves, it is highly probable that parents and teachers may become comparatively less influential as models for behavior.

**Theory and Discussion:** The experimental evidence on the effect of exposure to film and television violence on children's subsequent aggressive behavior is controversial. Experiments conducted by the author, indicate that the success of the portrayed model—whether he is rewarded or punished—is a major influence on
subsequent imitation. Children who see an aggressive model rewarded or neither rewarded nor punished are more likely to imitate his behavior than if he had been punished. Boys are more likely than girls to imitate an aggressive model; however, it is not learning but spontaneous performance of what has been observed which accounts for this difference. When children are offered an incentive to imitate, both boys and girls will display the previously observed behavior, and will do so regardless of whether the model was rewarded or punished. Thus, the learning of aggressive behavior can be separated from performance, which is likely to be inhibited by such factors as norms and the sanctions the child might anticipate.

If real life events are consistent with the theory, it goes unchallenged; if they are not, one attempts to find explanations open to experimental test. There is no attempt to extrapolate directly from the experiment to real life. Given the difficulty of achieving the desired manipulation of an experiment and the extremely delimited nature of the experimental experience, any obtained effects are actually fairly strong evidence about a meaningful causal tie.

Another common criticism is that the kind of aggression displayed is not "real" aggression because it does not occur in hostile circumstances. This criticism, too, is invalid because the issue is the acquiring of aggressive behaviors and inclinations. Such shaping of aggression very often occurs in nonhostile circumstances; a good example is peacetime military training for possible future hostilities.


Principal Conclusions: Aggressive behavior may be learned from observing others, and such observation may be of real life or of behavior in films or on television, as well as through direct, personal experience. Later performance of what has been learned depends on many factors, including frustration, emotional arousal, the characteristics of persons and other stimuli in the environment, and the expected consequences. The influence of any set of such factors may also depend on what has been learned from television. There is a large body of experimental and other evidence which indicates that violence on television increases the occurrence of aggressive behavior; several commonly-made criticisms of the experimental data are invalid.

The theory and Discussion: Level and type of aggressive behavior are not instinctual, but learned. The various forms of aggression are only one set of alternatives for behaving in any situation, but learning the meaning of what is considered appropriate in a given set of circumstances, determines the behavior, aggressive or otherwise, which will occur. Frustration or emotional arousal facilitates aggression, but are not conditions necessary for its occurrence. There is little support for the hypothesis that performing or observing aggression results in catharsis and the lowering of aggressive inclination. Aggressive inclination, in fact, may be reduced in the absence of the performance or observation of aggression.

On the whole, neither instinct nor the hypothesis that aggression is always attributable to prior frustration seems to fit the evidence as well as social learning theory. From this latter perspective, the performance of a particular aggressive act depends on the prior learning of that act, the presence of stimuli in the situation which would elicit aggression, and the consequences anticipated for aggression. All three depend on what has been learned from direct experience or from observing others, either in real life or in films and television. Much, of course, depends on the mental processes of the individual; current stimuli and prior learning do not bypass but have their effects through beliefs, feelings, and knowledge of the person.

A large body of experiments indicate that aggressive behavior may be learned from television. Actual performance, of course, depends on later circumstances. However, there are many examples from real life which suggest an influence of television and films on behavior, including the spectacular rise in air hijackings following news coverage of their occurrence and relative success.

One criticism made of the experimental evidence is that experimental results cannot be extrapolated to real life because the experimental environment is somehow artificial. This criticism is not valid, and displays a misunderstanding of the role of the experiment in science. The purpose of the experiment is to test hypotheses derived from theory under the most rigorous and sensitive conditions possible. The advantage of experimental over other kinds of data is that causal inference is possible. Predictions about real life events are derived from the theory.
"sits on Bobo doll" were recorded as partially imitative behavior. "Punches Bobo doll" was recorded as nonimitative aggression.

**Theory and Discussion:** That subjects given an opportunity to observe aggressive models later reproduced a good deal of physical and verbal aggression substantially identical with that of the model, while subjects exposed to nonaggressive models or to no model at all only rarely performed such responses is interpreted by the authors as indicating that there is a relation between the observation of aggressive behavior and subsequent performance of that behavior. They suggest that the social imitation paradigm, in which the acquisition of new behaviors is hastened or short-cut without the necessity of reinforcing successive approximations is supported by this study. They also suggest that the observation of adult models creates justification or permission to imitate the behavior of the model, possibly by weakening inhibitory responses ordinarily operative in this kind of situation. The fact that subjects expressed their aggression in ways that clearly resembled the behaviors of the models suggests that the imitation paradigm provides an adequate explanation. In the analysis of the interaction involving sex of model and sex of respondent, only the comparisons involving the male model yield significant differences. This relationship, together with the finding that boys are in general more imitative of physical aggression than girls, suggests that subjects may be differentially affected by the sex of the model but that predictions must also take into account the degree to which the behavior in question within a culture is more typical of one sex than the other.


**Principal Findings:** Observation of aggressive behavior by males and females in real life and in a film and by a cat lady in a televised cartoon each led to an increased total of a variety of aggressive acts on the part of nursery school children. The results were identical for imitative physical and verbal aggression against a Bobo doll, one of the kinds of aggressive acts counted, except that the real-life model produced significantly more than the cartoon model. However, imitative and total aggressive acts were significantly more frequent for children seeing the cartoon and the filmed models than for a control group. Boys exhibited significantly more aggression toward other boys, more aggressive acts of all kinds, more imitative aggression, more play with an "aggressive toy"—a dart gun, and more nonimitative aggression.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 48 boys and 48 girls enrolled in the Stanford University nursery school, divided into three experimental groups and one control group of 24 subjects each; subjects were matched individually on the basis of ratings of aggressiveness; and two conditions, involving real life and filmed human aggression, were further divided so that half the subjects in each saw a male model and half a female model. In a real-life aggression condition, the child observed a male or female adult attack a Bobo doll by sitting on it and punching it, pummeling it with a hammer, and kicking it about, accompanied by verbal assault ("Sock him in the nose. Kick him ... "). In the human film aggression condition, subjects saw a color film of the same behavior performed by the same models projected on a screen. In the cartoon film aggression condition, subjects saw the female model dressed as a cat perform the same behavior in a color film shown on a television screen by rear projection. The control group had no exposure to the models. Before effects were measured, the children were slightly frustrated by being taken away from a roomful of attractive toys to increase likelihood of aggressive displays. The test room contained several toys and items shown in the film or of aggressive character—a Bobo doll, a mallet and peg board, two dart guns, and a tether ball with a face painted on it which hung from the ceiling and a variety of "nonaggressive" toys, such as a tea set, crayons and coloring paper, and cars and trucks. Subjects were observed for 20 minutes; although only one observer was needed, a reliability test with a second rater showed high reliability (.90-plus). Behavior was coded in regard to: imitative aggression, partially imitative aggression, and aggressive play with the gun.

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors conclude, "The results . . . provide strong evidence that exposure to filmed aggression heightens aggressive reactions in children. Subjects who viewed the aggressive human and cartoon models on film exhibited nearly twice as much aggression than subjects in the control group."

Sex of model also was important. A male model elicited significantly more aggressive play with the gun. The less aggressive gun play occurred for girls exposed to the female model, and the most for boys exposed to a male model. There were various sex and model interactions in regard to partially imitative behavior which further emphasize the importance of the sex of a model for effects on a boy or girl. For example, boys observing a female model were significantly more likely to sit on a Bobo doll without punching it than boys observing a male model, and girls were more likely than boys to reproduce this partial imitation after seeing a male model. Partially imitative responses were highest for girls seeing the female model; lowest, for boys observing a male model. The context in which the model appeared also made a difference: The human models seemed to produce the most accurate imitation, since partially imitative responses were significantly less than for the film and live versions. Effects of exposure to a model may not appear until a subject is instigated to aggression. The data do not support the hypothesis that aggressive film stimuli affect only deviant children, since between 80 and 90 percent of subjects performed imitative acts. Interviews with parents of subjects indicated that imitation of aggressive behavior seen on television was discouraged. However, since the behavior appears to be learned, it could still appear were instigation high, aggressive means at hand, and the possibility of punishment or harm slight. The lack of correlation between ratings of aggressiveness and experimental responses may indicate the importance in the role of external cues, especially for young children whose behavior is probably under less internal stimulus control than adults. Aggressive acts are often learned for prosocial ends under nonfrustrating conditions; frustration, however, often results in responses of high magnitude, and in such circumstances these aggressive acts may be employed to injure. Thus the question of whether responses evoked in the experimental setting are genuinely aggressive is irrelevant. It also seems apparent that imitative learning can occur without reinforcement either of the model or the observer.


**Principal Findings:** Nursery school children imitated aggression seen on a television receiver when the observed aggression was rewarded. The effect occurred for both boys and girls. Among the boys, nonimitative aggression was increased by seeing rewarded aggression or highly vigorous nonaggressive play. Thus, the imitate and, to some extent, the disinhibitory effects of observing behavior on television depends at least partly on the consequences of that behavior. Children who saw Rocky, an
adult male, aggress successfully against Johnny, another adult male, imitated more of the acts performed by Rocky than those who saw Rocky defeated and punished, or Rocky and Johnny actively but nonaggressively playing together, or were in a no-model control group. The children did not imitate and did not express liking for the punished Rocky. The children who saw the rewarded Rocky were highly critical of him, but nevertheless expressed a desire to emulate him (and did so), and made derogatory remarks about his victim. Children who saw the punished Rocky were also critical of him, but did not make derogatory remarks about the victim.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 40 boys and 40 girls enrolled in the Stanford University nursery school assigned randomly to four conditions—two experimental and two control. In the two experimental and in one control condition, subjects saw a five-minute color film shown on a television receiver. In the other control condition, no film was seen. In the film in the aggressive model-rewarded condition, an adult male named Rocky attacks and harasses an adult male named Johnny after he is refused access to the highly attractive toys with which Johnny is playing; when Rocky stumbles, Johnny attacks, but is thoroughly defeated; at the end of the film, Rocky plays with gusto while drinking 7-Up and eating cookies, then packs the toys into a bag and leaves, singing, “Hi ho, hi ho, it’s off to play I go,” while Johnny cowers in a corner. A variety of identifiable aggressive acts are performed by Rocky. In the film in the aggressive model-punished condition, everything is the same, including the identifiable aggressive acts performed by Rocky, except at the end Johnny defeats Rocky, and it is Rocky who is left cowering in a corner while Johnny packs up his toys and leaves. In the film in the nonaggressive model (control) condition, the two adult males play vigorously but nonaggressively, using the same items which figured in Rocky’s aggressive acts such as a ball, a Bobo doll, dart guns a baton, and a hula hoop. Of course, children in the remaining no-film condition control saw no models. Afterwards, subjects were individually observed for 20 minutes in a room containing a baton, two Bobo dolls, three balls, a hula hoop, a lasso, dart guns, cars, and plastic farm animals—all items which could be used to imitate Rocky’s aggressive acts. Imitative aggression was measured by counting the number of acts matching those performed by the aggressive model Rocky; nonimitative aggression, by counting aggressive acts not matching.

Theory and Discussion: The results support the hypothesis that emulation by children is partly dependent on the consequences of observed behavior. This has “…implications for the possible impact of televised stimulation on children’s attitudes and social behavior. The present experiment involved only a single episode of aggression that was rewarded or punished. In most television programs the ‘bad guy’ gains control over important resources and amasses considerable social and material rewards through a series of aggressive maneuvers, whereas his punishment is generally delayed until just before the last commercial. Thus children have opportunities to observe many episodes in which antisocially aggressive behavior has paid off abundantly and, considering that immediate rewards are more influential than delayed punishment in regulating behavior, the terminal punishment of the villain may have a relative lack of inhibitory effect.”

Further research is needed in which frequency and timing of positive and negative consequences for a model are varied. Psychoanalytic theory holds that identification with an aggressor occurs as the result of fear or threat; these data indicate that success on the part of an aggressor is sufficient. The results for total aggressive acts (imitative and nonimitative combined) suggest that, in practical impact, exposure to models can exert some control over aggressive behavior. For boys, whose aggressive response tendency is well established, reward or punishment for a model exerted disinhibiting or inhibitory influence. For girls, whose aggressive response tendency is not so well established, rewards and punishments had little effect, but seeing incompatible behavior (the nonaggressive play of Rocky and Johnny) reduced aggressive behavior presumably through the encouragement of responses incompatible with aggressive behavior. In any case, acquisition and performance must be clearly distinguished; the present data bear on the latter, and do not necessarily reflect differences in learning.

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Principal Conclusions: The viewing of humans being rewarded for aggression in films is highly influential in eliciting and shaping children’s aggressive behavior. Such vicarious participation in film violence increases rather than decreases the intensity and frequency of subsequent aggressiveness and does not drain off hostile impulses.

Theory and Discussion: Observation results in learning. As a result, a parent who uses severe physical punishment may teach an unintended lesson. The child may learn that aggression is an acceptable way of dealing with problems. Frequently, the mere observation of aggressive models with no relationship to the child is sufficient to produce imitative aggression. Frustration also increases the likelihood of aggressive behavior. However, the evidence suggests that the reward of aggression is a more potent determinant than frustration, at least among lower-class children. Aggressive boys have also been found to have mothers more permissive of aggression.

In general, the prior experiences of frustrated children in conjunction with their personalities largely determine their responses to frustration. Prior reward for aggressive responses combined with exposure to aggressive models makes occurrence of aggressive responses to frustration more likely. Frustration, however, is only one antecedent of aggression, and not the most potent one.

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Principal Conclusions: By observing others on television, film, or in real life, a child may be affected in three ways—he may acquire new responses; already acquired responses may be inhibited or disinhibited; and he may be led to perform previously learned responses similar to those observed. On the whole, television would appear to play an important role in shaping a child’s behavior.

Theory and Discussion: Television probably plays a major part in shaping a child’s behavior; and parents may be becoming less influential as models. The findings on the effects of viewing aggression indicate that children and adolescents are more likely to imitate the behavior if it is rewarded or unpunished. Male models are more influential in eliciting imitative aggression, and boys tend to be more aggressive than girls, as a result of social conditioning. Whether or not observed aggression is punished influences whether the child will imitate what he has seen, but he will nevertheless learn aggressive acts which he may display in other situations. Both normative and nonnormative patterns of response may be shaped by observing others; here, the authors outline the principles of such social learning in terms of imitation, reinforcement patterns, development of self-control, and modification of behavior.
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**Principal Findings**: Mothers can influence children's television viewing in ways, and may exert control in ways which are overlooked in many studies.

**Design and Methodology**: A sample of 44 mothers in the Greater Boston area were interviewed in depth about their behavior and attitudes in regard to their children's television viewing, and a formal model for analyzing parental influence was developed.

**Theory and Discussion**: Various studies show that both children and parents usually report relatively limited efforts to control or influence children's viewing. However, these data may be limited because they do not cover the full range of ways in which parents may exert influence. In the present model, there are four basic dimensions: (1) the time that influence is exercised—before, during or after viewing; (2) positive and negative controls; (3) formal and informal controls; and (4) time and content controls. In the pilot sample of 44, the most frequent types of controls were formal, negative, and occurred after viewing had begun. Only a few said they forbade certain programs prior to viewing. Almost all indicated that they suggest the watching of certain programs. The main reasons for control were a fear that the child may be prematurely exposed to the adult world, and a belief that television is less important than other activities. They were also fearful that children might imitate behavior in programs with themes of violence.

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**Principal Conclusions**: Television advertisers appeal to motives and anxieties which result in commercials being a disturbance of real life. These include fears of dirt and of various personal inadequacies. The dominant themes in commercials concern "seduction, omnipotent status, unlimited money, acceptance, and admiration," with men the addition of fantasies of "power and raw violence, as well as a return to the protection of the nurturant mother."

**Theory and Discussion**: Television commercials reflect the preoccupations of their audience in regard to impulses, wishes, and their expression and gratification. It could be said that Madison Avenue says in a few seconds the same things it takes a Hollywood movie 120 minutes to say. Much is contradictory in commercials. They emphasize dirt, yet euhemisms abound. Women especially are portrayed in a contradictory way. They are portrayed as content, loving, capable; but also as insecure and inadequate, desiring beauty and youth, and wanting to "feel like a whole new woman."

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**Principal Conclusions**: The process which occurs between the purposive communicators of the mass media—such as advertisers—and their audiences "must be regarded as a transaction" in which there is an exchange of values between the parties. The communicator may wish to achieve certain goals, such as the selling of a product, but in order to do so he must make his communication meet certain criteria of the audience or the communication will be ignored. The audience can be very "obstinate" and nonconforming communicators will fail to achieve their goals. The audience, on the other hand, would not attend to the mass media or follow the guidance of a communicator if it did not receive something it desired from the process.

**Theory and Discussion**: The model of mass communication held "by the general public, and by social scientists when they talk about advertising, and somebody else's propaganda, is one of the exploitation of man by man." It holds that influence is one-way, and that the communicator has wide latitude and power in regard to that influence. It is argued that this model is inaccurate, although it gratifies the communicator by implying prowess and the critic by facilitating moral indignation. Instead, it is proposed that "the model which ought to be inferred from the data of research" is one in which two parties give and take approximately equal values. The communicator pays the price of operating within the range of interests and desires of the audience, and the audience pays the price of sufficient conformity to the communicator's desires to cause him to continue sending. Audience members can be thought of as attending to communications in order to solve problems. "The rough balance of exchange," the author writes, "is sufficiently equitable in the long run to keep most individuals in our society engaged in the transactional relations of communication and influence.

But some 'alienated' people absent themselves from the network of communication as do, also, many businessmen who have doubts about the money they spend on advertising. The alienation is by no means peculiar to one end of the chain of communication or influence."
mation campaigns showed minimal success in producing attitude or behavior change, or even information gain.

The large number of murders and violent acts on television may be a sign of the low artistic state of the medium or give insight into our culture and values, but impact cannot be inferred from content. Violence on television cannot be assumed to be emotionally damaging to the audience. Television can have both good and bad effects; the available evidence does not show it has either increased or decreased antisocial behavior.


**Principal Findings:** Schoolchildren reported spending at least half of their available time on mass media, and most of this time was spent on television. Except for book reading, use of other media declined with the introduction of television.

**Design and Methodology:** The 1958 sample consisted of 2,306 boys and girls in the fifth, seventh, ninth, and eleventh grades, and 1,686 parents. Data were obtained by questionnaire. Pre-television data came from a similar media use survey in 1950.

**Theory and Discussion:** The study focuses on the reading, radio listening, television viewing, and movie attendance of children. On the average, 36 of the 67 hours per week remaining after school, sleeping, and eating were spent on three media—television, radio, and newspapers. This is over half of available time, and omits media use where time estimates were not obtained, such as for book, magazine, and comics reading. Television occupied more than 70 percent of the 36 hours, and increased the total time spent with mass media. Attention given to newspapers, magazines, comic books, radio, and movies had decreased since the introduction of television. Only part of the total time spent with television comes from other media, however; some of it is also drawn from other activities. Total media time did not vary by grade, but television use decreased with age while radio listening increased.


**Principal Findings:** Film records of families viewing television in their own homes found actual television viewing to be less than respondents reported. Television watching tended to be part of a varied set of behaviors which include concurrent activity, nonwatching, and absences from the room. For every three hours of actual watching, respondents' viewing diaries on the average showed four hours. Overestimating was greater for reports of the previous day's viewing and even greater for an average day's viewing. Of 11 program types, commercials were least watched. The 11-19 age group was slightly more attentive than the 20-75 group, and both were considerably more attentive than the 1-10 group; the 11-19 was more attentive to violent suspense programs than the other group.

**Design and Methodology:** Viewing behavior of 20 families was videotaped. Two cameras were installed in each home, one over the television set focused on the room, and one focused on the set. The first recorded the viewers; the second, what was being viewed. Taping was automatically triggered by turning on the television set, and was monitored from a truck parked near each house. There were a variety of difficulties: Some recording time was lost because of the need to change tapes, failure of recording heads, breakdown of generator, monitors, or cables, inadequate room lighting, and temperature variations which caused machine failures. Behavior of 20 families with a total of 93 members was recorded. Some were part of a random sample solicited to participate, and some were volunteers.

**Theory and Discussion:** "The consistent overreporting indicates a lack of awareness of the complexity of behavior during the time the television set is on," write the authors. "... Globally, the data point to an inseparable mixture of watching and nonwatching as a general style of television viewing behavior. ... The findings point to the fact that television viewing is a complex and various form of behavior..." Viewers could be classified into five types. Type I: "action-checkers"—least amount of time in room, least nonwatching when in room. Type II: "average viewers"—average in watching and nonwatching. Type III: "nonwatchers"—more than average time in the room, and higher than average nonwatching while in the room. Type IV: "watchers"—higher than average time in the room, higher than average watching, average in nonwatching. Type V: "attention-shifters"—spend time high on time in the room, high on nonwatching, apparently oscillating between watching and nonwatching. Average age rises from Type I to Type V. Type IV has markedly lower mean income. The authors conclude that any effort to understand the effects of television viewing must take into account the nature of television viewing, in which what is shown is filtered by behavior associated with watching.


**Principal Findings:** In England, the introduction of television affected viewers' lives by reducing strength of interest in a wide range of activities and the frequency with which they pursued these activities. The loss appeared to extend over at least four to six years, although there was considerable recovery with time. However, not all activities were affected in the same way.

**Design and Methodology:** Data were obtained from samples of 450 viewers and 350 nonviewers in Greater London. Information on length of set ownership permitted analysis of trends over time. Although the survey was cross-sectional, the data were manipulated statistically to isolate the effects of television using the Stable Correlates Method.

**Theory and Discussion:** Television's effects on 20 kinds of activity were studied, including gardening, movie attendance, and reading. In general, neither the strength of interest nor the frequency of engaging in activities recovered fully in four to six years. Strength of interest tended to be unaffected for the first year, then declined prior to a slow recovery. Frequency of activity immediately declined sharply, and remained near minimum longer before beginning to recover. Most strongly affected were deeply pursued activities; recovery was complete in four to six years for the less ardently pursued activities. The diminishing of interest and activity occurs even when an interest is featured on television, except for a brief rise in strength of interest (but not activity) during the first year before interest declines below its pre-television level. However, there is a great deal of variation for specific interests. Movie attendance and reading were reduced; sports attendance increased. Behind the broad pattern of the data are many specific trends. For example, art gallery attendance has increased markedly since television, because gallery-goers have increased their attendance sharply, probably in response to various television presentations, while no-goers have experienced a decline in interest in art.

**Principal Findings:** Although television did not produce large changes in English family life, television did affect family life in various ways. Prominent was an increase in visits and a redistribution of the hours spent at home.

**Design and Methodology:** Data were obtained from a sample of 8,200 persons with and without television in summer and winter surveys of London, a winter survey of a second city, and a summer survey of a third city. Data collection was by diary-like questionnaire. The effects of having a television set were isolated by statistically manipulating the data to hold other differences between owners and nonowners constant (using the Stable Correlates method).

**Theory and Discussion:** There has been widespread speculation and concern over the possible effects of television on the family. Some have argued that it would improve family life by bringing members together and providing common topics of conversation. Others have argued that it would harm the family by altering its character. The evidence is that large changes have not occurred. The family now appears to spend somewhat more time at home together after the hour when broadcasting begins (3 p.m.), and somewhat less time before this hour. In regard to time, this redistribution has been the main effect, although total time spent at home has increased slightly for both adults and children. Visitors have increased markedly, although this may decline when more people have television sets. The effect on 20 varied home activities was negligible, except for a decrease in time spent caring for children—which occurred partly because the television served as a baby-sitter and partly because it substituted for storytelling or reading out loud. On the whole, the main trend was to narrow differences in home activity among the various socioeconomic strata.


**Principal Conclusions:** Research on television programs need not be limited to measuring popularity or audience size. Instead, research can aid and has aided broadcasters in several ways—in the planning of programs, in the production of programs, in the evaluation of effects, and in the assessment of broad social impact.

**Theory and Discussion:** At least four different kinds of research have been undertaken on television programming in Britain to serve the needs of broadcasters. "Planning studies" have dealt with audience interests, attitudes, values, state of knowledge, and availability for viewing. "Comprehensibility studies" have evaluated the degree to which the intended audience will be able to understand informational programs. "Effects studies" have measured the particular effects of specific programs and series. "Social impact research" has evaluated television's broad and cumulative effects on social behavior. (In each instance, the argument for undertaking such research is followed first by the description of methods, and second by several examples of the use of those methods.)


**Principal Conclusions:** Although there is little to indicate that mass media such as television, movies, and comics are a major determinant of delinquency and crime, there is evidence that they can influence specific actions in specific situations. Experimental findings provide evidence on the influence of television and movies. Attributes of the viewer and attributes of the immediate environment play a large role. Because viewer and environmental characteristics which increase the likelihood that television or a movie will have an influence are only infrequently present, the media only infrequently stimulate serious antisocial behavior. However, the large quantity of violence in the media increases the likelihood that someone will subsequently behave aggressively and an innocent person suffers.

**Theory and Discussion:** Authorities differ about the effects of television and movie violence. Some believe it instigates aggression; others, that there is an aggression-reducing cathartic release. Most are cautious, acknowledging that aggressive or anxiety reactions may occur, but only when an individual is already highly aggressive or anxious. There is evidence that frustrated children and young adults seek out violence in the media, little evidence that such exposure weakens aggressive activity, and considerable evidence that it increases the likelihood of later aggressiveness.

There are three ways in which effects might occur: 1) through the shaping of responses—persons may learn criminal or aggressive techniques; 2) through instigating aggressive behavior—behaviors already learned may be aroused by the cues in violent content; and 3) through altering the interpretation of aggressivity—persons may decide their aggressive inclinations are morally justified. In addition, the media may influence attitudes toward groups and individuals who may be potential targets of aggression.

The effect of media violence on aggression depends on 1) the strength of the viewer's aggressive habits, 2) the intensity of the hostility aroused, 3) the degree of similarity between the circumstances portrayed in the media and the situation in which the hostile habits were learned and the post-media situation, and 4) the intensity of guilt and anxiety over aggression aroused by exposure to media violence. Violence in television and movies incite only a few because the predisposing conditions are absent, and because there is a tendency to discount the media presentations as "make believe." Each weakens any association between the media content and the viewer's real-life circumstances. Nevertheless, the probability of aggressive behavior is increased by media violence.


**Principal Findings:** Two experiments supported the authors' contention that the meaning attributed to an observed event affects the aggressive reactions provoked by it. In Experiment I, university men, who had previously been angered, administered more electric shocks to their tormentor after watching a film of a prizefight or football game if the contest had been defined as an aggressive encounter (in which the victors wanted to injure their opponents) rather than a match between professionals engaging in their business. In Experiment II, previously angered subjects displayed the most impulsive aggression after viewing a war film when the event shown had been interpreted as both aggressive and realistic, as opposed to fictional.

**Design and Methodology:** In Experiment I, the subjects were 80 male students at the University of Wisconsin. Four experimental conditions were established in a 2 x 2 factorial design reflecting the nature of the competition viewed and whether or not the winner had an aggressive motive. A fifth, control condition featured a track race, and no information was given the subjects concerning the motives of the competitors.
bogus experiment was conducted first—each subject received a number of electric shocks from a confederate of the experimenter, who was posing as an evaluator of the subject's creativity in a problem-solving task. This was done to induce an important parameter of the study—anger with the confederate. The subject was then shown the appropriate film along with a tape-recorded message giving the background of the contest and setting the aggressive tone of the encounter. In order to obtain a measure of aggression, the subject was placed in an experimental situation like the bogus experiment. But this time, the roles were reversed, with the subject acting as the evaluator. As the accomplice read his proposals aloud, the subject had the opportunity to administer between one and five electrical shocks after each idea. The number of shocks administered comprised the aggression measure. Manipulation checks included the administration of a mood adjective checklist applied to both the subject and the protagonists in the films, a questionnaire in which the subject was asked to express his attitude toward his partner, and probes for suspiciousness. Eighteen subjects were eliminated from the analysis and other subjects run in their place because of the latter.

The 51 males, who served as subjects in Experiment II were recruited from newspaper advertisements in the student newspaper, which offered $2 for a one-hour movie study. The results are discussed in terms of whether the violence shown in a war film was real or fictional and whether or not the aggressive aspects of the combat were emphasized. The experimental procedure was essentially the same as in Experiment I, but this time the severity of shocks administered to the subjects during the bogus experiment was based upon each subject’s pain threshold. The aggression measure was based upon the duration and intensity of the shocks given the confederate by the subject. Only three subjects were discarded due to suspicion in this experiment.

Theory and Discussion: The authors conclude that the definition of an event as an aggressive encounter enhances its aggressive cue properties, facilitating aggressive responses in the viewer. But they also question whether the observed aggressive reactions emanated from the film aggression alone or the fact that it was presented as justified aggression. Other explanations, including the general arousal level of the subjects and the possible confounding of impulsive and intentional aspects of the aggressive reactions, are also considered. The authors had initially expected Experiment II subjects to be less aggressive in reality than in the fiction group. In explaining their contrary findings, they suggest that the fictional interpretation may have caused the observers to dissociate themselves from the event, making it a less effective stimulus.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 88 male undergraduates at the University of Wisconsin. The goal was to create a condition in which angered subjects could aggress against a target linked to a violent film they had seen, and the requisite control conditions to measure the effects of such a circumstance. As a result a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design was employed in which the subjects were randomly divided into eight treatment groups. The manipulations involved angering half the subjects, showing half the seven-minute prizefight sequence from the movie Champion, in which Kirk Douglas is savagely beaten and half a track meet film of similar length; and identifying a research assistant who is the target for aggression as Kirk or Bob Anderson. Anger was varied by having the research assistant administer one or seven electric shocks to the subject as feedback in a problem-solving situation. Aggression was measured by requiring the subject to administer shocks as feedback to the research assistant in the same problem-solving situation. The entire experiment was explained as a study of problem-solving under various conditions. Anger was measured by questionnaire after the initial shocking and again at the end of the experiment. In sum, subjects were angered or not angered by someone named Kirk or Bob, saw a prizefight sequence with Kirk Douglas or a track meet film, and were required to administer one or more shocks to Kirk or Bob. For those angered who saw the fight film, the linkage between the film and the future target of aggression was emphasized by explicit reference to the identity of the names by the experimenter.

Theory and Discussion: It was hypothesized that the display of aggression after observing a violent portrayal would depend on similarity between stimuli in the portrayal and in the situation in which aggressiveness might be expressed. "Observed aggression... does not necessarily lead to open aggression against anyone. Particular targets are most likely to be attacked, and these are objects having appropriate, aggression-elicitng cue properties." In the present case, the aggression was name-mediated. It should be noted that anger also increased aggressiveness. The success of the anger manipulation is shown in the significantly higher self-ratings of felt anger by the subjects receiving seven shocks. The persistence of the anger after the aggressive action against the target was inferred from the tendency for self-ratings of anger at the very end of the experiment to correlate with number of shocks previously given; if shocking had dissipated the anger, correlations should have showed no trend. The lack of significant differences between aggressive effects for the violent and track meet films may be attributable to the quite exciting nature of the track meet film, which would suggest that arousal, regardless of content, has disinhibitory effects, for the same prizefight film has provoked aggressiveness in other experiments where the control film was less exciting than the track film.

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Principal Findings: Aggression against a human target by college males was not affected by observing a violent film sequence except when the target of the actual aggression was linked to the film. When the target was identified as having the same name as the Hollywood star seen in the film, aggression was significantly greater than after observing an exciting film of a track meet. When the target was not so identified, aggression did not differ significantly between those seeing the violent sequence and the track film. Aggression was also significantly greater after observing the violent film when the film and target were linked than when they were not. Being made angry was found to increase aggression. There was also evidence that the aroused anger was fairly persistent and was not fully discharged by the aggressive action taken.

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Principal Findings: Subjects who saw an aggressively violent film administered more electric shocks to a confederate than did subjects who saw a nonviolent film. When the confederate's name was the same as the name of the victim in the aggressive film, he received more shocks. When the stimulus film with physical violence was introduced in such a way as to justify the violence seen there, more shocks were administered than when this introduction was not given. When questioned about hostility toward the confederate, subjects responded in a way that paralleled their shocking delivery—the observing of a violent film, the justification of that violence, and the identification of
the victim in the film with the confederate all led to greater hostility toward the confederate.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 90 male undergraduates in an introductory psychology course, who were assigned to the six cells of a $3 \times 2$ factorial design. Three film conditions were used: no aggression, aggressive, and justified aggression. The aggression films were identical prizefight sequences, with different introductions serving as the manipulation. Half of the confederates were given the same name as the victim in the fight film, Kirk. The rest of the time they were given the name Bob. The experiment begins with the "anger" manipulation. The subject was told that he would write a solution to a difficult problem in a short time. As an evaluation of his work, the confederate would administer one to ten electric shocks to the subject. The subject always received seven shocks. A mood questionnaire was then administered. Subjects then saw one of the three films. A second mood questionnaire was then administered. Following this, the confederate's name was introduced. When it was Kirk, the same as the victim in the fight film, the experimenter commented on the similarity. After this, the subject was allowed to evaluate the confederate's solution to a problem similar to the one he completed earlier. To communicate the evaluation to the confederate, the subject was allowed to administer a number of electric shocks. The number of shocks was one major dependent variable. Finally, a questionnaire asking the subject about feelings of rejection of the confederate was administered.

**Theory and Discussion:** Contrary to expectations, subjects who saw the violent films reported that they felt sadder than did others. It was expected that there would have been an increase in reported feelings of anger or anxiety, which should have facilitated the aggressive response. In spite of the unexpected mood finding, there were response differences as expected. The rest of the findings of this study are interpreted as pointing to the importance of considering the available target's stimulus characteristics in any comprehensive analysis of aggression. Particular people are attacked, not only because they are safe and visible targets, but also because they have cue properties causing them to elicit aggressive responses from persons who are ready to act aggressively. Supporting this reasoning, available target persons who are associated with the victim of observed violence receive more attacks from angered individuals than do other possible targets lacking this association.

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**Principle Findings:** Recently angered subjects displayed more aggression toward someone who had angered them after observing a violent film when the beating portrayed is described as justified than when it was not.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 90 male and 80 female undergraduates at the University of Wisconsin. There were two manipulations of primary interest: anger, and exposure to justified and unjustified film violence. Aggression, the principal dependent variable, was measured by subjects' ratings of the research assistant who interacted with them in manipulating their anger. In addition, for methodological guidance the effect on the terminal rating of a pre-movie rating of the research assistant was investigated. Thus, a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ factorial design was employed, with subjects randomly assigned to the eight treatment groups so that each contained ten men and ten women. Anger was aroused by the research assistant by insulting and harassing subjects during an IQ test. Exposure to justified and unjustified film violence was achieved by presenting different synopses prior to showing the seven-minute fight from the movie *Champion* in which Kirk Douglas is severely beaten; in one, he is depicted as a "soulsdrel," in the other, as a person shaped by his environment who is beginning to show remorse for his misdeeds. The pre-movie rating tended to freeze evaluations, restricting film influence; thus, the principal finding is based solely on subjects not rating the research assistant before seeing the movie.

**Theory and Discussion:** The purpose of the experiment was to test whether observation of media-depicted violence has a cathartic effect. An earlier finding (Feshbach, 116) that seeing violence led to less subsequent aggression may be due to the arousal of inhibitions against hostility, and not catharsis. To test this possibility, subjects were angered and exposed to film violence depicted as justified. The purpose was to create an experimental condition in which inhibitions against aggressiveness would be lowered. If the catharsis explanation holds, then one would expect reduced aggressiveness in this condition because the lowered inhibitions would facilitate vicarious involvement and catharsis. If the present authors are correct, the lowered inhibitions should increase aggressiveness. The latter occurred. The result is a paradox for those concerned with codes for movies and television. Codes usually insist that crime be shown not to pay, and transgressors punished. Yet, when the transgressor is punished aggressively, justified aggression is portrayed. The present data suggest "that this type of fantasy may actually increase the likelihood that some recently angered member of a movie or television audience will attack his own frustration, or perhaps even some innocent person he happens to associate with the anger instigator."

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**Principal Findings:** When television offered a choice across networks of the Watergate hearings and soap operas, the addition of the public affairs content increased the total viewing audience. The total television audience was larger when the Watergate hearings were broadcast alternately by one of three networks than when the networks simultaneously covered the hearings.

The data suggest that when there was simultaneous coverage, the audience for any network was smaller than it would have been were there ordinary simultaneous entertainment broadcasts; that the audience for a network broadcasting Watergate while the others broadcast entertainment was much larger than when the networks simultaneously broadcast either entertainment or Watergate; and that the largest possible audience for a network would occur in the hypothetical situation in which it broadcast entertainment while the other two broadcast Watergate.

**Design and Methodology:** The broadcast of the Watergate hearings first by all networks and then by the three networks on a rotating basis created a "natural experiment." Nielsen 1973 data were analyzed for ten days of simultaneous broadcast of the hearings by the three networks, for 27 days of rotating coverage, and for baseline days of no coverage for Los Angeles and New York. The fact that there were audience data for "no Watergate," "Watergate only," and "Watergate plus entertainment" made possible the estimating of the addition to total audience made by Watergate.

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors interpret their data as supporting the hypothesis that increased diversity in programming would increase total audience size. However, they caution that to test such a hypothesis it is crucial that diversity be defined so that program categories are really distinct in regard to their audience appeal. Soap operas and quizzes may be different from the viewpoint of format and production, but may not be different types in terms of audience appeal. In the case of the
Watergate hearings, a truly different kind of content was added to daytime television.

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Principal Findings: High-fantasy children given an opportunity to fantasize showed significant decreases in levels of behavioral aggression when presented with either aggressive or nonaggressive films, while low-fantasy subjects and high-fantasy subjects who were not allowed to fantasize evidenced no significant changes in behavioral aggression. There were no differences between the two groups in effective aggression during either the frustration or play periods.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 30 high- and 30 low-fantasy children selected from a group of 130 white, middle-class, fifth-grade children of average intelligence. Fantasy level was determined upon the basis of scores on two psychological tests—an inkblot test and a "Just-Suppose" task. Subjects in the experiment were those who, among the 130 children, received the 30 highest and the 30 lowest scores. All subjects were frustrated in groups of four children at a time, in a 6.5-minute frustration phase, in which they were prevented from completing a task by two older children assigned to "help" if assistance was needed. Immediately following the frustration treatment, each of five experimental groups were shown an aggressive film, five others were shown nonaggressive films, and five others were occupied with a nonfantasy activity task. Immediately following the presentation of the films or tasks, each group of subjects was placed in a play situation where both aggressive and nonaggressive toys were available. They were observed in a ten-minute spontaneous play activity segment by the experimenter and an observer. The experimental design was thus a 2 x 3 x 2 factorial, with variables of sex, treatment type, and fantasy level.

Theory and Discussion: The data are interpreted as supporting the three main hypotheses: (1) only individuals of high-fantasy disposition can effectively reduce aggression through fantasy; (2) high-fantasy individuals can utilize any fantasy experience, aggressive or nonaggressive; and (3) high-fantasy individuals utilize fantasy experience to change prevailing affective states or moods from anger to other moods. Analysis of all data strongly confirmed the existence of significant differences between high- and low-fantasy subjects in both behavioral and mood states.

These results offer strong refutation of the cathartic drive model of aggression reduction. It was found that only the angered high-fantasy subjects and not the frustrated low-fantasy subjects were able to reduce their aggression by means of fantasy experiences and that exposure to either aggressive or nonaggressive material was effective in reducing aggression for the high-fantasy subjects. The finding that the low-fantasy subjects evidenced an increase in aggression following exposure to aggressive film is in direct contrast to the hydraulic notion that all individuals will evidence reduced hostility following an aggressive fantasy experience.

Refutation of a cathartic position is in accord with the theoretical belief that aggression is perhaps best not regarded as a basic drive with a given quantum of energy to be reduced by catharsis. The results of this study indicating shifts of mood state from anger to shame and sadness after exposure to the aggressive film and from anger to elation after viewing the nonaggressive film are thus consistent with the theory that fantasy operates to effect mood change, and that the individual skilled in fantasy usage may respond to a fantasy situation with a wide range of affective responses.

These results thus cast doubt upon the popular view that violence on television and in the movies is harmful to all children. It appears that in some cases it is actually beneficial. However, the direction of the effect seems to depend on the fantasy level of the viewer. In other words, the sources of the effects of television on children is to be found in the children themselves, and not only in the specific content of the medium.

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Principal Findings: Television and radio ownership was high among low-income urban households, although about ten percent below the national average. Seventy percent said they were regular television viewers, sixty percent said they were regular radio listeners, and two-thirds said they looked at or read a newspaper every day. However, forty percent said they did not read at all or spent less than an hour per week reading. Newspapers were cited as the best source of product information, followed by television and then by friends. Whites and blacks differed, with blacks citing newspapers less than whites and ranking personal sources higher in regard to product information. Blacks were also more favorably disposed than whites toward broadcast advertising.

Design and Methodology: The study, consisting of 350 interviews taking approximately 40 minutes each, was conducted in the inner city of St. Louis in August 1968. The sample was chosen to include only households where the annual income was $4,000 or less. Fifty-five city blocks were selected within an area designated by the St. Louis Planning Commission as representing areas of greatest concentration of low-income households. Half of the respondents were chosen to be under 35 years of age. Mean income of households surveyed was $2,382 or approximately $608 per household member.

Theory and Discussion: The author concludes that the urban poor cannot be said to be media poor, although a significant portion are cut off from print sources. The data show that the mass media do reach the urban poor. The findings should encourage greater interest in use of the mass media to disseminate information to the urban poor.

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Principal Conclusions: The conventional scientific paradigm for the study of mass media effects, which focuses on the effects on a specific audience of a specific communication, does not reflect the way mass media operate in real life. As a result, much of the impact of mass media has been overlooked.

Theory and Discussion: Mass media are not a constant, but a changing stimulus. The audience is also constantly changing in desires, attitude, and mood, and thus in sensitivity to media influence. The mass media are only one among many influences, including other media and messages, and any given medium or message interacts with these influences in having an effect. Thus, the isolated study of the single effect of a message on a specific demographically identified audience conveys a false picture of media impact.

Properly, the study of mass media impact should reflect the empirical world accurately. Thus, such study should take into account the factors affecting the sensitivity of the audience to media influence; other influences and a medium's place as part of a set of influences acting in combination; how media come to be a part of a person's experience; and media's multiple and varied effects. "For example," writes the author, "in a study of
the effects of television presentations on voting intentions it would be highly desirable to include inquiry into how people are influenced on related matters by the presentations. Thus, findings on how the presentations shape views of the political reality shift between the candidates' definitions of issues and the parties and candidates beliefs about politicians and ideas of political life—such findings put the voting intentions in better perspective and yield an account more in line with the context of relevant group life."


Principal Findings: Sixty-one percent of an English sample found television "most helpful" of all media in the 1964 election for weighing up political leaders, and it was cited most often as being "most helpful" of all media in understanding issues, and being most impartial of all media. Among television set owners, viewing of party political broadcasts had increased markedly over such viewing by the same owners in the previous election in 1959, five years before. However, television did not appear to affect net balance between the parties, although it may have benefited the minority third party.

Design and Methodology: A sample of 394 voters were interviewed in 1964 out of a larger sample of 750 who had been interviewed in 1959. Both samples included owners and non-owners of television sets.

Theory and Discussion: Voters indicated they believed television played a large role in the political process at election time, citing it more often than any other media for assessing political leaders (61 percent), helping understand issues (50 percent), and being impartial (45 percent). Since 37 percent gave firm commitment as a rationale for ignoring party election broadcasts, it would appear that one motive for viewing party political broadcasts is the seeking of information about politics. Actual learning was more strongly related to a motive of gaining information than to exposure—i.e., those who watched to learn, learned more than those watching for other reasons who watched more. The finding that television set-owners in 1964 watched more political broadcasts than in 1959 suggests that television cultivates attention to politics. There was no evidence of any net shift between the two major parties which could be attributed to television, although the visibility among relatively uninterested and persuadable persons given the minority third (Liberal) party probably increased its support.


Principal Findings: More than any other mass medium, television leads to widespread sharing of the same experience. In the long run, this standardization may affect the way individuals think and be, and may reduce the society's capacity to tolerate deviance from norms.

Theory and Discussion: Individuals at the upper end of the educational and socioeconomic spectrum lead less time watching television, with the point of maximum viewing just above the lowest income group. With the loss of novelty, viewing became a pastime instead of a primary preoccupation. High costs have given television a conservative character; a sponsor has a large investment, and wants the largest possible audience. The result is "safe," bland, and inoffensive programming. The level of cultural taste represented by television programming was already well established in the mass media before television, and violence and stereotyping do not differ from that already prevalent in the popular arts. Television has not trans-}

formed more, values, and cultural standards, but television expresses prevailing standards with greater impact than other media.


Principal Conclusions: The mass media are a "powerful current" by which blue-collar workers are encouraged to conform to middle-class values and aspirations. Blue-collar workers and their families do differ in media use from the middle class. However, the small size of the differences is of greater interest than their existence. The blue-collar population has a mass media experience similar to that of the population as a whole. The result is a common sharing across class lines of information, values, symbols, heroes, and fantasy figures. Thus, for the blue-collar population the mass media represent "a powerful force for conformity ... and the eventual move to middle-class status."

Theory and Discussion: The stereotype of the blue-collar worker and his family as being heavy consumers of mass media content of marked lower taste and cultural value, to the near exclusion of other content, is not supported by the data. With a few exceptions, there are very few media which can be said to be primarily directed at a blue-collar audience. This occurs partly because of the diversity of cultural patterns within income levels, and the attempt of mass media to reach as broad and large an audience as possible, a result of the mass media's dependence on revenue from advertising.

Blue-collar status is inversely related to use of print media and interest in international affairs, and positively related to use of television and interest in local affairs. Although magazines are the most specialized of the media, the major mass magazines reach a wide audience. Furthermore, news magazine reading, although lower than average among operatives and laborers, is higher than average among craftsmen and foremen. The contrast between middle and blue-collar strata in orientation toward television vs. print may hide a paradox—the blue-collar family is not so much more oriented to television, as it is less oriented to print, probably because of lower education and less skill in reading.

Bogart, L. Violence in the mass media. Television Quarterly, 1969, 8, 36-47.

Principal Conclusions: The greatest effect of violence in the mass media may be the increase of diffuse public anxiety rather than the increase of individual acts of violence. Too much attention may have been given to the imitation of portrayals of specific aggressive techniques. Another kind of learning may be more important—the lesson that the world is wicked, hostile, and requires protective, aggressive behavior for survival.

Theory and Discussion: Unlike violence in the news, violence in dramatic entertainment is used to build excitement over an inevitable crisis. Anxiety may be greater over the threat of violence as the plot builds than over its actual depiction. Factors which would influence the level of that anxiety include the seriousness of the consequences of the anticipated violence, the plausibility of the event, and the degree of identification with the potential victim. The degree of social disapproval of medium violence probably also affects excitement. The viewing situation also has an effect; violence observed among strangers in a darkened theater is more likely to have an emotional impact than violence viewed in a lighted, familiar, and secure
home where viewing is punctuated by domestic distractions. The media present violence because it is believed that such content meets a public desire for drama and excitement; however, if violent content is presented it will have an audience simply because it is available.

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Principal Conclusions: An "age of television" can be considered a "bygone era" since technology will lead to new eras in mass communication. Television has moved from a period of development, experimentation, and growing adoption to near-ubiquity. At present, television appears to be following as radio before it in becoming increasingly an individual, personal medium rather than a group medium. With the shift toward satisfying a greater diversity of interests, and the segmentation of the audience, will come changes in television's programming, economic structure and social impact. Today, television's mass audience is difficult to expand. This contrasts with its early years, when audience expansion was a reasonable goal. At the same time, competition is becoming greater with the increase in independent stations, UHF stations, and the activities of public and cable television.

Television has had a strong impact on other media. While many factors were involved, and every case had its unique aspects, nevertheless television contributed to reduced movie attendance and to the demise of many general audience magazines and various metropolitan newspapers, primarily because of desertion by advertisers rather than audience. However, there is no evidence that younger people growing up with television have deserted print, radio, or movies. One should not expect young people who mature in an environment in which television is near-ubiquitous to behave the same as persons—young or old—for whom television was something strikingly new. Young people now seem to accept television as something they outgrow. Its influence as a new medium has been spent.

Theory and Discussion: In 1958, one out of five homes did not have television. By 1972, only one home in 20 was without television, and these homes were marked by marginal status—they tended to be the old, poor, and rural people; highly transient people, or a "handful of eccentrics from the higher end of the social scale—the intellectuals who 'won't have a set in the house.'" The principal meaning is that differences in viewing now reflect personal preferences rather than access. Television now is on the brink of great changes. In addition to the competition of more programming sources (independent stations, UHF, cable, and public television), there is on the horizon the possibilities of widespread use of video cassettes, pay-TV, and reception in the home via satellite of signals from anywhere in the world. Thus, it is an appropriate time to assess television's impact to date.

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Principal Findings: In a large 1970 national sample, blacks reported viewing more television than whites, and the difference was not attributable to differences in geographical location or income. Women viewed more than men. Blacks less frequently read daily newspapers, and more frequently listened to the radio.

Design and Methodology: Data from the 1970 W. R. Simmons National Study of Media Audiences were analyzed. The data base is a probability sample of 16,322 cases drawn from throughout the United States. The Simmons study lumped all nonwhites under a single heading, but since 90 percent of nonwhites are blacks, the author refers to them by this designation. The Simmons survey measured newspaper readership with a personal interview question that required respondents to volunteer the information that a specific paper was read "yesterday." Radio listening was obtained for different segments of the day through a series of questions. Simmons used a personal diary to measure television viewing. While comparative data on black and white readership of individual magazines was not available in the Simmons report, no aggregate figures on total magazine readership could be readily computed. The limitations of sample size for the black subgroups interviewed made it necessary to confine comparisons to a few major headings. Results are presented as percentages.

Theory and Discussion: In prime evening time the aggregate viewing of whites and blacks is very similar, with blacks' slightly less. Outside of prime time, blacks watch substantially more television than whites; black women spend 41 percent more daytime and fringe time watching television than do white women. Among whites, older people watch more, both in prime-time and other times. Among blacks, however, older people are the lightest viewers, and young people the heaviest viewers, of prime-time television. Southerners view less prime-time television than Northerners and Westerners. Studies showing that, in general, television goes down as education and income rise, are supported for whites. But upper-income blacks actually watch more prime-time television than those of lower income; upper-bracket women account for the difference. They are also the heaviest daytime and fringe time viewers, while middle-income black women watch more at these times (including weekends and late evenings) than do black men of higher and lower incomes.

Women of both races watch television more than men do, especially in daytime and fringe time. However, since men watch a good deal of daytime television on the weekend, the seven-day totals are not as different as they would be for the five days of the working week.

In general, daily newspaper reading follows the same pattern when whites and blacks are compared, although the overall figures for blacks are lower (61 percent versus 80 percent). White men and women have identical readership, but black women, especially in the lower educated bracket, are more apt than men to be daily newspaper readers. In general, the races show parallel age differentials in newspaper readership. Among college graduates there is virtually no difference by race, but among those with high school education or less, or below poverty level, black readership is substantially below the white level. Among unemployed whites who are not high school graduates, 72 percent read a newspaper yesterday, but among blacks the figure was half as large. Among college graduates in big cities, black readership matches that of whites, but readership dips to only one person out of three among nongraduate blacks in nonmetropolitan areas. Income, education, city size, and region of residence have interrelated and complementary effects. For example, in black families with incomes under $5,000, Southerners and nongraduates have only a 40 percent level of daily newspaper readership. Readership is generally lower in small towns and rural areas than in metropolitan centers, but the difference is much sharper among blacks.

Radio listening time is identical for black and white women, but black men listen 16 percent more than white men. Among whites, listening is greatest among both men and women in the middle ($5,000 to $10,000) income bracket; among blacks, the comparatively few at the upper income level listen most. Among whites, the middle educational level (high school graduates with no college) does the most listening. Among blacks the same pattern occurs, but among black women the heaviest listening is at the lowest educational level—a finding inconsistent with the data on income. Rural and Southern whites and blacks alike show less radio listening time than people in other regions, and for both races listening is less among those over 50. In summary,
resemblances in listening time seem more significant than differences.

The author now revives his conclusion, drawn from a smaller national survey a few years earlier, that "most of the differences in media exposure between Negroes and whites reflect differences in social positions and geography rather than any self-conscious alienation of Negroes as a group." He now concludes, "While this is very true for newspaper reading, and on the whole true for radio listening, the Simmons data suggest that television plays a somewhat different role in the lives of Negroes than of whites at similar levels of income and education (pp. 20-21).

This suggests that qualitative studies are needed, combined with large-scale sampling to permit statistically valid comparisons of small population subgroups, to understand programming choices and the psychological and sociological function that the media perform for individuals of differing life styles.

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Bogart, L. Warning, the Surgeon General has determined that TV violence is moderately dangerous to your child's mental health. Public Opinion Quarterly, 1972, 36, 491-521.

Principal Conclusions: The review of the research done for the Surgeon General's study of the effects of television violence on children and young people indicates that the statement of the Surgeon General before a Senate committee in 1972 is the "definitive word" on the subject: "While the committee report is carefully phrased and qualified in language acceptable to social scientists, it is clear to me that the causal relationship between television violence and antisocial behavior is sufficient to warrant appropriate and immediate remedial action. The data on social phenomena such as television and violence and/or aggressive behavior will never be clear enough for all social scientists to agree on the formulation of a succinct statement of causality. But there comes a time when the data are sufficient to justify action. That time has come."

Theory and Discussion: The "results" of the Surgeon General's study consist of the report of his Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior and five volumes of technical reports containing about 80 separate items. The output can be evaluated only by examining the latter, because of the "compromise language" of the committee's report. The research leads to the conclusion that television violence is a cause of antisocial behavior. However, the need for this additional evidence on this point is questionable. "In my opinion," the author writes, "the link between media violence and subsequent antisocial behavior in children was already well indicated before the project was undertaken." It is argued that social science is not analogous to law and that the notion of "proving a case against TV violence or failing to prove it" is inappropriate. "The legal analogy," the author writes, "simply does not apply to science, where we come ever closer to an elusive truth by a constant reexamination of the evidence, where exceptions are more interesting than generalizations, and where the quality of almost any study is to be judged not only by its findings but by the new questions it presents." Although the set of studies conducted for the Surgeon General can be faulted for not providing any solid data on the proportion of young persons susceptible to television violence, the proportion could be very small and the social disorder involved could be quite enough to merit corrective action. Some of the most important lessons to be drawn from this body of research do not concern television, but the government's use of social research. Such lessons include:

1. We can learn a great deal of very useful information rather quickly.
2. It is difficult to translate social research findings into the kinds of "go or no-go" verdicts that policymakers crave.

Business management has learned to act effectively on the basis of the cautious and incomplete answers of social research, and government officials and legislators must acquire the same skills.

3. An accumulation of many small-scale studies can never appear as convincing to laymen as a handful of studies using very large and representative samples. Policymakers must be educated to realize that scientific criteria appropriate for tightly controlled experiments with small groups of people are not the same as those that apply to evaluating findings from national polls.

4. The idea that an industry should not only be represented directly in a scholarly inquiry into its activities, but should also exercise a veto over the membership of the investigating panel, is too stupid and scandalous to escape commentary....

It is noted that the research budget of one million dollars represents a mere .01 percent of the ten billion spent by consumers and advertisers on television in 1972, and that despite this minute proportionality the undertaking was "unique in the federal budget in its size, scope, and focus." It is concluded that, although one might question whether television violence merited such attention instead of some other problem, and whether the same funds might have been spent better on a continuing research program, "the task force concept embodied in this project has proven its value as a way of mobilizing an exceptional outpouring of talent and energy."

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Principal Conclusions: Research on media management in the near future is likely to arise from various unresolved policy issues which confront communications with "interesting dilemmas, decisions, or strategic planning problems." Such policy issues include the need for print to shift costs from advertisers to readers; the means by which print can be aided by the government without suffering government intervention; the means by which the media can avoid external censorship; the response to and reorganization of the media as the result of pressure against multimedia ownership in the same market; the maintaining of public broadcasting's independence from federal and local politicians, and the transition from wireless to cable television with minimum public exploitation, maximum program diversity, and maximum public access.

Theory and Discussion: There are many things one may wish to know about media management, which are a rather special group. One is simply who runs the media. Another is the relationship of media personnel with political elites, cultural elites, the elites of nonmedia businesses, and government officials. A third is the means and criteria of media personnel recruitment. Others include mobility patterns within the media; the character and resolution of conflicts between media and professional loyalties and affiliations; the values held by media personnel; the role of wealthy patrons, which exist for media just as they do for the performing and literary arts; the reconciling of individual political convictions with economic advantage; and the relationship between the views of top management and the actual editorial positions taken by the media. Further topics of interest include the role in media decisions of individual personality characteristics; the differences in management roles between dynamic, expansive media and more conservative media. A topic of high interest is the role of the ultimate owner, who may seldom intervene but occasionally does so. When such intervention occurs, it is a reminder of where the real power lies, and thus a valid topic for research.

The most productive methodological approach would be to concentrate on the histories of specific media organizations. However, such study may not be easy because, "The people who run such major media organizations are super elites, notorious-
ly difficult for social scientists to study first hand. They tend to be exceptionally able and intelligent people who have a strong sense of privacy. They are adept at dissembling." The author notes that conflicts often elude research because the participants and onlookers, including the media, see them as personality clashes rather than involving more impersonal, sociological factors.

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Principal Findings: Television, radio, and newspaper news items were more frequently recalled when they were presented more frequently, presented in a "favorable" location (at the beginning or end of a broadcast or in the front or back of sections of a newspaper), and presented in conjunction with pictorial material. The specific attention or time devoted by the media to an item, as measured by seconds or column inches, was only weakly related to recall. The presentation variables did not affect the salience of items.

Design and Methodology: Five weekdays were randomly selected for news monitoring in a large western city in March 1972. Prior to each test day, a sample of residents was interviewed and asked to visit the study site on the evening of the test day. All newscasts from seven radio stations and six television channels were taped and analyzed. Monitoring began at 6:00 a.m. and concluded at 7:30 p.m., at which time the test session with the subjects began. Copies of the local editions of the two daily newspapers were obtained and analyzed for each test day.

Frequency of an item was operationally defined as the number of times an item appeared in a given medium during a test day. Time was operationalized as the total amount of time a medium devoted to an item during a test day, divided by the total number of items it was presented. Favorable location of an item was operationalized as presentation on the front or back page of any section of a newspaper or among the two lead or two last items of a radio or television newscast. Newspaper items accompanied by a photo or diagram and television items accompanied by a slide or film segment were placed in the pictorial category. Subjects were selected using a probability sample of households. Approximately 50 percent of the 124 persons who agreed to participate appeared at the test site. Subjects were asked to describe in a word or two all news items they recalled hearing, reading, and seeing on that day.

Theory and Discussion: The author concludes that the study indicated that publishers and broadcasters have the ability to manipulate news consumption by altering the frequency, time, space, location, and pictorial content of their presentation of news events. However, when there is highly motivated interest in an event, the effect on news recall of manipulating these variables would be limited.

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Principal Findings: A 1970 national survey indicates that, between 1960 and 1970, the public's expressed satisfaction with television as a medium declined. However, the level of satisfaction appeared to remain fairly high and the proportion expressing extreme dissatisfaction did not increase. Viewing itself did increase, and there was an increase in expressed liking for the specific programs viewed. Education affected attitudes toward television. The more educated had lower esteem for television, reported watching television news more, indicated greater deliberateness in choosing programs, and were less likely to say they enjoyed what they saw. Yet, data indicate that education does not greatly affect total quantity of viewing. Age was a strong predictor of attitudes toward only one kind of content—coverage of social problems and conflicts in the United States—and was inversely related to approval and desire for more such content.

Boards varied markedly from whites. Blacks liked television more, more frequently felt they were not watching it as much as they would like, and, unlike whites, education was positively related both to attitudes and use of television. Most adults feel children are "better off" with television. Five-fifths of parents say television educates; one-third say it takes children away from something else they should be doing; and one-half believe there is content harmful to children, with the complaints about evenly divided between violence and immorality. Children have a large role in program choice, choosing one-third of the time for child-mother viewing and slightly less than one-fifth of the time for the entire family.

As a source of information, television is highly rated. It is rated as the medium which puts the most emphasis on both bad things and good things about America. It is more frequently named than radio, newspapers, or magazines as providing the most complete, most fair, and most quickly delivered news, and as giving the most clear understanding of national election issues. And its standing on these points has increased dramatically since 1960. When a single city was studied to compare actual viewing with attitudes, viewing was found to be largely unaffected by age, education, or sex; and the more educated, although less favorably disposed toward television, watched as often and watched the same programs as others, except for slightly greater attention to news and public affairs programs.

Design and Methodology: The purpose was twofold: to give a picture of 1970 public attitudes in regard to television, and to provide data for comparison with similar data collected in 1960. Interviews with 1,900 persons 18 years of age and older were analyzed. Data were obtained in 1970 in a national probability sampling. One-third of the questions were repeated from a similar 1960 national survey reported in The people look at television (Steiner, 353). In addition, like the 1960 study, data was collected from a single community on both attitudes and viewing behavior. In this study, the community was Minneapolis-St. Paul, and the data consisted of week-long viewing diaries for 344 persons, program offerings during the same period, and responses to many of the questions asked in the national survey.

Theory and Discussion: The survey deals with reported attitudes and behavior in regard to television. With the exception of the St. Paul-Minneapolis data on viewing, there are no data on actual behavior. Thus, the findings do not bear on effects of television, but what people say they think and do. The decline in expressed satisfaction probably represents a readjustment from the enthusiasm that existed when television was perceived as an innovation rather than an expected part of the environment. The inverse relationship between education and satisfaction probably reflects the better educated's higher expectations, stronger orientation toward print media, and different notion of what constitutes an appropriate attitude toward television. The higher use and more favorable attitudes of blacks is not an artifact of more blacks being in a lower socioeconomic status, for as education increases among blacks, so does satisfaction with television and television use. Thus, the different pattern for blacks apparently reflects in some way their special experience in American society. Various data indicate that despite various shifts over the decade, life cycle is very important in attitudes toward television; this inference is based on lower mean differences over the decade between age groups than between cohorts (10 years older in 1970) across the decade.
**Principal Findings:** Attendance at a violent movie playing in Madison, Wisconsin, increased markedly following the murder of a woman student at the University of Wisconsin, while attendance at a control movie showed a slight decrease from the previous week. A survey of women who lived in the same dormitory as the murdered student and a control group, who lived in another dormitory, showed that the women who lived in the same dormitory and, thus, were thought to identify highly with the victim, did show a preference for the violent movie but only when the crime was one week remote.

**Design and Methodology:** The sample consisted of 94 women enrolled at the University of Wisconsin, of whom 44 were randomly selected from the same dormitory as the murder victim and 50 from a control dormitory chosen for its proximity and socioeconomic similarity. The subjects were contacted by phone on the Monday and Tuesday immediately following the murder or on the same two days during the following week. The caller represented herself as conducting a survey on student moviewatching. After determining that the subject had not seen either the violent movie, *In Cold Blood*, or the control movie, *The Fox*, the interviewer gave a short description of each film, offered her a ticket to the movie she preferred to attend, and recorded the choice. General attendance figures for the two films were obtained for the Monday and Tuesday of the week before the murder and for the same days immediately following the murder.

**Theory and Discussion:** These findings support the general hypothesis that given safe conditions of exposure, individuals will show a preference for a stimulus situation containing an object or event representative of the real-life source of their fear. Because no direct measures of fear for persons attending movies was taken, alternative hypotheses, such as the contention that exposure to a little aggression whets one's appetite for more, cannot be dismissed. However, the preference of the “high identifiers” for the violent movie occurred only when the murder was one week removed. A possible explanation is that immediate feelings of vulnerability and danger inhibited any attempts to cope with fear arousal until feelings of threat were attenuated.

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**Principal Findings:** First- and second-grade boys who observed an altruistic model express positive affect immediately following a donation themselves donated more than did those who observed a model delaying expression of affect.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 36 first- and second-grade boys, who were informed that whenever they achieved a score of 20 at a bowling game they could take a stack of three pennies as a reward. There was a March of Dimes canister provided for subjects wishing to donate. Prior to playing the bowling game, subjects viewed the film of the model, who was shown receiving instructions similar to those given to the subject. On winning trials, the model gave two of the three pennies to the March of Dimes. In the immediate affect conditions, the model made comments like “It's good to give to sick children” immediately after obtaining a winning score and prior to claiming the winnings, and made affective statements, like “I'm happy” five seconds after distributing the winnings to the March of Dimes. In half the trials, the model did not make comments about giving to the charity, and in half the trials (delayed affect condition), the model expressed positive affect after a delay of about seven seconds. After the film the subjects were allowed to play the game and leave upon completion. Upon completion, the experimenter retrieved and administered the postexperimental questionnaire by means of tape recorder.

**Theory and Discussion:** The results support the hypothesis that the more contiguous the model's expressions of positive affect to the critical response, the greater the likelihood that the observing child will imitate the functions and the form of the demonstrated behaviors. Responses to the postexperimental questionnaire indicate that this was not due to the subjects' varying interpretations of the model's sources of affect. Rather, these findings suggest the critical role of temporal contiguity of vicarious reinforcement and behavior in imitative altruism.

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**Principal Findings:** Second-, third-, and fourth-grade girls were exposed to a videotaped adult model who practiced either generosity or selfishness and who preached either generosity or selfishness. The model's practices appeared to affect the girls' donation behavior, but the relationship was not statistically significant (p < .10). The preachings of the model and whether or not the model had some power over the child did not influence the donation behavior. No interaction between the effects of the model's words and deeds were observed.

**Design and Methodology:** The subjects were assigned to treatment conditions on the basis of order of arrival at the experiment. First, the child was told that the experimenter was testing a new game and that she was going to have an opportunity to play the game and would win three one-cent gift certificates each time she obtained a score of 20. The subject could keep the certificates or donate them to the March of Dimes. The game was programmed so that the subject would win two of four trials. After the play session, the subject was exposed to the experimental manipulations by viewing a television program, in which the model behaved generously or selfishly and made exhortations for generosity or selfish behavior. The power variable was manipulated by the identity of the model. In the high power condition, the model was the experimenter; in the low power condition, the model was a person not known to the subject.

Then, the child was allowed to play the game again and to distribute the money ostensibly without observation. However, the experimenter viewed through a one-way mirror and record ed the child's donation behavior.

**Theory and Discussion:** The data of this study constitute only a marginal replication of findings indicating that behavioral example is more influential than moral exhortations. However, the authors conclude that, although the evidence is mixed, the weight of findings over various studies supports this view.

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**Principal Findings:** Kindergarten children subjected to a three-week diet of violent television in their homes were more often judged by their parents to have become more aggressive than children who viewed a combination of violent and passive television. Children who watched a diet of passive television were appraised as displaying the least aggressiveness.

**Design and Methodology:** The subjects were 254 kindergarten children. Parents of the subjects were contacted and asked to supervise their children's television behavior. The first week of the study provided the baseline for aggressive behavior in school, which was monitored by teachers. During the second week, each classroom of children was divided by sex, and each sex was randomly placed in one of four conditions: three weeks of violent television, two weeks of violent television followed by
one week of passive television, two weeks of passive television followed by one week of violent television, or three weeks of passive television. On the basis of the judgments of a panel of undergraduates, TV "guides" were made up and delivered to the homes of the children. Although the children were to be restricted to the diet, they could watch as much or as little television as they wished. At the end of the three weeks, the guides were picked up and the parents' observations of the children's behavior probed. The parents were again interviewed after another three weeks.

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors conclude that the exposure to television violence acted to slightly increase behavioral pathology at home. The study was limited by the probable incomplete vigilance of the parents and the lack of control over commercials and television viewing away from home.

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**Principal Conclusions:** Television producers can be categorized in regard to their perceptions of their craft, the networks, and the viewing audience, and fall into three groups—"film makers," "writer-producers," and "old-line producers." Although all are concerned with producing dramatic entertainment series for prime time viewing, each group is different in its behavior.

**Design and Methodology:** In-depth interviews were conducted in Hollywood with 59 producers of adult prime time television series in 1967 and again in 1968, and with 24 producers of children's television in 1969. The samples in both cases represented all shows in production, except for refusals.

**Theory and Discussion:** Producers orient themselves in terms of three reference groups—their craft, the networks, and the viewing audience. When producers are analyzed on this basis, they fall into three groups. "Film makers" are usually younger, likely to be middle-class, likely to have had no experience with other media, see themselves as coordinators of film production, accept lack of creative independence, have a goal of future independent movie production, and have few conflicts with the networks. They tend to think of the audience as far less sophisticated than themselves and as "rural" in tastes.

"Writer-producers" are older, have had widely varied media experience, see themselves as conveyors of social and political themes, regret lack of creative independence, and have the most conflicts with the networks as they attempt to produce television in accord with their personal visions. They believe the audience to be underrated by the networks in regard to sophistication and intelligence.

"Old-line producers" are older, most resemble old-style Hollywood movie producers, are the most successful, see themselves as creators of absorbing entertainment, also seek creative independence, and have numerous conflicts with the networks. They see the audience as unsophisticated and rural. However, in the case of the "writer-producers" the conflicts concern political and social content, while in the case of the "old-line producers" they concern story ideas and casting decisions.

In short, the writer-film makers accept their roles and look to the future, the writer-producers do not and want creative freedom in order to conform to their ideals, and the old-line producers want creative freedom in order to achieve the show business success they believe they are capable of.

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**Principal Findings:** The desires of the network are the principal factors influencing television specifically produced for children. The people who create children's television think of themselves as businessmen, and are not disturbed by a lack of independence.

**Design and Methodology:** Interviews were conducted with 24 men and women producers and scriptwriters in Los Angeles. The sample represented almost all the children's programs in production in early 1970.

**Theory and Discussion:** The networks are the principal arbiters because they choose and pay for the programs, and other effective influences are absent. Feedback beyond simple popularity ratings is always hard to obtain from any mass media audience; children are especially difficult to survey. There are no regularized prescreenings. As a result, audience reaction comes late; audience size is almost the sole index of that reaction available, and the almost sole impact is the elimination of programs with audiences judged to be unacceptably small. The occupational milieu is also a factor. Unlike the people who create television for adults, those who create for children do not believe that they have extensive creative control. There is no balancing influence of individual and professional values. The network is the client; the client must be satisfied.

None of those interviewed had had any academic training for the making of children's entertainment. Almost half had been film animators; the rest had been involved in the entertainment business in advertising, promotion, publicity, or as writers. One-third had attended college; several had attended art schools; and a few had not graduated from high school. In short, the milieu is a mixture of business and craft.

There was indifference to possible harmful effects on children: "While the shows are in production, producers rarely consider the effects they may have on children; most believe that those considerations are the networks' responsibility, or maybe the parents', but not theirs."

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**Principal Findings:** The widespread panic created by Orson Welles' broadcast of *War of the Worlds* was attributable to a set of circumstances which disposed some portions of the audience to accept its fiction as fact. It is estimated that one million of the six million who heard the broadcast were frightened.

**Design and Methodology:** Intensive interviews were conducted with 135 persons following the broadcast, 100 of whom were "known to have been upset." The broadcast occurred on October 30, 1938, and the drama was presented in the form of news coverage of the invasion of the United States by unstoppable adversaries from another planet.

**Theory and Discussion:** The pre-World War II environment of tension, conflict, and dramatic news is said to have favored a panic reaction. The program itself was highly realistic. Cues for recognizing that it was fiction were minimal. Listeners fell into four categories—those who checked internal evidence from the broadcast and realized its fictional nature; those who checked other sources and realized the truth; those who checked other sources which were unable to quell their anxiety; and, those who made no effort to check, but accepted the broadcast as factual.

It is suggested that some who were disturbed by the ambiguous stimuli may have used misleading criteria for evaluating the broadcast (i.e., the belief that God would someday destroy the world; some may have felt unable to make a conclusive judgment; some may have lacked standards for a judgment; and,
some may not have realized that there was anything which required judgment. Education was inversely related to a panic reaction.

Principal Findings: Black and white audiences were found to differ markedly in primetime television preferences.

Design and Methodology: Data from audience viewing studies in 1963 and 1964 were reanalyzed. In each year, data were gathered from a sample of about 5,000 families, of which about 10 percent were black. The principal measure was recall of programs viewed the day before. The reanalysis consists of ranking 80 primetime programs by size of audience separately for blacks and for whites.

Theory and Discussion: When the two rankings are compared, there is far from strong overlap. Among the top 25 programs in 1963, black and white tastes overlap in only 14 cases. Results were similar for 1964. Blacks tended to reject family programs, music programs, and programs emphasizing groups, and tended to prefer programs emphasizing singular individuals, and programs with physically aggressive visual comedy. It is possible that the differences actually reflect socioeconomic differences between the white and black samples; however, such factors have not in the past completely explained similar racial differences in magazine preferences, and the presumption may be that the same would hold for television.

Principal Conclusions: The "Surgeon General's Report" on television violence has had little impact. Although the report concludes that there was a "preliminary and tentative indication of a causal relation between viewing violence on television and aggressive behavior," there has been hesitant activity by either government or the broadcasting industry, and objective content analyses indicate that violence continues to be very violent.

Theory and Discussion: The "Surgeon General's Report" is not a report from the Surgeon General, but the report to him from his Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior (358). It is the Committee's interpretation of the evidence on television violence's effects on children and youth, including the evidence from $1 million in new research specifically undertaken to aid the Committee. The entire undertaking began in 1969 with a letter from Senator Pastore to the Secretary of HEW requesting a special study. HEW's answer was the Committee and the research program, which led to 2,330 pages of technical reports in five volumes in addition to the Committee's report.

Controversy about the program began early. There were staff disagreements about the organization of the research. The Committee was put into the position of evaluating prior and new research, but was largely excluded from devising or choosing new research. Nevertheless, the Committee was often vocally highly critical of the research chosen and the way it was conducted, resulting in staff-Committee conflict. After about six months, it was revealed that the broadcasting industry had, at HEW's request, identified seven very prominent social scientists as "not suitable" for membership on the Committee, while at the same time the Committee included five out of 12 members employed by or closely associated with the industry.

The Committee's report is obtuse and confusing, although careful examination does make it clear that 12 members agreed that the evidence was properly interpreted as indicating a causal link between violence viewing and aggression. The first news report, a front-page "leak" in the New York Times on January 11, 1972, erroneously said the Committee concluded there was no evidence of a link. "TV Violence Held Unharmful to Youth," " was the headline. The Times error was corrected immediately by other media, but corrective journalism followed later, including a second front-page story in the New York Times ("Study Aides Voice Misgivings About Report on TV Violence," February 19, 1972), and two pieces in Newsweek ("The New Violence," February 14, 1972, and "Violence Revisited," March 6, 1972).

At the 1972 hearings, Senator Pastore elicited testimony from the Committee members, including network persons that the evidence did point toward a causal link, and asked that the industry take concrete action. Later, taking up a suggestion by one Committee member that a violence index be developed which could measure industry performance and also directly serve consumers as a warning in regard to particular programs, Senator Pastore pressured HEW to develop a violence index. HEW's reply was to finance a three-year committee of prestigious social scientists under the Social Science Research Council, which would evaluate this suggestion, along with surveying the state of television research and making recommendations about future development. As the authors note, rather than attempting to support the development of an index, HEW deemed the task and passed the problem to a committee while continuing to support the content analysis of one week of network entertainment each season as a rough measure of television violence (Gerbner, 130).

There has been no FCC action. In the 1974 hearings, the networks reported that they were making efforts to reduce violence. However, at least by the 1973-74 season, television violence continued at a high level. (At the beginning of 1975, the FCC, after drawn-out discussions with broadcasting industry leaders, was attempting to formulate a policy position in regard
to violence; a more restrictive code was to be put before the National Association of Broadcasters (for ratification; and the three networks had adopted more restrictive codes to bring about "family hours" of evening viewing.)

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Principal Conclusions: Mass media can influence behavior without changing values. From television and films, new responses may be learned, existing responses strengthened or weakened, and the performance of already learned responses elicited. When deviant motivation already exists, mass media may shift the balance that has restrained deviant behavior, thus having a triggering effect. In addition, television reports in fact and in fiction what others are doing. Impressions gained may be confirmed by others, who also obtain their impressions from television. In the case of antisocial and other uncommon behavior, the knowledge that others act in such ways may result in a sort of social "contagion." Thus, riots and protests often may occur as emulations of earlier, widely reported riots and protests. The mass media can also have effects by identifying certain kinds of behavior thought as deviant, thus encouraging avoidance, and other kinds as acceptable or approved; the likelihood of influence is heightened by portrayals with which audience members can identify.

Theory and Discussion: Values and behavior are not tightly linked. There are many reasons a person motivated to behave in a certain way may not do so. (1) Other norms may inhibit him. (2) Disapproval of others may be feared. (3) Punishment may be feared. (4) Nonreward may be expected. (5) Opportunity may not occur. Given deviant motivation, behavior may be influenced if the mass media alter any of these or other possibly inhibitory factors.

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Principal Conclusions: Mass media campaigns often do not achieve intended effects. However, this does not mean that the mass media do not sometimes achieve unintended effects. The argument that fictional television violence will not affect children and adults in happy families and stable communities, even if accepted, fails to confront the fact that there are numerous children and adults "whose sociopsychological normality is dubious, whose family life is less than happy, and who are living in communities that are far from stable." A variety of social circumstances, the large quantity of violence on television, and television's advertising effectiveness suggest that television violence may be increasing actual aggressive behavior.

Theory and Discussion: Decades ago, research and theory on mass communications centered on the notion that the media had great potency to influence thought and behavior. The trend has been away from this position. Mass media have come to be viewed as only one part of an intricate social system. However, this is no reason to think that they have no effects, or that the heavy quantity of violence on television has no detrimental effects. The effects on the media are simply often not independent of other factors. The notion that mass media only "reinforce" existing tendencies suggests that the widespread portrayal of violence may have deterred abandonment of the violent tradition of early American society.

The prevalence of violent entertainment precludes broadcasting alternative content; this is an overlooked consequence of television violence. Broadcast advertising doesn't try to persuade everyone; instead, potential customers are aroused in regard to habitual areas of consumption, and the same may occur in regard to aggressive persons and violent content—viewers may be aroused to respond to their frustrations if a target is accessible. Various social changes have created a situation where the likelihood of television violence having an effect is increased. The audience increasingly contains persons with violent attitudes and habits, with grievances, and with access to targets of hostility. There may also be a multiplier effect when the same sort of programming is viewed by all, since audience members will reinforce one another in regard to effects; television fantasy may become perceived as increasingly realistic when not challenged by contrary communication in social interaction.

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Principal Conclusions: Data from a variety of recent surveys and field studies show a positive correlation between the viewing by adolescents of violent television entertainment and harmful aggressive behavior. The relationship appears to hold for both boys and girls. The evidence suggests that of the possible interpretations, the most tenable is that viewing is a cause of harmful aggressive behavior.

Theory and Discussion: There are three possible explanations for the positive correlation between violence viewing and aggressiveness: (1) the violence viewing is a cause of the aggressiveness; (2) more aggressive persons seek out and view more violent entertainment; and (3) a third variable is related to both violence viewing and aggressiveness, is responsible for the association, and there is no causal relationship either way.

The second seems untenable because data show that having a liking for violent television is far less strongly related to aggressiveness than actual violence viewing. The third can never entirely be dismissed, since the number of possible third variables is infinite. However, in various analyses the positive correlation between violence viewing and aggressiveness has stood up when numerous variables which commonly result in spurious correlations have been controlled—such as school achievement, socioeconomic status, sex, age. Furthermore, the data indicating a positive correlation between earlier viewing and later aggressiveness.

It should be noted that earlier surveys failed to find a positive correlation; quite possibly, this occurred because these studies used the gross amount of television viewed as a proxy for violence viewed, rather than the far more pertinent and sensitive index of actual amount of violent content viewed. Thus, the data overall are most consistent with the hypothesis that violence viewing causes aggressiveness among adolescents.

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Principal Findings: Time spent watching television by parents was unrelated to adolescents' violence viewing as measured by the quantity of spy and Western programs viewed. Parental and adolescent's Western and spy viewing were modestly correlated. Emphasis by parents on harmony in social relationships is positively correlated with adolescents' viewing of spy and Western programs, and the relationship was greatest when there was relatively little emphasis on self-expression of ideas. These findings hold when adolescents' IQ, socioeconomic status, age, sex, and total time spent viewing television are controlled. The viewing of spy and Western programs was inversely correlated with IQ and socioeconomic status; adm more frequent among boys than girls; and is positively related to total viewing. The relationship with socioeconomic status disappears when other variables are controlled, and the relationship to total viewing is modest and expected since the more a person views, the more likely there is of viewing a violent type of program.

Design and Methodology: The data were collected in 1968 and 1969. The sample consisted of 641 seventh and 651 tenth-grade students in the public schools in five Wisconsin communities chosen to insure socioeconomic diversity. Parents were interviewed once. The adolescent sample completed questionnaires at the seventh and tenth grades and again a year later in the eighth and tenth grades. Data were obtained on a wide range of variables, including parental and adolescent television viewing and parental emphasis on harmony in social relationships and on self-expression of ideas.

Theory and Discussion: There was no hypothesis testing; instead, significant correlations and the overall patterns of relationships were examined for possible theoretical import. The study is a reanalysis of data (for the original analysis, see Chaffee, McLeod, and Atkin, 66); in this new analysis, the model concept, dependent variable is violence viewing; measured by frequency of viewing two usually violent program categories—Westerns and spy programs. The data on the whole do not support the notion of adolescents modeling their own television behavior after that of their parents; after all, parents watch less (which makes them a negative model), and the correlations between parental and adolescent viewing which do appear are very modest. Parental physical and verbal punishment, restrictiveness, and affection, as reported by the adolescent, were disappointing predictors of violence viewing. Physical and verbal punishment were not related at all to violence viewing; restrictiveness and parental affection were positively related. Of the latter two, the first is weak; the second occurs primarily for maternal affection and the older adolescent and is inconsistent with prior research. However, the second relationship held up when a variety of variables were controlled for, so must be given some credence.


Principal Findings: Media use by junior and senior high school students was only very slightly related to that of their parents. Between junior and senior high school, there are marked changes in young people's media use, but parents of junior and senior high school students do not differ in media use. However, the media use patterns of the parent and child are related to the values emphasized within families.

Design and Methodology: The data were collected in a study of 1,300 families conducted in 1968 in five eastern Wisconsin cities selected to provide a wide range of socioeconomic and political milieus. Two groups of adolescents, junior high and senior high school students, were studied. The data were composites of responses to two self-administered questionnaires given out at school in May and November 1968. The parent measures were obtained in home interviews in September-October 1968.

There were four indices of media use—self-estimated hours of television viewing per day; frequency of viewing entertainment content (defined in this instance as comedies, Westerns, and adventure or spy shows); frequency of viewing television news; and amount of news and public affairs reading.

Theory and Discussion: The authors investigate the sources of parental influence on children's media consumption. The first part of the study investigates the hypothesis that the child "models" his media use behavior after his parent's behavior. In general, "modeling" assumes that the child observes his parent's behavior and, in an attempt to behave in an adult manner, emulates the adult. The paper reviews much evidence which goes counter to the modeling hypothesis. Furthermore, data collected in the study do not corroborate the hypothesis. The statistical relationships between parent and child media use were weak, not specific to any given medium, and did not explain the general developmental trends for media use during adolescence. Parents of senior high students did not differ substantially from junior high parents in media use patterns, but there was a drop in television use and a strong increase in news reading between junior and senior high school students. Thus, it is argued that modeling is only a weak factor among many which determine adolescent media use.

In the second part of the paper, it is argued that the child's media use is determined by indirect influences based on the structure of communicatory relationships between parent and adolescent. The data suggest that families which emphasize similar values in regard to social conformity and self-expression of ideas (a family could be high or low on each, leading to four family "communication" patterns—see Chaffee, McLeod, and Atkin, 69, and McLeod, Atkin, and Chaffee, 249)—have characteristic media use patterns that are shared by parent and adolescent. Parent-child media-use correlations by family communication pattern were uniformly low for news-reading and for television time, supporting the hypothesis that reading is not a behavior that is likely to be modeled and that simple exposure to a tuned-in television set can occur as a function of mere opportunity, without behavioral modeling. The data also showed that for the two specific types of television content—entertainment and news—the only modeling that occurred was limited to families emphasizing social conformity. Furthermore, when families emphasized both social conformity and self-expression of ideas, adolescents were found to use the mass media primarily for news and not for entertainment. Thus, there is evidence supportive of this second hypothesis.


Principal Findings: Adolescents from families which emphasized self-expression of ideas but not social conformity preferred for television public affairs content, although they watched less total television and read a wider range of newspapers regularly than adolescents whose families emphasized either social conformity but not self-expression, or both, or neither. Adolescents from such families were also more knowledgeable about politics, more active in politics, more trustful of the political system, and expressed greater admiration for a political leader. Their parents were above average in political interest, activity, knowledge, voting, reading of news in newspapers, and discussion of political campaigns.

Design and Methodology: Respondents consisted of parent-child pairs in Madison, Wisconsin. There were 182 families in a
1965 sample, and 234 families in a 1966 sample, and the data were combined for subsequent analysis. In addition to measures of media use and political attitudes and interest, there were two variables representing the values emphasized within families. "Socio-orientation" represented an emphasis on social conformity and getting along with others. "Concept-orientation" represented an emphasis on self-expression and exposure to conflicting ideas. Since a family could be high on both, high on one, or low on both, four types of family "communication patterns" emerged. "Consensual" families emphasized both. "Laissez-faire" families emphasized neither. "Pluralistic" families emphasized concept-orientation only. "Protective" families emphasized social conformity only. The sample divided about equally into the four types.

Theory and Discussion: Children from protective homes were at or below the mean on all measures. Children from laissez-faire families were below the mean in political interest, activity, and knowledge. Children from consensual homes were interested and active in political affairs but remarkably deficient in knowledge. Children from pluralistic homes were also consistently above the overall mean on measures of informational use of the media, as well as on political activity.

Comparing parents to their children, consensual parents were found to communicate more and be more knowledgeable than their offspring. However, consensual children were more politically active than their parents. Protective parents tended to be comparatively lower in politicization and related media use than their children. Laissez-faire parents and their children tended to be below average on almost all measures. Finally, pluralistic parents and their children stood out as being the most politicized.

Implicit in the research is the assumption that adolescence is the period when family influences on political socialization are maximal. The paper also examines the relationship between other agencies—school, mass media, and peers—and the family and their impact on political socialization.

The authors reject a traditional model of family structure consisting of an authoritarian-permissiveness dimension, and instead offer their more complex two-dimensional model. The basic research hypothesis was that a competent participation in public affairs would be stimulated by family communication that combined a relatively weak "socio-orientation" with a relatively strong "concept-orientation," and the findings seemed to corroborate that hypothesis.

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Principal Findings: The mass media were rated by adolescents as a more important source of political information and opinions than parents, friends, and teachers. Newspaper public affairs reading increased during a political campaign, was more frequent among older adolescents, and predicted future political knowledge better than concurrent political knowledge. High public affairs television use also predicted future political knowledge better than concurrent political knowledge. Neither newspaper nor television use for public affairs seemed to stimulate active campaigning, and television use appeared to deter it.

Design and Methodology: The study was conducted in five Wisconsin cities, selected to provide socioeconomic and political diversity in the total sample. Data were collected by self-administered questionnaires at two time points, in May about one month after the primary election, and again in November within two weeks after the 1968 general election. The sample consisted of a panel of 1,291 students about equally divided between junior and senior high. Results are presented separately for each grade level, but the authors feel that comparisons between them should be made guarded since they do not represent identical universes. Further, they feel that the study should not be interpreted as a "before-after" study but a "during-after" one.

Mass media use, campaign activity, and political knowledge were measured. Overall, the senior high group scored better than the junior high group on political knowledge.

The data were analyzed using a variant of cross-lagged correlation, partialing for initial scores on the dependent variable. This approach allowed the authors to test the hypothesis that mass media public affairs content was a causal factor in political socialization.

Theory and Discussion: The authors infer that media exposure increased political knowledge, and that newspapers in particular played a significant role in adolescents' political socialization. They also indicate that for junior high school students, television entertainment use led to increased public affairs viewing, but that this side effect of entertainment viewing was no longer present in senior high school, suggesting increased selectivity with age. In fact, in senior high, there was a negative relationship between entertainment viewing and political knowledge. On the whole, the authors believe their data are inconsistent with the prevailing view that the effect of mass communication on political socialization are (1) mostly simple reinforcement of existing predispositions due to "selective exposure," and (2) largely neutralized by interpersonal influences in a "two-step flow" of communication.

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Principal Findings: In this study of delinquent and non-delinquent 12-year-olds no relationship was found between sex, intelligence, or the possession of a criminal record and the amount of perceived aggression or realism in selected television programs. However, the less intelligent children were more likely to associate liking with perceiving programs as realistic, and boys, particularly the less intelligent and the more involved with the program, were less likely to differentiate between saying that a program contains a lot of fighting and that it is like real life.

Design and Methodology: The sample consisted of 57 twelve-year-old British children drawn from a secondary school in a working-class district and from a school for delinquent boys. The stratafying variables of sex, intelligence, and possession of a criminal record were used in the selection process, in age, individually, each respondent was asked to identify still photographs from 12 television program series. Using only the programs recognized, the respondents were asked to rate each for liking, frequency of their viewing of it, and their evaluation along a number of dimensions reflecting perceived aggression and realism.

Theory and Discussion: The author concludes that the most important finding of the study was that "certain boys in the sample, those who were highly involved in the aggressive aspects of program content, were more likely to believe that the programmes they thought contained the most violence were also the most realistic." He notes that the hypothesis that viewers who blur distinctions between program characteristics are more likely to be influenced needs detailed study.


Principal Conclusions: The evidence on the impact of movies on children is "massive and irresistible." Movies appear to be a powerful medium of education. Children ranging in age from three to sixteen not only remembered facts presented in films the next day, but still recalled a great deal three weeks and six months later. Thus, the educational impact was long-lasting. A single movie was also shown to have a considerable impact on children's attitudes. Emotions of children are stirred by individual scenes, with the impact of action scenes inversely related to age and the impact of love scenes positively related to age. Sleep also appears to be disturbed by movie viewing.

Theory and Discussion: A series of studies on the effects of movies on children, sponsored by the Payne Fund and undertaken in the 1930s, are summarized. At that time, children five to eight saw a movie about once every two weeks, and children aged nine to nineteen saw a movie about once a week. The strategy of the Payne research program was to investigate effects of a variety of methods, and then judge actual social impact by studying movie content and attendance. By having knowledge of effects when examining data on content and attendance, it was believed that a judgment—although rough—could be made about overall influence. The data indicate a wide range of effects, including cumulative effects of exposure over time to a class of film. However, the situation is complicated by lack of knowledge about the influence of other factors—family, school, friends, and ethnic group. Comparison of heavy and light movie-goers showed few differences in attitudes, but an experimental design showed strong attitudinal effects, suggesting that the results in the first instance reflect the influence of confounding factors. It is concluded that exclusion of children from movies is impractical, that the fact that the majority of movie attendees are adult poses a problem since what is satisfactory for an adult may not be so for a child, and that it is the responsibility of the film industry to create films suitable for children. The simple obligation rests upon those producers who love children to find a way of making the motion picture a beautiful, fascinating, and kindly servant of childhood" is the final sentence.


Principal Conclusions: Television and other mass media serve the function of controlling social conflict and are also a cause of social conflict. Content tends to be supportive of the established order. Yet, when minorities are presented inequitably or at variance with their desires and self-esteem, rebellion is promoted. Both processes may occur simultaneously.

Theory and Discussion: One function of mass media is to maintain the established order. Thus, they are crucial for the understanding of social conflict. Television reflects society's social structure by its selection and presentation of characters. Nonrecognition or ridicule of certain groups leads to the predictable attempt to regain self-esteem. Television also affects the social structure through the regulation of the occupational roles given minorities. One analysis of programming showed that all black characters had some connection with the maintenance of law and order. Thus, those who benefit least from society are shown in roles associated with society's protection. The analysis also showed that European immigrants were accorded more respect than other minority classes. As television exercises greater control over ethnic minorities through its programming, rebellion is likely to increase; as rebellion increases, television in turn is likely to attempt to exert increased control.


Principal Findings: Between 1953 and 1969, violence in television drama, measured by coding TV Guide synopses, fluctuated, reaching peaks every four years, with 1959, when Westerns were very popular, the peak year of all. Size of the evening television audience was correlated with the frequency of violent programs. Frequency of violent programs was correlated with the popularity of such programs the previous year. Between 1930 and 1969, about a third of theatrical movies were violent, based on the coding of movie synopses, but half of movies made for television were violent. The trend has been upward since 1930, with peaks every four to six years; the percentage of violent films has been consistently higher since the beginning of commercial television. Between 1927 and 1968, the front pages of four major urban newspapers were found to carry a fairly stable quantity of violence (usually between 12 and 20 percent of stories), with violence in nonwar items declining with the publication of war violence. Data on homicides and suicides in each city correlated significantly with nonwar violence on the front page. A comparison of television news with front pages in 1970 found the frequency of violent items about the same, considerable fluctuation day to day, and no correlation between daily quantities in the two media.

Design and Methodology: For the television analysis, TV Guide synopses of primetime programs were coded for the presence or absence of a violent incident for one October week for 17 years, from 1953, when the magazine was founded, to 1969. The procedure was validated by correlating results for 1967-1969 with Gerbner's data 138. Altogether, 982 synopses were coded. For the movie analysis, 807 synopses drawn from the about 7,000 in Movies on TV were similarly coded. For the news-
paper analysis, ten front pages for the same randomly selected dates each year from 1927 through 1968 were coded for four major newspapers: The Atlanta Constitution, the Chicago Tribune, the San Francisco Chronicle, and the New York Times. Over the 32 years, 19,284 stories were coded. For the television and front-page news comparison, 27 network evening newscasts were compared with the front pages of the same four newspapers during nine days in July 1970, with 495 network news items and 370 front page stories coded.

Theory and Discussion: Violence in primetime television drama fluctuates greatly. The lowest rate of violent programs was 17 percent for 1954; the highest occurred only five years later, 41 percent. The cyclical character of television violence and its correlations with evening audience size and previous year’s ratings for violent programs suggest that this fluctuation is attributable to television’s search for maximum popularity. The authors argue: “As violent types of programs gain popularity, their numbers increase until they become so directly competitive that their ratings are diluted, until the audience tires, or until public and official criticism makes itself heard.” Violence decreases, and the cycle is ready to begin again. Although the trend for all media has been upward, all media also fluctuate in violent content; as a result, the authors suggest that an observed decline in media violence in the late 1960s is temporary. The authors also speculate that movies have become more violent to compete with television.


Principal Findings: Television was less preferred as a source for public affairs news than newspapers. This held for international, national, state, county, and city news. Education was positively correlated with a preference for newspapers. Television news viewing was only slightly correlated with a preference for broadcast sources, and radio news listening was not correlated at all with such preference. In contrast, readership of three major weekly news magazines correlated strongly with a preference for magazine sources.

Design and Methodology: Respondents in this survey were a random sample of 1,250 male and female heads of households in the Seattle metropolitan area, interviewed in May 1967. Respondents were asked to rate lead sentences from 61 current news stories in terms of how interested they were in the topic and which of four news media they thought would give the best coverage for that topic—television news, radio news, news magazines, or newspapers.

Theory and Discussion: A factor analysis of interest ratings for the lead sentences of 61 news stories yielded a cluster of 29 items whose content could be defined as public affairs news—international, national, state, county, and local. There was no evidence that the geographical setting influenced ratings. When ratings of source preference for each of the 29 items were analyzed, preferences for television and radio appeared to be much lower than the data reported in the more general surveys which asked about broad preferences for media (Bower, S.; Roper, 319; Steiner, 353). Broadcast media had an edge over magazines for international public affairs news, but were mentioned less often than newspapers. For national affairs, broadcast media were picked even less often. For state, county, and city news, people who had chosen magazines for national and international stories shifted to newspapers, resulting in an overwhelming lead of newspapers over radio and television.

The preferences for broadcast media can be interpreted as reflecting the influence of citing specific topics when asking for an evaluative judgment. The person choosing broadcast news has below-average education, which is interpreted as accounting for lower interest in public affairs than individuals preferring print media. The authors suggest that broadcast media are major information channels for those having average or below-average knowledge of and interest in public affairs. Thus, broadcast media are especially important in providing information to the "swing" voter. The authors argue that coverage is not a major factor in decisions to view or listen to television and radio news—these channels are thought to attract their audiences on entertainment value, ease of consumption, or performance in reporting other types of news. In contrast, the adequacy of public affairs coverage appears to be the criterion for exposure to magazines in the international and national areas.


Principal Findings: Boys having had low exposure to television were significantly more aroused emotionally after having viewed a violent film than boys having had high exposure. The two groups did not differ significantly in emotional arousal either before being shown the films or after a neutral ski film. Similar results were obtained using two different measures of physiological arousal.

Design and Methodology: Eighty boys between the ages of five and twelve were subjects for the first study. Two groups were formed by dividing subjects into (1) those having witnessed television four or less hours per week; (2) those having witnessed television 25 hours a week or more for the previous two years. Subjects were shown a 14-minute 16mm black and white film consisting of three segments: (1) a two-minute violent ski film, (2) a four-minute chase sequence, (3) an eight-minute sequence depicting a brutal boxing match. Emotional arousal was operationally defined as "pulse amplitude," a type of heart response data measured with a physiograph.

In the second experiment, 20 high-television- and 21 low-television-exposure boys were recruited. Subjects were shown the same film segments as in the first study. Two dependent measures were used: "pulse amplitude" and skin conductance. Tracings from the physiograph were scored before the film, after the ski sequence, and for both inactive nonviolent movie sequences and active violent segments of the boxing match.

Theory and Discussion: In both studies, boys having had low television exposure showed greater change in pulse amplitude between violent and nonviolent parts of the boxing match than boys having high television exposure. Similarly, in the second study high- and low-television-exposure boys did not differ significantly in skin conductance before the film and after the neutral ski film. However, when both groups were exposed to filmed violence, significant differences between groups in skin conductance were observed. Moreover, low-television-exposure boys remained somewhat more aroused, although not significantly so, than high-television-exposure boys during nonviolent segments of the boxing match. The authors interpret the results as suggesting that some children who are heavy television watchers may to some degree become habituated or desensitized to violence generally.


Principal Conclusions: Television appears less to have a negative influence than to be the focus of traditional conflicts and debate over the social influence of popular entertainment.

Theory and Discussion: Television is said to have both good and bad effects. Television is credited with increasing family opportunity for common experiences and shared interests, but
Design and Methodology: The subjects were 188 middle-
class Mountain View, California, parochial school children, who viewed a television situation comedy film in their classrooms.

**Theory and Discussion:** The results indicate that children develop in their ability to attend selectively to information inputs. The linear increase with age in essential information scores indicates that children grow in their ability to focus on essential information. In summarizing the results, the author observes: "Preadolescent children tend to take in increasingly more environmental information with age, without regard for the relative value of the different informational inputs, while older children tend to attend selectively to the many informational inputs that confront them."


**Principal Findings:** In this experimental study, seventh-grade children were found to have a greater unaided recall of televised news items when the news items were emotion-arousing and when they were repeated. No differences in recall were observed for local vs. nonlocal news. There were no differences in self-reported attention or in retention of factual information for local vs. nonlocal news or for frequency of repetition. However, subjects reported that they enjoyed local news items more than televis.

Observers were able to see relatively little emotional reaction in viewers’ faces, but their judgments of degree of interest was a better predictor of retention scores than self-reported attention.

**Design and Methodology:** The subjects were 192 seventh-grade children, who viewed six especially-prepared television newscasts. Using a $2 \times 2 \times 2$ design, emotion-arousal value, local vs.
nonlocal source, and repetition were manipulated. After viewing the subjects were tested for unaided recall of news items, self-reported attention to whole programs and critical items, self-reported entertainment by whole programs, and retention of factual information. In addition, 24 subjects were videotaped while watching a newscast and two sets of judges coded viewer responses.

**Theory and Discussion:** The research explored what children learn from televised news programs and what kinds of items and presentations they learn most from. The authors note that although children spend as much time viewing television as they spend in school, relatively little research has focused upon the educational potential of television news.


**Principal Findings:** When third, sixth, seventh, and ninth-grade subjects were tested for the learning of both essential and nonessential content from a media presentation they had not been instructed to learn, the learning of essential content was shown to be a linear function of age, while the learning of nonessential content was found to be a curvilinear function of age. Subjects who gave the film a high rating learned more nonessential content than those who gave it a low rating.


**Principal Findings:** Children who saw a television program portraying a model coping constructively with a conflict situation tended to be more helpful and less hurtful toward an unseen peer engaged in a problem-solving task than children who had seen a model resolve the conflict through aggression. The findings also indicate that the influence of the aggressor is di-
Design and Methodology: The study is based on the results of three experiments conducted in classroom settings in grade,
school and high school. The subjects were conducted according to
the same general format. Upon arrival in the classrooms, the
experimenter randomly assigned students to several groups,
and the groups were randomly assigned to different experimen-
tational conditions and shown the appropriate videotape. Then
the subjects were randomly assigned to be tested according to one
of the two dependent measures, "behavior potential" or "help-
hurt." The "behavior potential" involved placing the subject in
hypothetical situations and asking him what he would do, and
the "help-hurt" involved the cessation or intensification of no-
xious noise by the subject while an unseen peer was attempting
to solve a problem.

Theory and Discussion: The results of the three experi-
ments suggest that televised behavioral models can instigate
helpful and supportive behavior as well as aggressive behavior.
The author concludes that television models can "quite clearly
affect children's willingness to help and hurt other children over
the short term. This is true of children as old as elementary
school students and adolescents." He noted, however, that the
"help-hurt" behavioral measure of aggression did not corre-
spond with the paper-and-pencil "behavior potential."

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Columbia Broadcasting System, Office of Social Research. A
study of messages received by children who viewed an episode of
Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids. New York: Columbia Broad-

Principal Findings: Nine out of ten children 7-11 years of
age interviewed in three cities—Cleveland, Memphis, and Phila-
delphia—received one or more prosocial messages from an epi-
sode of Fat Albert and the Cosby Kids. Of the prosocial messages
received, 15 percent appeared to have been internalized—that
is, related to the child directly to his own life. Ninety percent
of received messages derived from the plot; only 15 percent
could be said to derive from Cosby's narration or the theme song.
There were some demographic differences: reception was slightly
related to age, older children receiving somewhat more mes-
gages; and reception was slightly related to race and socioeconomic
status, with lower-class blacks receiving slightly fewer than low-
er-class or middle-class whites. Regular viewing of the series was
most frequent by lower-class blacks, followed by lower-class
whites and then by middle-class whites, the series was more
frequently well-liked by lower-class blacks than by lower-class
or middle-class whites.

Design and Methodology: A total of 711 children in Clevel-
dand, Memphis, and Philadelphia who watched the series at
least some of the time were interviewed under one or two con-
tions: natural and captive viewing. In the natural condition, 318
interviews were obtained within a few hours of broadcast of an
episode, from children at home and at public places, such as
playgrounds and malls. In the captive condition, viewing oc-
curred at a central facility to which children had been invited,
and interviewing occurred immediately after viewing; 393 inter-
views were obtained. Interviewing was open-ended, with replies
and probes recorded verbatim; no messages were suggested to
the children by use of questionnaire or rating scale.

Theory and Discussion: The study's goal was to measure
receipt of specified messages contained in Fat Albert and the
Cosby Kids and relationship between receipt and viewer char-
acteristics. The results indicate considerable message reception,
and only moderate relationships between message reception
and viewer characteristics. The use of a quota sample precludes
using the figures as a description of message reception by the
total viewing audience; the data bear on the reception of specific
messages from a program and not on learning anything new—
which may or may not be involved; and the data do not bear on
behavioral change, which would depend on more than reception.

84
Comstock, G. A. New research on media content and control
(overview). In G. A. Comstock and E. A. Rubenstein (Eds.), Televi-
sion and social behavior. Vol. 1. Media content and control.

Principal Conclusions: Recent studies concerned with the
content of television and the environment in which television produc-
tion occurs suggest that violence in television entertainment
is extraordinarily difficult and perhaps impossible to control,
given the present nature of commercial broadcasting. Vio-

lence is a solution for many problems faced by the television
industry; programming is constantly changing, but violence is
an element that is hard to restrain over long periods.

Theory and Discussion: The evidence converges on a single
point: the intractability of violence in commercial television entertainment in the United States. Between 1967 and 1969,
vioence persisted to a great extent despite efforts to reduce it.
In fact, violence in children's cartoons increased markedly. Vio-

lence is a staple of all mass media—movies, television news,
front pages, magazine fiction—and television cannot be ex-
pected to be an exception when it must compete for attention
with other media. Violence rises and falls in accord with its
popularity. High ratings for violent programs in one season are
precursors of a greater number of programs of a violent type the
next season. It also seems to be favorably received by the public
because seasons high in violence tend to have higher average
audience ratings. As long as an audience of the maximum possi-
ble size is the criterion of success in broadcasting, violence is
sure to be a persistent and common ingredient in programming.

Violence also solves problems related to the craft of television
production. The job is to tell an engaging story in a limited
time span, to produce such stories quickly and regularly, and to
do so at minimum cost. Violence, which provides conflict, action,
and dramatic resolution, and is easy to create, is a ready means
of doing this job. Programming frequently changes but in regard
to violence it is not very malleable. There is no single source to
blame. Audiences do indicate a desire for violence, but the desire
is expressed through ratings which only indicate preference
within the range of what is being offered. Television decision-
makers obviously are responsible for making the decision to
present violence, but they also occupy roles that require them
to meet competition and to present what appears likely to gain
the largest possible audience. This suggests that if less violence
is desired, the solution lies in changes in the way contemporary
commercial broadcasting operates.

85
Comstock, G. A. Television violence: Where the Surgeon Gen-
eral's study leads. Santa Monica, Ca.: The Rand Corporation,

Principal Conclusions: The most justifiable interpretation
of the totality of available evidence is that televised violence
increases aggressiveness among young people, although the case
is not beyond reversal. Future social science research should
concentrate on the psychological and social processes responsi-
ble for this effect. Particularly important topics are (1) the con-
ditions which are necessary for or increase the likelihood of such
an effect, and (2) the conditions which might eliminate or miti-
gate such an effect, including (3) the effects of viewing nonvio-
lent "prosocial" behavior. Future social science research should
also give attention to further testing the hypothesis that vio-
lence viewing causes aggressiveness, and to the possible positive effects of violence viewing.

Theory and Discussion: The Surgeon General's study (358) leaves an agenda for future research and policy study. Few scientists will argue that the culpability of television is completely settled. Acceptance of the causal hypothesis depends on the consistency of findings from varied studies using different methodologies. When the parts of this mosaic are examined independently, none is entirely convincing. Thus, further testing of the causal relation remains on the agenda, although the case is strong enough to say that the priority should go to research on how the effect comes about, and how it might be prevented. Methodologically, two kinds of studies deserve future attention—longitudinal studies, because of their tracking of effects over time, real-life measurement, and gain over cross-sectional studies for causal inference; and field experiments, because of their potential to combine the measurement of effects in real life with a design permitting strong causal inference. The research topics to which priority has shifted include:

1. Social and psychological processes. The conditions and psychological mechanisms that mediate between the viewing of televised violence and any behavioral effect are only slightly understood. Social candidates that merit attention include: (a) family values in regard to aggression; (b) family values in regard to behavior that may facilitate or deter aggressiveness; (c) peer norms; (d) the influence of other media besides television; and (e) the influence of the general social context—social class and milieu in which the young person is growing up. Psychological candidates include: (a) learning of specific behaviors, which would be reflected in imitation (that the degree of learning by observation necessary for imitation to occur takes place with television is established); the open question concerns the relative role of this kind of learning and imitation in real life aggressiveness; (b) disinhibition, or the lessening of internal constraints; (c) learning of values favoring aggressiveness, or the enhancement of tendencies to use aggressive means; (d) learning of general ways to behave that are aggressive or facilitate aggressive acts; (e) identification with aggressive characters; and (f) physiological and emotional arousal. Research on social and psychological processes has high priority because it is through them being understood that ways can be found to ameliorate the effect of televised violence.

2. Mitigating conditions. If violence viewing increases aggressiveness what might reduce the effect? Research focused on mitigating conditions should not confine itself to the confirmation of hypotheses; it should also attempt to deal with (a) the quantitative issue of the frequency with which successful mitigating conditions occur and (b) the means by which mitigating conditions might be made more common. Research on mitigating conditions has high priority for the translation of the present acceptance of the causal hypothesis into meaningful and constructive social action.

3. Prosocial effects. Research into prosocial effects of violence viewing, and prosocial effects of other television content both have high priority; the former informs us of possible costs in reducing exposure to violent content, and the latter of benefits that may be derived from alternative content.

Policy studies—what some might call "research and development"—should focus on: (a) production, and ways by which violence can be made less attractive as a program ingredient; (b) programming, and ways by which violence can be reduced as a means to gaining the large audiences attractive to advertisers; (c) consumer action, and ways in which public can be informed and made effective in influencing broadcasters.

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Principal Findings: Network news and prime-time drama presented very different pictures of the political and criminal
justice systems. Network news was much more cosmopolitan, giving much more attention to national and international leaders; drama gave much more attention to local figures. Network news gave almost equal attention to figures representing advocacy and social change, and to figures representing social control (such as agents of law enforcement). Drama gave overwhelming attention to figures representing social control. Thus, the set of symbols presented in news is "cosmopolitan" and balanced between change and control; in drama, local and conservative. In the portrayal in primetime drama of the criminal justice system, law enforcement figures were depicted as more powerful and more honest than those concerned with the process of justice, and over the past three years law enforcers have increasingly ignored legal safeguards (specifically, the serving of warrants and the advising of arrestees of their rights).

Design and Methodology: In the television drama analysis, one-week samples for 1969, 1970, and 1971 were drawn from the Cultural Indicators Study Archive at the Annenberg School of Communication (University of Pennsylvania) and 157 programs were selected in which one character was a politician, bureaucrat, legal professional, or law enforcement agent. The recording unit was the dramatic character.

In the network television news analysis, videotapes of the three network evening news programs for each of the five weekdays were obtained from the Vanderbilt University Television News Archive. Selection of specific dates was random. The total sample of 15 programs yielded 259 news items. The recording unit was the news item. Coding was done by pairs of coders; reliability was judged satisfactory.

Theory and Discussion: The author suggests that the finding of most attention because of the possible role of television in learning and socialization. Since a uniform set of symbols is not presented, future audience effects studies must take into account differential exposure, as well as effects of exposure to conflicting messages. The data also raise questions about the norms and procedures which lead an institution such as a network to offer contrasting sets of symbols. On the other hand, the criminal justice analysis suggests that television is indeed a cultural indicator, since arrestee rights have similarly been reduced in the real world by recent Supreme Court decisions.


Principal Findings: In an experiment that tested male subjects immediately before, after, and 24 hours following the viewing of an erotic film, increases were observed in arousal, fantasies, desires, and masturbation. Individual differences in reaction were found to be related to differences in prior sexual history. Those most highly aroused by the film were persons either with little recent heterosexual experience or a history of homosexual experience. Judgments that such erotic material should be restricted increased after viewing, but the tendency to wish to restrict availability was related to a rejection of oral-genital sexual practices. Turned into the film, one's personal life. Subjects most likely to have engaged in heterosexual activity after viewing were found to have already established relationships.

Design and Methodology: Of 365 male subjects, 109 were incarcerated in Denver City and County Jail. The remainder were volunteers. After recruitment, subjects filled out a questionnaire detailing their personal feelings about sexually arousing materials. The subjects also completed questionnaires immediately before, immediately after, and 24 hours after viewing the films.

Theory and Discussion: These results indicate that the immediate impact of exposure to eroticism is sexual arousal, but also negative feelings and a judgment that such materials should not be readily available. The films stimulated some to engage in masturbation, but it is not clear if they produced an increase in other forms of sexual behavior, as those who engaged in heterosexual activity following the screening tended to have a history of such behavior, and homosexual behavior was not assessed. The authors conclude that the data shows that "some of the worst fears and concerns are not justified" but note that the data do not deal with the more subtle concerns of age of exposure and context of exposure. They suggest carefully designed longitudinal research.


Principal Findings: News and public affairs programs were found to be the most preferred type of programs among older television viewers. Of the top 15 programs listed by Nielsen in the 1969 national survey, only four were listed by the elderly as among their top preferences. A majority of elderly respondents (65 percent) considered television as being satisfactory to them and a similar number (63 percent) perceived television as serving a companionship service. They overwhelmingly (78 percent) denied the influence of television advertising on their buying habits. Television, newspapers, radio, and magazines were ranked first, second, third, and fourth choices as sources of news. Most respondents felt that the image of older persons was presented factually and honestly on television but did not feel that the presentation of the older person in commercials was accurate. Responses to open-ended questions indicated three areas of programming to be less than satisfactory: educational, musical, and philosophical programs dealing with problem-solving techniques and concerns with various aspects of the human condition. The elderly found violence, sex, commercials, and overexposure to minorities as objectionable.

Design and Methodology: The study was conducted in Long Beach, California, in December 1969. Questionnaires were distributed to members of the American Association of Retired Persons ranging between 55 and 80 years of age. Slightly more than 350 questionnaires were distributed to participants at The Institute of Lifetime Learning in Long Beach. Almost 50 percent, or 174, were returned. Overall, there were 168 usable questionnaires. No follow-up study was made to determine how non-respondents differ from respondents. The questionnaire dealt with four areas: (1) demographics, (2) television use and viewing habits, (3) program preferences, and (4) attitudes and opinions. The 174 elderly respondents consisted of 38 males and 135 females. Seventy-four percent of the study population was over the age of 65 and 64 percent of the population lived alone. The sample population was more educated than the general aged population, 53 percent claiming additional education beyond high school.

Theory and Discussion: The study confirms previous research which showed that the older audience prefers news and public affairs programs, indicating that the elderly desire to "keep up with things." Further, the older audience seems to be not overly critical of television programming.


Principal Findings: The world of employment portrayed on television programs likely to be seen by children and young people bears little resemblance to reality. About one-third of the
television labor force is involved with enforcement or administration of the law. When the televised labor force was distributed into the 12 categories used for labor force classification by the U.S. Census, there was little resemblance to the actual labor force distribution for the area where the television content was coded (Indiana). Higher-status occupations were overrepresented in the television labor force. Women were underrepresented, comprising 16 percent of the televised work force, compared to 31 percent of the actual labor force. When television labor force members were ranked as to portrayed powerfulness, those with the most power turned out to be in professions that young viewers would be unlikely to enter, although a sample of children indicated that powerfulness was the trait most important to them in evaluating the desirability of an occupation. In regard to characteristics of individuals in the television labor force, negative characteristics tended to be attributed to persons in lower-status occupations: traits tended to be occupationally stereotyped (lawyers were clever, actors temperamentally); and events experienced were often highly atypical occupationally.

Design and Methodology: Television programs were coded during hours when children were most likely to watch—3:30 to 11 p.m. on school days, and 10 a.m. to 11 p.m. on Saturdays and Sundays—over a six-month period in the Midwest. Coding was restricted to programs portraying persons interacting in modern settings. Cartoons, commercials, news, quizzes, and Westerns (a nonmodern setting) were excluded. The final sample consisted of 250 half-hour segments selected randomly from this defined universe. Occupational portrayals were defined as an appearance of three minutes or more in which some recognizable occupational duty was performed. Coding reliability, based on a five percent sample of programs, was 90 percent. The program sample produced 436 occupational portrayals for analysis. The portrayed powerfulness of an occupation was measured by the frequency of dominant compared to submissive interactions with others; children's valuation of power as an occupational trait was based on responses of a sample of 237 children drawn from the community.

Theory and Discussion: The author argues that socialization about occupations occurs through "accidental or haphazard exposure to a variety of learning sources," and that mass media, especially television, may play a major role. Television is thought to be particularly important, because of the amount of time children spend viewing. If so, this source "clearly provides unrealistic occupational information." The portrayals of occupations during the period that children are likely to view was "selective, unreal, stereotyped, and misleading." Contrary, corrective information about occupations may not reach the child. This absence of corrective occupational information clearly contrasts with the situation for criminal and delinquent behavior portrayed on television, where the child is generally exposed to corrective communication. Thus, television may have an unusually important role in occupational socialization.

Principal Conclusions: Mass media grow and decline as the result of a complex of factors—technological invention, cultural inclinations, economics, and political action. Television, the most recent of mass media, was the quickest to reach its maximum penetration, which was almost universal adoption. By serving the same needs, television powerfully diminished the audience for movies, which may not survive in its present mode of theater distribution. By serving some of the same needs, television has also reduced the demand for newspapers, but newspapers will probably survive because they are an important part of people's lives and fulfill functions not served by television. All mass media, including television, have been accused of having a negative effect on children and youth, presenting excessive crime and violence, and conveying false of low cultural value. Yet, media fare has remained largely stable and unchanged; the reason is that all mass media supported by advertising seek to attract, by fare that will not incur popular rejection or regulation or restriction, the largest possible audience for which will purchase advertised goods.

Theory and Discussion: Much attention has been focused on the study of mass media effects. Other aspects of the media are also important, however, including their histories, patterns of development, effects on each other, and the way they behave as social systems. Television was preceded by radio, movies, and the mass press, each of which has been affected by it, and other mass media will appear which will alter the character of television and other contemporary mass media.


Principals Findings: Children expressed greater understanding of occupations outside of their experience which were regularly featured on television than of unfamiliar occupations. Children did not so feature. Both knowledge of roles and the ability to rank them accurately in regard to prestige followed the same pattern. When the opportunity to observe the roles directly via television was equal, boys and girls did not differ in understanding, but boys knew more about less visible roles. Lower-class children had less understanding than upper- and middle-class children. The roles featured only on television were rated more consistently than either roles which could be observed directly or which were unfamiliar and not featured on television, suggesting a "homogenization effect" attributable to stereotyped portrayal of roles on television.

Design and Methodology: The data came from extensive interviews with 237 children and their mothers. Subjects were a five percent systematic sample drawn from the currently enrolled population of the public school system of a small Midwestern town. The interviews were conducted by experienced school teachers who had been given special training. The measurement instrument used for assessing role knowledge and status knowledge, specially developed for this project, was an "Occupations Test" developed by one of the authors. In the test, 4 x 5 inch cards with cartoon-like representations of the various occupations are used as stimuli in getting the child to report on the role characteristics of each occupation. The entire set of occupations were divided into three distinct sets: personal contact occupations, including jobs with which the child comes into direct contact during his normal life; television contact occupations, including jobs selected on the basis of a content analysis of six months of television broadcasts; and finally, general culture occupations, occupations widely understood by the adults in the community but rarely seen by children, either in person or on television. In each set there was a hierarchy of occupational prestige. Children were asked both to describe the role portrayed in each picture and to rank the roles in each set in a hierarchy according to job prestige. Overall, then, the test permits study of role knowledge, prestige hierarchy knowledge, and the relative importance of each of three sources of learning. The female parent was also interviewed concerning the major socioeconomic characteristics of each family, and she also ranked the three sets of occupations.

Theory and Discussion: Several relationships were examined in this study. As children became older, they tended to rank occupations more and more consistently, and their rankings became more and more like those of their adult parents, both of these relationships reflecting the acquisition of occupational role knowledge. When role knowledge was compared to social class of the
respondent, it was found that the children at the bottom levels knew less about each set of roles than did children higher in the socioeconomic structure. No such differences was found between middle- and upper-class children. In general, personal contact occupations were best understood by all children, followed by television contact roles, and then by general culture roles.

Children's rankings of the television occupations agreed more with those made by the parents than did their rankings of either the personal contact or general culture occupations. This was the "homogenization effect" mentioned earlier. In spite of the relative effectiveness of television as a learning source, there is reason to believe that the television portrayals were stereotyped—television contact roles were rated more consistently by both children and parents than the other two classes of roles. Thus, the authors suggest that television provides children with superficial and misleading information about the labor force of society. It is further suggested that this may lead to difficult personal and social problems as the children grow up and enter the "real" world.


Principal Findings: In a 1970 Michigan post-election survey, voters who had been undecided about the gubernatorial race and voters who split their tickets rated television news as the most important of 35 factors which might have influenced them. Both groups rated television news and television documentaries and specials as more important than newspaper editorials and newspaper stories, conversations with the family, contacts with candidates, or talks with friends. Television advertisements were relatively low-rated (24th). In a 1967 national pre-election survey, newspapers were much more often reported as consulted frequently—everyday, or almost everyday—than television for campaign coverage, although the two media were about equally named as being consulted at least once a week.

Design and Methodology: The 1970 Michigan sample was 805; the July 1967 national sample, 1,188. Other details are not given.

Theory and Discussion: Ticket-splitting and desertion of major parties are increasing. Ticket splitters and other nontraditional voters need information, so can be expected to rely on the media to a high degree. As a concept, ticket-splitting differs from that of the independent voter: the former refers to behavior, the latter to self-perception. The results on media use are consistent with expectations. The low rating of television commercials is especially interesting. The future should see more ticket-splitting and this finding implies that politicians must become more oriented to issues. As a concept, the ticket-splitter is especially important to the Republican party because it is only infrequently the majority party in registration.


Principal Findings: Viewing by black children of a hour-long film featuring blacks in various social roles resulted in changes interpretable as indicating enhanced self-concept.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were all black students in fourth and sixth grades in three inner-city schools in Syracuse, New York. Within each grade, subjects were randomly assigned to an experimental or control condition. In the fourth-grade group, there were 74 experimental and 66 control subjects; in the sixth-grade group, 66 experimental subjects and 51 control subjects. Post-test measurement only was used, to avoid sensitizing the subjects; principal measures were self-social symbols tasks and a self-concept scale. The experimental treatment consisted of viewing a motion picture made up of segments showing a middle-class black family, Jackie Robinson, black fighting men, black musicians and singers, Martin Luther King, Jr., black athletes, and a black postman. In the control condition, subjects viewed motion picture segments that were comparable except for the race of the participants.

Theory and Discussion: Self-concept, the author speculated, may be affected by mass media because, like everyday life, they are a source for learning how others react to individuals with whom the person identifies. Black children may learn to acquire a negative self-concept from their everyday experiences because of the observed status of their race in a white society. It is hypothesized that viewing successful black models may improve self-concept because it exposes the person to circumstances in which his race is positively rewarded. The fourth- and sixth-grade experimental group scored higher on "sense of power," "group identification," and "identification with parents," and the fourth-grade experimental group scored lower on "centrality" (which indicates reduced focusing on the self). On other scales, there were no differences. In sum, the data indicate that the self-concept of black children who view black models will be enhanced in comparison to black children who view white models.


Principal Findings: A content analysis of crimes portrayed on primetime television showed that 64 percent of all shows portrayed at least one crime, while 42 percent portrayed more than one. Most of these crimes took place in business establishments or private residences. Ninety-four percent were judged as having a motive of some kind, often either greed (32 percent) or to avoid detection of a crime (31 percent). Of the 119 crimes recorded during the week of the sample, 26 were murders, 20 were aggravated assaults, and 15 simple assault. Nine were armed robberies, and the rest were spread over all other categories, with only three for drug addiction. When compared to real-world frequencies, the television world is nearly the opposite, with a strong inverse correlation between frequencies of types of crime (— .57). Television crime was almost always unsuccessful, with 88 percent being solved by the authorities. Eighty-five percent of criminals were male; 78 percent were between 20 and 50 years of age; and 90 percent were white. Television crime appears to be a white-collar occupation, committed primarily by specialists or by people with middle-class occupations. Real-world criminals, in comparison, were younger and more often black. Law enforcement agents were pictured as being basically honest and law-abiding characters. The victims of television crime tended to be male (83 percent), between 20 and 50 years old, and white (93 percent). Most attempted murder victims were law enforcement officers (75 percent).

Design and Methodology: One week of primetime network programming available on New York television from February 22 to 29, 1972, provided the sample of programs for the study. All regularly scheduled programs were viewed, with the exception of news, public affairs, variety shows, and movies. Coders were even independent of the research, and were therefore not biased by the authorities. As the shows were broadcast, usually by checking one of a predetermined set of alternatives. Only variables with a reliability of .75 or higher were used.

Theory and Discussion: A comparison of television crime and real-world crime reveals several distortions: Television overrepresents violent crimes directed at individuals. Blacks and young people are underrepresented in the television crime
world; television crime is less profitable than real crime; non-whites are underrepresented as murder victims; and violent crimes between family members are underrepresented. Television criminals are so nondescript that they must be viewed as functions, not people. They are one-dimensional characters, existing solely as criminals. Television crime is not dangerous crime; the criminal is nearly always caught. Television crime is removed from the ordinary citizen; it takes place behind closed doors, is seldom witnessed, and is rarely seen in everyday life on the street.


**Principal Findings:** The amount of time a child spent watching crime and police shows was unrelated to the judged importance of television as an information source. For boys and girls, viewing of crime shows was positively correlated with: identification with a television character associated with law enforcement; belief that criminals usually get caught; and knowledge of civil rights when arrested. The more important television was to the child, the less likely he was to indicate that he would inform police about a witnessed crime. For both boys and girls, the variables with the highest correlations with general evaluation of police were the perceived attitudes of friends and family. For boys only, more personal contact with police was correlated with negative evaluation. Finally, legal terms and processes shown frequently on television were better known than those items not commonly portrayed.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 371 fifth-graders in four New York City schools—two in blue-collar communities and two in white-collar areas. Subjects completed questionnaires designed to measure both antecedent variables (informational and attitudinal inputs) and criterion variables (attitudes toward and knowledge about crime and police.) The antecedent variables included: frequency of viewing crime shows; evaluation of television's importance as an information source; perceived attitudes of friends toward police; perceived parents' attitudes toward police; amount of personal contact with police; and family occupational status. Criterion variables included: identification with television characters; prestige ranking of the roles of policeman and detective; evaluation of police; efficacy of police; realism of television police; perceived nature and quantity of violence in society; likelihood that the respondent would report each; reporting of certain types of crime if they witnessed them; and knowledge of the rights of an arrested individual.

**Theory and Discussion:** The author suggests that if the finding that the amount of importance attributed to television as an information source and the child's reluctance to indicate that he would report witnessed crimes to police is found with other groups of children, i.e., if the finding is not peculiar to this sample, we would have evidence of a possible dysfunction of this type of media content. This seems consistent with the finding that children who watch many crime shows are more apt to believe that criminals usually get caught. If these children believe that real police are as efficient as television police, it matters little whether or not they report witnessed crimes, since the criminals will be caught and punished regardless.


**Principal Findings:** Degree of perceived parental approval of aggressive behavior was positively correlated with attitudes favorable to aggressiveness among fourth, fifth, and sixth graders. Regular viewing of violent television drama also was positively correlated with such attitudes. However, the degree of perceived parental approval was more strongly related than violence viewing. There was no relationship between socioeconomic status and such attitudes.

**Design and Methodology:** The sample consisted of 404 boys and 454 girls in public schools in Michigan. Measures were obtained by questionnaire. Attitude scales measured: (a) willing-
ness to use violence, (b) perceived effectiveness of violence, (c) approval of violence, and (d) inclination to resolve conflicts by violence. The index of socioeconomic status was father's occupation. Perceived degree of parental approval of aggression was measured by an item asking whether the respondent's parents generally expressed disapproval of aggressive behavior; if the response was "no," the respondent was classified as perceiving a greater degree of parental approval.

Theory and Discussion: It was expected that violence viewing, perceived parental approval of aggression, and lower socioeconomic status would be positively correlated with attitudes favorable to aggressiveness. In general, the findings support the first two hypotheses. For boys, violence viewing was correlated with willingness to use violence and perceived effectiveness of violence. For girls, violence viewing was correlated with willingness to use violence, perceived effectiveness of violence, and inclination to use violence to resolve conflicts.


Principal Findings: Erotic stimuli can have both an inhibiting and a facilitating effect on aggressive behavior, depending on the arousal level of the stimuli and the placement in time of the instigation to aggression. When male subjects were angered before exposure to erotica, it was found that mildly erotic pictures, such as those found in Playboy, had an inhibiting effect on aggression. Subjects exposed to highly erotic materials exhibited aggression levels comparable to subjects exposed to neutral stimuli. However, when the process was reversed and the subjects were angered subsequent to viewing erotica, subjects exposed to highly erotic pictures increased in aggressive responses.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 81 male undergraduates enrolled in introductory psychology classes at Southern Illinois University. Each subject first met a confederate of the experimenter who posed as a subject and who either acted in an arrogant and obnoxious manner or a normal manner, depending on experimental condition. The confederate was introduced by the experimenter as the "learner" in a learning experiment that required the subject to administer electric shocks to the confederate. At this point, subjects were put into one of three insult conditions. In the insult first condition, a situation was contrived in which the subject overheard the confederate making insulting remarks about him to the experimenter immediately after their initial meeting but before the subject viewed mildly or highly erotic materials or neutral stimuli. In the insult second condition, the subject overheard the remarks after viewing either mildly or highly erotic materials or a neutral stimulus. A control group was not insulted. The visual stimuli were still photographs from Playboy (mildly arousing) or an "adults only" periodical (highly arousing). Aggression, the dependent variable, was measured according to the intensity and duration of shocks administered by the subject during the bogus learning experiment.

Theory and Discussion: The experiment was formulated to reconcile discrepant findings on the effects of erotic stimuli on aggression. The results suggest that these effects depend upon the arousal level of the stimuli and the sequence order of stimulus presentation and anger arousal. The authors interpret the finding that subjects first angered and then exposed to mildly erotic stimuli decrease in aggression as suggesting that mild erotic stimuli shift attention away from anger. The authors note: "While such mildly erotic stimuli have the propensity for facilitating aggression due to their arousal potential, their potential to distract or absorb the subject tends to outweigh the arousal property." But when the stimulus is highly erotic, it appears that arousal value more nearly equals distraction potential, as subjects exposed to highly erotic materials maintained aggression levels comparable to subjects exposed to neutral stimuli. When subjects were insulted after viewing the erotica, the materials served to increase aggression. The authors explain that the erotic materials no longer had distraction value. In fact, the increase in arousal because of the high erotic stimuli came to be interpreted as anger.


Principal Findings: Undergraduates judged political advertisements filmed in color more pleasing aesthetically than those filmed in black and white, but color affected the judgments of female subjects more than those of males.

Design and Methodology: The subjects, 240 college students, were exposed to one of three film conditions: No film, a black-and-white filmed political commercial, or a color version of the same political commercial. Then, the students marked 15 bipolar adjectival scales reflecting the organizational and aesthetic components of the ads and indicated a comparative judgment of the quality of the commercial. The no-film group did not view a commercial but was asked to respond to the concept "political television commercials." Subjects were randomly assigned to treatments.

Theory and Discussion: The findings suggest that politicians and political advertisements are perceived more favorably in color than in black and white. However, color did not appear to affect the perceived organization of the message in the subjects' minds. Thus, color does not seem to be an inhibiting factor by causing organizational interference in learning the content of political advertisements.


Principal Findings: Exposure to a violent movie increased aggressive behavior by college students against another person. However, the effect appeared to be greater immediately after exposure than 20 minutes later. Exposure to a violent movie also increased improvement in performance on a test by high school students. Again, immediate effects appeared to be greater than delayed effects.

Design and Methodology: There were two experiments. In Experiment I, 40 undergraduates were randomly assigned to a violent or neutral film condition. The violent film presented a Western gunfight in which about 150 persons are killed in color in seven minutes; the neutral film was a color documentary on the history, cultivation, and processing of tea. For half the subjects in each of these conditions, aggressiveness was measured immediately (about six minutes) after film exposure, and for half, 20 minutes after. Aggressiveness was measured by quantity of shocks delivered to a person as feedback for wrong answers in a problem-solving situation. Administration of the independent and dependent variables was blind—different experimenters were used for each, and the first did not know whether subjects were in the immediate or delayed measurement condition, while the second did not know whether they were from the violent or neutral film condition. The interval in the delayed measurement condition was filled by a visual acuity test. In Experiment II, the same design was used except that the dependent variable was improvement in performance on a one-minute "digit-symbol" test. Subjects were 20 high school students ran-
domly assigned to the four conditions. The aggressive Western sequence was used again, but the neutral film was a documentary on the building of a trans-Canada pipeline. The digit-symbol test was taken before and after viewing the film; the dependent measure was the amount of gain.

**Theory and Discussion:** When aggressiveness different from what was shown follows a film, imitation does not explain the effect. One possibility is that part of the aggressiveness is explained by arousal created by the film. Another alternative is that inhibitions are lowered. It has been found that nonfilm arousal produced by angering or exciting a subject can be a necessary condition for a violent film to produce aggressive effects. The experiments test the possibility that increased aggressiveness subsequent to viewing film violence may sometimes be caused by arousal from the film itself. The results are consistent with such an explanation. The results of Experiment II indicate that the violent film affects the state of arousal. It is not quite as clear that the aggressive effects observed in Experiment I are due to arousal, but it is a reasonable assumption. There is no way to manipulate delay apart from side effects associated with delay, and the delay itself may be slightly arousing. This is suggested by the fact that in both experiments in the neutral condition the delay scores are higher than the immediate scores. Overall, the results are consistent with the concept that much aggression consists of responses which would not be considered aggressive were the magnitude governing them lower.

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**Principal Findings:** Children who saw an aggressive film waited longer to seek adult help and were more likely to tolerate all but violent physical aggression and destruction before seeking help than were children who did not see the film. There were no significant differences due to sex of subjects.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 22 male and 22 female third- and fourth-graders randomly divided into groups for a 2 x 2 (sex x film/no film) factorial design. Children in the film group saw a cowboy film that depicted many violent events. All the children were led to believe that they were responsible for watching the behavior of two younger children whom they could see on a videotape monitor. The younger children at first played quietly, then became progressively disruptive. Their alteration culminated in a physical fight ending with the apparent destruction of the television camera. The dependent measures were (a) the time it took a subject to seek adult help after the younger children began to be disruptive and (b) whether or not the subject waited until the younger children had begun to abuse each other physically before seeking adult help.

**Theory and Discussion:** These results provide support for the notion that children's responsibility to real-life aggression may be affected by previous observation of fictional violence, the authors conclude. Latency scores were related to exposure to the aggressive film; thus the subject's decision to summon adult help was clearly influenced by the film. Several possible explanations for the effect are tenable. First, if media presentations furnish children with a model of "what the world is really like," witnessing aggressive behavior on television and in movies may serve to make the viewer more likely to consider conflict and fighting as normative behaviors. Thus, when real-life aggression is witnessed, it is not considered to be surprising or unusual and therefore does not seem to warrant action on the part of the observer. A similar interpretation is focused on contrast effects. Since it is quite unlikely that one might see aggression in one's own life that is as extreme as that usually presented in the media, real-life aggression might often seem to be trivial in comparison. Also, exposure to violence may reduce emotional responsibility to subsequent scenes of violence, thereby making it less likely that individuals will react quickly.

The results of this study, taken together with others in which the modeling and disinhibiting effects of media violence have been demonstrated, suggest the possibility that while some children are incorporating violent responses into their everyday behavior, even more may be learning to tolerate them.

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**Principal Findings:** Presidential election survey data be-
between 1952 and 1968 show that voters least exposed to mass media political information tend to change their vote preferences more readily within a single campaign and to switch their votes more readily from one party to another between two successive elections. Regardless of the level of exposure to mass media political information, the relationship between identifying with a party and actually voting for that party has declined. However, the correlation between party identification and voting for the party consistently increases within any year with increases in exposure to mass media political information.

Theory and Methodology: Survey data collected by the Survey Research Center during five Presidential campaigns from 1952 to 1968 were analyzed.

*Theory and Discussion:* It is possible that once uninvolved voters were highly stable because they were not exposed to political information. The growing availability of mass media, and in particular television since 1952, and the increased use of the media by politicians, has led to the thorough penetration of the electorate with political information, and the relatively uninvolved are no longer left out. Thus, the uninvolved become exposed by the mass media to new information which causes shifts in electoral behavior. At the same time, concludes the author, the immediate circumstances of an election increasingly have come to overcome the stabilizing influence on voter choice of long-term party loyalties.

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Principal Findings: Movie scenes evoked strong emotional reactions in children. Scenes of tragedy, conflict, and danger elicited the strongest reactions from children under 12. Such scenes evoked somewhat less reaction from young people about 16, and much less from those over 19. Love scenes evoked the strongest reactions from those about 16; adult reaction was much less, and reaction among children under 12 was least. Overall emotional response was at its maximum at about 16 because of the conjunction of usually high reactivity to scenes of tragedy, conflict, and danger, and consistently strong reactivity to love scenes. Perception of what was shown also varied widely, with errors frequent among children under 12. Anticipations of danger, frequently inaccurate, stimulated emotional reaction, and the response for boys was greater than for girls. Younger children tended to respond more strongly to single scenes and to be less able to assimilate or appreciate the story in its entirety or the significance of the outcome.

Design and Methodology: Emotional reactivity was measured physiologically by psychogalvanic response. Two studies were conducted. In a laboratory study, reactions of 89 subjects, 54 of whom were 18 years and younger, to commercial films were measured. In a theater setting, reactions of 61 subjects in three age groups—those about 9, about 16, and about 22 years old—to regularly showing features were measured. In the lab study, subjects were interviewed about their perceptions after seeing the films; in the theater study, this proved impractical.

Theory and Discussion: The purpose of the study was to examine emotional effects of films. The psychogalvanic response was chosen because prior research indicated that it measured emotional response. The discrepancies between adult and children's emotionality suggest that an adult is a poor judge of effects on children. However, there are wide individual differences in reactivity. The evidence also indicates that scenes have an individual effect on children, and that the story as a whole or the ending is frequently not assimilated. They conclude that a child will not make the same synthesis of a movie as an adult. And they add, "But a more serious consequence of this psychological fact is that many of the claims of the motion picture industry by the same token fail to the ground when these pictures are viewed by very young children, early adolescents, and sometimes even during the late adolescent years. An exciting robbery, an ecstatic love-scene, the behavior of a drunkard, and the-like cannot be toned down by the moral situation at the end of the picture when the episode is justified in terms of the hand of the law or the retribution of an outraged Providence. It is not altogether clear… that the claim made in terms of a mature mind can hold for the growing mind. The ultimate outcome of the story, the moral that honesty is the best policy, the assumption that the way of the sinner is hard, are adult generalizations and belong to what we have called the adult discount."

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Principal Conclusions: One of the apparent negative social effects of mass communication is television violence's increasing of aggressive behavior among children. There is no inconsistency when experiments demonstrate strong effects of television violence, and similar strong results are not found in surveys and field studies, for the former study aspects of the process of how effects come about, while the latter provide a rough overall gauge of eventual effect.

Theory and Discussion: Apparent differences between outcomes of experimental and field studies of the effects of television violence on children reflect confusion over what is being described: "process" vs. "effect" of communication. The two methods measure different kinds of responses. Field studies take into account predispositional and mediating influences in a natural setting, while experiments present a media stimulus in a controlled environment which excludes mediating or intervening variables present in real life. Experiments may be construed as examining the processes rather than the effects of communication, and this leads to an imagined rather than real discrepancy from the findings of field studies.

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Principal Findings: Young adolescent males with high self-esteem preferred factual shows to fantasies, whereas low self-esteem males preferred fantasy shows with male protagonists. Females preferred fantasy shows with female protagonists, and low self-esteem females preferred them more than did high self-esteem females. For both males and females, low self-esteem was related to greater television viewing, greater movie attendance, and greater movierng. In regard to selected movies, low self-esteem was associated with being reminded of something personal. Liking for and interest in the movies also varied with self-esteem.

Design and Methodology: A standard self-esteem inventory was administered to 816 Australian 12- to 14-year-olds (390 boys and 426 girls), and four criterion groups representing approximately the 10 percent at each extreme of the scale were selected: 46 high-esteem girls, 43 high-esteem boys, 41 low-esteem girls, and 29 low-esteem boys. Five months later, the self-esteem inventory was completed again, along with an anxiety scale. Self-esteem and anxiety were inversely correlated. In addition, the criterion groups were asked to complete questionnaires on uses of mass media; time spent viewing; favorite programs; attitudes toward violence; perceived fantasy and realism in media portrayals; and relations with peers, school and family. Data are analyzed in terms of trends and patterns and no statistical tests are applied.
The next stage of the research involved showing the criterion groups three feature films in a realistic theatre setting. Our Mother’s House, The Dirty Dozen, and The War Game. Following each film, 22 interviewees interviewed 22 viewers, while the other viewers filled in a questionnaire answering the same questions asked by the interviewers. Forty-four children were interviewed and 115 filled in questionnaires over the two-day period the films were shown. The interviews focused on enjoyment of the film; recollections of what happened in the film; the perceived message of the film; whether the viewer thought the story could happen in real life; which parts of the film were most real and unreal; which parts were exciting, frightening, upsetting, cruel, unpleasant, or funny; which characters were liked most and least; whether parts of a film reminded them of anything that had ever happened to them; and whether they would like to see the film again.

Theory and Discussion: Favorite programs varied according to sex and esteem differences. High-esteem boys preferred reality-based programs; low-esteem males rated more fictional programs as their favorite than did high-esteem males; girls preferred fictional programs with female main protagonists more than did the boys; with low-esteem girls listing them as most favored more often than high-esteem girls; police and action dramas were generally popular with all groups. In addition, low-esteem males and females had fewer books in their homes, listened to the radio more often, were likely to own a transistor radio, read fewer magazines and newspapers, attended the cinema more often, were less likely to belong to a library, borrowed fewer books, and spent more time watching television than did the high-esteem groups. They were more likely to quarrel with their siblings over television; more likely to be upset or annoyed if they missed their favorite television show because it was important to them; less likely to discuss television programming; and more likely to regard television as “something to do.” More low-esteem children said that they had been worried, kept awake, or had a nightmare from something they had seen on television. More low self-esteem children agreed that they forgot everything else when they watched television, thought there was something wrong with people who did not watch television, and said television stopped them from feeling lonely.

In the theater research, all groups liked The Dirty Dozen, and thought it was an exciting film. Despite the spectacular violence, it disturbed very few viewers and a majority in all groups wanted to see it again. The War Game was liked least. There was a marked sex difference in the responses to the film. Fewer girls liked the film than boys, but within same-sex groups more high-esteem subjects liked The War Game than low-esteem subjects. Our Mother’s House was more popular with girls than with boys, but again within the same-sex groups, the high-esteem groups liked the film more than the low-esteem groups. However, it was the low-esteem groups of both sexes which expressed greatest interest in seeing Our Mother’s House again. For all three films, there were more children in the low-esteem groups who said they were reminded of some personal experience.

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Principal Conclusions: The most striking aspect of the research on television’s effects on children is that there is not conclusive evidence that television has either good or bad effects.

Theory and Discussion: On many points, the evidence is inconclusive. However, children’s viewing patterns have been fairly well established. Younger children prefer cartoons. Grade school children quickly develop a taste for adult television and devote the majority of their viewing time to such content. Parents’ socioeconomic class is related to a child’s television habits; children in higher strata spend less time with television than others. Intelligence is also a factor—more intelligent schoolers tend to watch more television, but by early adolescence are watching less. Opinions are divided on television’s effect on schoolwork and on television’s educational value. Views also diverge on the suitability of various programs for children: what some condemn, others praise. Controversy exists too about the harmful effects of televised violence. While laboratory studies indicate that children imitate aggression, proof of that imitation also occurs in the actual viewing situation is lacking.

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Principal Findings: The emotional reaction of boys five and six years old to television violence predicted subsequent aggressiveness. Favorable reactions were positively correlated with later aggressive acts against a human target. The relationship did not hold for girls.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 30 boys and 35 girls, five and six years old, randomly assigned to an experimental and control condition. In both conditions, the children watched television for about six-and-a-half minutes. In the experimental condition, the first two minutes consisted of one-minute commercials videotaped from commercial television in 1970, followed by three-and-a-half minutes from The Untouchables which contained a chase, two fist-fight scenes, two shootouts, and a knife; the final minute was occupied by a commercial. In the control condition, a three-and-a-half minute film of a track meet with both males and females competing was substituted for the violent sequence. Subsequently, subjects were asked to play a game in which they could push buttons to play in a room containing aggressive toys (such as a knife and a gun) and nonaggressive toys (such as a space station). Emotional reaction was measured by coding facial expression from films made surreptitiously while the children were watching the television. Eleven scales were used, measuring such states as happiness, anger, and disgust. Dependent measures were the amount of time the help or hurt buttons were depressed (“helping” vs. “hurting”), the trial on which the hurt button was first pressed (“slowness to hurt”), and aggressive acts in the play situation.

Theory and Discussion: For the boys in the experimental group, facial expressions judged to represent pleasantness, happiness, interest, or involvement during fighting and shooting scenes were positively correlated with hurting, and negatively correlated with slowness to hurt and helping. Expressions coded as representing happiness correlated positively with aggressive play. Anger and sadness were negatively correlated with hurting and aggressive play; pain was positively correlated with helping. Surprise was positively correlated with both with hurting and helping, and negatively with slowness to hurt. Multiple regression indicated that emotions explained half the variance in post-viewing behavior. No such correlations were found for girls. The findings support the notion that identification with the aggressor plays a role when viewing is found to have a disinhibitory effect on subsequent aggressiveness. Helping and hurting were uncorrelated; this leads to rejection of the hypothesis that the post-viewing aggressiveness is attributable to arousal.

Principal Conclusions: Professional communicators who staff the mass media serve as intermediaries between society as source and society as audience. They are not accurately conceived of as "gatekeepers," since they do not simply accept or reject a flow of information reflecting the world as it is, nor as "passengers," since they often do not have strong prescriptive motives. Instead, they are more correctly viewed as persons who, based on a highly selective sampling from society, create images which are designed to hold the attention of as large a proportion of the potential audience as possible.

Theory and Discussion: By participant observation, a case study was made of the production of a seven-part British educational television series The Nature of Prejudice, in 1967. Once the topic was selected, the content took shape as various persons on the staff drew on various sources, and was highly influenced by the sources encountered. Often, final content reflected the particular makeup of the production group. When decisions were made, they tended to be based on audience attention and interest, rather than substance.

Tensions were created between the production and camera groups by differences in the nature of their occupations. The former reach a peak of activity near the end of creating a series, then relax into less activity until production of a new series begins, while the camera group can expect immediate heavy demands as they shift to a new production group. Another difficulty arises because producers are communications experts but not subject experts, with the result that substantive emphases are not always correct. The tendency of the mass media to serve audience attention and satisfaction emphasizes the emotional. Professional communicators tend to emphasize form rather than content. Thus, one may question the ability of mass communication to communicate. What is communicated tends to be supportive of the status quo, since demanding, factual content is inhibited.


Principal Findings: First-grade children who viewed an aggressive cartoon displayed increased aggression in a natural classroom setting when observed immediately after the film. Much of the hostile behavior was similar to that depicted in the cartoon.

Design and Methodology: The subjects were 51 students randomly selected from first-grade classes of a Georgia elementary school. After pretreatment observations yielded a base rate of aggressive behaviors, the subjects were ranked according to the frequency of aggression and assigned to three treatment groups according to a randomized blocks procedure. They were either shown an aggressive or neutral cartoon or allowed to leave the room. After the treatments, the children were observed during a relatively relaxed time in the classroom, such as an art period.

Theory and Discussion: The authors explain their results in terms of modeling theory and point out that "cartoons not only condone, but also facilitate socially unacceptable behavior because cartoon models frequently are not subject to punishment for deviant aggressive behavior."


Principal Findings: Content analyses of Western films indicated that they emphasize two patterns of relationship between characters—one in which two strong males represent good vs. evil, and one in which three characters, a strong male, a weaker male, and a woman, represent the Oedipal triangle. Children who viewed a Western film emphasizing both perceived the film largely in terms of the former pattern, which was hypothesized to be more in accord with their psychological needs, given their ages. The film, which emphasized the threatening nature of the world, also led to increased anxiety and depiction of the world as threatening and hostile in stories made up by the children.

Design and Methodology: In the content analysis, synopses of 100 Western films cited in the British Film Institute Bulletin between 1953 and 1956 were coded. In the experiment, 44 boys aged 10-13 saw The Lone Hand, and before and after viewing completed a projective test which consisted of inventing stories about the fate of a boy sitting on a doorstep.

Theory and Discussion: Prior research suggests that a vicarious experience will not reduce a need, but that a need will stimulate participation in a relevant vicarious experience. Thus, the immediate effects of films are more likely to be indirect, altering moods and feelings, rather than reducing or redirecting drives. In the content analysis, the character of Westerns was analyzed. It was found that they could be divided into those with cowboy heroes, or cavalry heroes, and that the former tended to be more complex (shifting between being good and bad, rather than remaining one or the other), and more of an outsider in the community. It was also found that two patterns predominated—a dyadic pattern in which two strong males represent good vs. evil, and a triadic pattern in which the relationship between a superior and inferior male is negative or ambiguous but both have positive or neutral relationships with a female, equivalent to the pattern of Oedipal conflict. It was hypothesized that the boys would perceive the movie, chosen because it contained both patterns, in terms of the good-evil pattern, since at their age Oedipal conflict is minimal compared to a few years before or after. It was also predicted that the movie, in which justice triumphs only through good fortune and the forcefulness of the good, would create feelings of being faced with a more powerful, hostile environment. The data supported both hypotheses. Recall was greater for elements associated with the good vs. evil theme, and references to a hostile environment in the concocted stories increased after viewing.


Principal Findings: Violence viewing by boys in the third grade was positively correlated with aggressiveness ten years later. No such relationship was found for girls.

Design and Methodology: The third-grade data were collected in a study of mental health and aggressive behavior. The site was a seminomral county in upper state New York. The measures included mothers' reports of children's television favorites and peer-ratings of aggression. In 1970, ten years later, about half of the original sample was located. Self-reports of television favorites and peer-ratings of aggressiveness were obtained. The result was a panel study covering a decade of growing up. At both points in time, judges rated television programs for violence, and these ratings were used to assign television violence scores. The peer-ratings of aggressiveness were used to identify peers at both times except for minor revisions. The sample consisted of 875 boys and girls. In the follow-up, the sample consisted of 211 males and 216 females. The mode of data analysis—cross-lagged correlations, partial correlations and multiple correlation—was chosen to permit inferences regarding the causal influence of watching violent television on aggression in later life.

Theory and Discussion: The data lead to the conclusion, write the authors, "that there is a probable causative influence of watching violent television programs in early formative years on later aggression. Of course, it is not claimed that television violence is the only cause of aggressive behavior. However, the effect of television violence on aggression is relatively independent of . . . other factors. . . ." The third-grade television violence measure was correlated both with concurrent aggressiveness and with aggressiveness ten years later. The data were found consistent with the hypothesis that third-grade television viewing was a cause of aggressiveness in later life, and inconsistent with four rival hypotheses. These rejected rivals included the hypotheses: (a) that third-grade violence viewing stimulates concurrent aggressiveness, and this aggressiveness then stimulates aggressiveness in later life; (b) that third-grade aggressiveness stimulates concurrent violence viewing, and this violence viewing then stimulates aggressiveness in later life; (c) that third-grade aggressiveness stimulates both concurrent violence viewing and aggressiveness in later life; and (d) that third-grade aggressiveness stimulates both aggressiveness and violence viewing in later life. The lack of positive finding for the girls is consistent with the experimental literature, in which girls frequently do not exhibit the same degree of aggressiveness as boys after exposure to televised violence.

There are roughly three schools of thought. One accepts the authors' conclusion that the causal inference made can be drawn from these data (Liebert, 224), if not necessarily their analysis (Kenny, 1972; Neale, 1972). Another rejects the conclusions and the usefulness of the data on the basis of a variety of criticisms which have been raised on various grounds—for example, that the questionnaire items measuring aggressiveness, while all right for the third grade, were no longer appropriate for people ten years older; that the viewing measures involved "favorites" and not actual violence viewing; that the third-grade television measure was a mother's report, and not necessarily accurate; that the data are inconsistent because results hold only for boys and not girls; that the second measure of aggression referred only to some past period, but no specific period; and that a necessary statistical assumption that measures of the same variable be identical at both points in time was not met (Chaffee, 66).

Finally, a third rejects the analysis but not all the data. This view holds that the data at least offer a correlation between earlier violence viewing and aggressiveness a decade later, and that this correlation is an important addition to evidence indicating a causal relationship between violence viewing and aggressiveness, while arguing that the data alone do not by themselves allow a causal inference (Chaffee, 66). In this view, the third-grade mother's report of viewing is interpreted as a measure of actual violence viewing measured on the grounds that the mother would probably be basing her report on what she saw her child actually watching, and the aggressiveness measure, while recognized as weak, is nevertheless accepted as a distributional measure on an aggressiveness continuum. (It is because of the difficulties raised for inference by these varying views that the principal findings are presented as correlations, and not the authors' inference of a causal relationship.)


Principals Findings: Exposure of mentally retarded persons to television portrayals of aggressive play with a doll increased subsequent aggression in a hospital ward, and exposure to a portrayal of nonaggressive play decreased subsequent aggression in the ward. Nonaggressive or "friendly" responses in the ward were unaffected. In an experimental situation before returning to the ward, the nonaggressive subjects increased in aggressive responses but aggressive subjects did not after seeing the aggressive portrayal; and after the nonaggressive portrayal, nonaggressive, friendly responses increased and aggressive responses decreased.

Design and Methodology: Twenty subjects classified as "attacks resident often" were matched on age, sex, and IQ with 20 classified as "attacks resident never." Subjects were a subset of residents of the Boulder River School and Hospital, Boulder, Montana. Age ranged from eight to 38 years with a mean of 11 and IQ's from ten to 68 with a mean of 36. Films were presented using a video monitor. Each five-minute film showed a nonretarded, 12-year-old female wearing a large, inflatable, Donald Duck doll. The aggressive model threw the doll on the floor, slapped and punched it, and threw it on the floor, accompanied by aggressive verbalization. The friendly model threw the doll in the air, turned it over and rocked it, walked it toward the camera, and stood it in the corner, accompanied by friendly verbalization.

Assignment of matched pairs to conditions was random, half seeing the nonaggressive portrayal, the other half seeing the aggressive portrayal. After the film, subjects spent five minutes in the experimental room with the doll, after which they returned to the ward. Behavior was rated by observers in both the
experimental room and ward who knew neither the film seen nor the subjects' aggression status.

**Theory and Discussion:** It is argued that while the specifics of a television presentation may not be modeled by the retarded subject, the mood of the show may produce a similar mood in viewers, the effect being differentially related to differences in personality. Further, it is suggested that films may be used to introduce new behavior in order to produce behavior modification.


**Principal Findings:** Undergraduates who had been insulted displayed less aggression toward the experimenter when they were first given an opportunity to express aggression in a fantasy situation. There was a significant negative correlation between the amount of aggression expressed in fantasy and subsequent aggression toward the experimenter among subjects who had been insulted and who engaged in the fantasy situation. Subjects who had been insulted expressed more aggression in their fantasies than did subjects who had not been insulted.

**Design and Methodology:** The subjects were 257 undergraduate members of 11 classes in introductory psychology at a large metropolitan college. Whole classes were randomly assigned to one of three experimental treatments: insult and fantasy activity, insult and nonfantasy activity, and no insult and fantasy activity. Students in the insult groups were introduced to an experimenter who made disparaging remarks about the student body at the college. In the fantasy manipulation, he then asked students to make up stories based on pictures shown to them. Nonfantasy subjects were asked to take skill tests which involved no fantasy. Aggression toward the experimenter was measured on the basis of a sentence completion questionnaire probing attitudes toward the experimenter, the experiment, and psychological research.

**Theory and Discussion:** These experimental findings support the general drive-reduction hypothesis, which holds that hostility can be reduced by means of aggressive fantasy. The author discusses and rejects the idea that it was guilt, aroused in the fantasy experience, rather than drive reduction that resulted in lessened aggressive behavior among the fantasy participants.


**Principal Findings:** Among subjects who had been insulted, those who saw an aggressive film responded to a word association test with fewer aggressive words than those who saw a neutral film. Among subjects who had not been insulted, however, those who saw the aggressive film responded with more aggressive words than did those who saw the neutral film.

**Design and Methodology:** One hundred and one college students were assigned at random to four treatment groups generated by two independent variables—insult versus no insult and aggressive film versus neutral film. Subjects met the experimenter in small groups so that nine experimental sessions in all were held. Subjects in the non-insult condition were given standard test instructions, while those in the insult condition were subjected to a number of unwarranted and extremely critical remarks. The subjects then witnessed either an aggressive film or a neutral one. They were then administered a word association test and, by another experimenter, a test designed to get at the feelings of the subjects toward the first experimenter. The results of the second questionnaire were unreliable.

**Theory and Discussion:** The purpose of the experiment was to study the effects of certain conditions of activity on subsequent aggressive behavior. Specifically, it was proposed that a vicarious aggressive activity results in a reduction in subsequent aggressive behavior if the subject is emotionally aroused at the time he is engaging in this activity, but if anger has not been aroused, the activity results in an increase in subsequent aggressive behavior. The results were interpreted as being consistent with drive theory, although an inhibitory process (guilt arousal) cannot be excluded by the evidence at hand. The dependence of the aggression-reducing effect of exposure to a film depicting violence upon the prior or simultaneous arousal of aggressive drive was stressed.


**Principal Findings:** Children who believed that a televised film portraying conflict and civil rioting was news coverage were more aggressive than those who believed the film was a "Hollywood movie."

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 40 children aged 9-11, balanced for sex, age, and socioeconomic status and randomly assigned to two conditions. All subjects viewed the same six-minute televised film presentation, but in the reality condition subjects were informed the film was an NBC newreel of a campus riot, whereas in the fantasy condition they were told that it was a portion of a fictional Hollywood-produced movie about a campus riot. Affective changes were measured by a before-after adjective check list; aggression, by degree of noxious stimuli (loud and painful noise) delivered to an adult as feedback in a game-playing situation; and finally, aggressive values, by questionnaire.

**Theory and Discussion:** The results indicate that perceived reality of a portrayal is an important intervening variable when exposure to vicarious televised or filmed violence leads to increased subsequent aggressiveness. Most of the concern and research has focused on entertainment, which by definition is fantasy; these results indicate that a possibly more appropriate target of concern would be portrayals of actual violence, such as occur in television news.


**Principal Conclusions:** Children will imitate cartoon, filmed adult, or live models, although the effects of live models may be more enduring over time. The likelihood of imitation is increased when the model is rewarded. Thus, vicarious experience shapes children's behavior in much the same way as direct experience.

**Theory and Discussion:** The experimental evidence on imitation indicates that reinforcement increases the likelihood of imitation, that punishment probably decreases it, and that the effects of direct and vicarious reinforcement are similar. To put it another way, an observed behavior is more likely to be imitated by a child if his imitative behavior is reinforced, and it is also more likely to be imitated if the observed behavior is seen to be reinforced. Nevertheless, despite the apparent strong influence of rewards, a child may imitate in the absence of reinforcement
or punishment. Furthermore, when an incentive is offered, inhibitions are apparently reduced and a child will display previously undisplayed imitative behavior. Behavior patterns may be acquired, but not immediately performed; however, little is known about the persistence of imitative tendencies over time. In general, the conditions which increase the likelihood of imitation seem to convey the impression of greater "appropriateness of the modeled behavior."

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Principal Findings: Children's range and degree of understanding of the feelings, intentions, and thoughts of movie characters increased between the ages of six and twelve, with the most striking changes occurring between six and nine years. As they grew older, children changed in the character of what was reported, the kinds of explanations offered for what occurred, and the kinds of inferences made about feelings and thoughts. With age, the children shifted from the literal to the psychological and motivational, and progressed from not knowing about feelings to reporting on characters' feelings in complex relationship to other thoughts, intentions, or expectations.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 60 girls—20 six-year-olds, 20 nine-year-olds, and 20 twelve-year-olds. Two movie excerpts depicting social interaction were shown to all subjects a week apart, with the order reversed for half the subjects. The excerpts were both selected from Our Vines Have Tender Grapes and constituted complete stories. In one, a father who punishes his daughter for not sharing roller skates in remorse takes her to the circus. In the other, the girl is given a calf to take her mind off a dead squirrel, and after her disappointment when her mother says the gift is "pretend" the parents decide a calf of her own may be a good idea. Each could be divided into five episodes, and after each episode the child was asked to describe what happened and then asked a number of specific questions. The spontaneous reports were coded in terms of descriptions, explanations, and inferences. The replies to the questions were scored as degree of frequency and complexity.

Theory and Discussion: The movies were used to simulate human interaction. By using movies, children's reactions to fairly realistic complex interaction could be measured immediately after observation. In the analysis of spontaneous reports, differences were statistically significant only between ages six and nine, although differences between all three ages were significant in replies to the specific questions. This suggests that six to nine may be a period of particularly large development in regard to the understanding of personal interaction.

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Principal Findings: Compared to children's television programming in 15 countries including Canada, Japan, Australia, and the democracies of Western Europe, children's television programming in the United States in 1970-71 was highly commercialized, less available to children, less age-specific, and gave less attention to informative content.

Design and Methodology: Data were collected by mail in 1970-71 from broadcasting officials in the 16 countries studied.

Theory and Discussion: Children's television in the United States can be contrasted with that in the other countries studied on two dimensions—advertising and programming. In the United States, there was at least twice as much advertising as in any other country. The quantity allowed on network programs was 16 minutes per hour, compared to the highest found in any of the other countries studied, eight minutes. Out of 16 countries, the United States was one of only five which permitted any advertising on children's programs, and was the only country to allow more advertising on children's than on adult programs. In European countries, no advertiser was allowed to sponsor a children's program, and almost none of the programs carried commercials.

In regard to programming, the United States was one of only two countries out of the 16 surveyed which did not have weekday afternoon programming, gave less attention to programming for a specific age group (most U.S. programs were aimed loosely at the entire age range of 2-12), and up to the time of the study had given less attention to informative and educational content. In contrast to the United States, networks in the other countries studied had children's departments, which produced about 58 percent of the children's programs shown.

The authors conclude: "As long as there is not a single weekday afternoon network children's program, and as long as 16 minutes per hour are devoted to advertising on children's programs, American children's television will remain inferior to children's television in Western Europe, Canada, Japan, and Australia."

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Principal Findings: Negro and white adolescents do not appear to view and enjoy the same television programs. Preference rankings contain few similarities, except for a common liking for situation comedies and a lack of preference for crime and violence shows. Negroes tended to prefer programs in which the central character is without a mate, such as My Three Sons and Family Affair.

Design and Methodology: Respondents for this study were 214 white and 247 Negro students enrolled in grades six though 12 in the Athens, Georgia, public schools. The students recorded their actual viewing selections for a seven-day period on printed program rosters distributed and completed during class sessions.

Theory and Discussion: Differences between white and Negro viewing patterns cannot be accounted for on the basis of demographic factors. Children resemble others of different social groups within their own race more than their corresponding social group within the other race. The author explains his results in terms of a lack of intermingling of the races on an informal basis.

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Principal Findings: Children, 10-12 years old, who viewed a violent television Western, did not differ in subsequent dream content from those who saw a less violent episode from the same series.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were forty 10-12-year-olds selected from a larger pool to form two groups—high vs. low regular viewing of violent television. There were also two other variables: viewing of high vs. low violence Westerns, and "focal involvement" or high distraction vs. "incidental involvement" or low distraction during viewing (in the former, games and magazines were available, and there were three interruptions by the experimenter; in the latter, there were no games, maga-
zines, or interruptions). Following an adaptation session, subjects were studied for two nights which were seven to nine days apart. Dreaming was detected by REM (rapid eye movement). Upon being awakened, subjects were interviewed for dream content and recordings of the interview were coded by judges; both interviewers and coders were unaware of the experimental condition involved. Twenty-five dream content measures covered overall vividness, hedonic tone, hostility, guilt, and anxiety.

Theory and Discussion: The study was designed to provide data on the relationship between exposure to violent television and subsequent dreams for children who differed in prior exposure to violent television and in the degree to which they devoted full attention to the screen. Dream content was of interest on the grounds that (a) immediate and long-range effects of television violence should be sought in latent and fantasy processes; (b) short-run changes in waking states are expressed in dream content; (c) dream content reflects personality; and (d) dream content reveals reactions in relatively involuntary responses, and thus does not represent a ploy by subjects.

The experiment also derives from two conflicting studies. In one, young adults who saw violent television had dreams of higher activation. In the other, children who saw violent television had dreams of lower activation. The adults had experienced more violence than the children. The adults also appeared uninvolved in the task. These factors could be responsible for the conflict; and as a result, the present experiment was designed to take prior violence viewing and involvement into account.

Of the 25 dream content variables, not one was significantly related to the television manipulation; four were related to the involvement manipulation ("local involvement" generally elicited more hostile content), one was related to prior exposure, and the few significant interactions did not have a consistent pattern. The data do not support the hypothesis that violence viewing stimulates hostility, anxiety, guilt, or unpleasant feelings. The authors argue that this is inconsistent with studies showing that violence viewing stimulates iterative and other kinds of aggressive behavior because, if so, one would also expect effects on such an uncontrolled fantasy behavior as dreaming.

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Principal Findings: In the course of analyzing television news during the 1972 Presidential campaign, a variety of dimensions on which the transmittal of political messages to the public may vary were found. In analyzing the actual coverage of the three networks, there were both similarities and differences in campaign and noncampaign coverage. There was "wide news reporting diversity, both among and within networks over different message dimensions and news topics." In campaign coverage, although there were differences in emphases, there was a high convergence between coverage given by The New York Times and television, and the television data, taken in entirety, "do not demonstrate bias existing uniformly across all message dimensions.

Design and Methodology: Seven weeks of weeknight, Monday to Friday, television network news broadcasts during the 1972 Presidential campaign were coded by teams of coders. The seven weeks consisted of an early campaign sample of two weeks following the party conventions, a mid-campaign sample of two weeks, and end-of-campaign sampled of three weeks beginning in mid-October and ending with the network broadcasts of November 6, 1972. There were four relatively apolitical coders. Stories were coded on the basis of 29 dimensions including duration of air time, the issue or topic reported, hard vs. soft news, candidate activity, and camera treatment. All stories were coded, including those not directly related to the campaign. The coding followed a detailed protocol which combined highly objective determinations with more subjective judgments (such as "friendliness" of a crowd faced by a candidate). Intercoder agreement was 80 percent or better on the range of variables.

Theory and Discussion: Coverage of the Vietnam war was increased as the campaign progressed. NBC consistently devoted more time to the war, and consistently gave more attention to the "air war" aspects of the conflict. As the campaign came to a close, however, air war coverage declined, apparently because of the competition for time from coverage of the peace talk developments. CBS consistently gave more coverage to domestic stories, but all three networks were similar in the degree of attention given to stories or types of stories. When stories were analyzed for the "agency" depicted as taking action, the results were "startling," with coverage devoted to executive branch action almost to the exclusion of judicial and legislative action. Out of 313 stories depicting agency action for the three networks, more than half, 178, depicted executive action, while only 78 depicted legislative action, and 57 depicted judicial action.

When trends in the amount of attention given issues in television coverage were compared with national survey data on trends in the importance or salience given issues by the public, the two trends matched in 12 out of 18 cases, and in four of the six nonmatching cases, the shifts in the priority of placement in the newscasts were in the same direction as the public trends. These data suggest that treatment in television news influences the salience of issues for the public.

In degree of favorable stories, ABC and NBC were scored as slightly more favorable to Nixon than they were to McGovern, while CBS was scored as slightly more favorable to McGovern than it was to Nixon. CBS reported two stories highly unfavorable or "embarrassing" to the Republicans for every one unfavorable to the Democrats, while NBC and ABC reported about equal numbers of "embarrassing" stories for both parties. When television coverage was compared with the coverage of The New York Times, the two were highly similar, with CBS most similar to the Times.

When the emphasis on hard vs. soft news was compared, about 80 percent of stories on the three networks were "hard news"—reports of "immediate and significant" events. However, CBS gave somewhat more emphasis to "soft news" than did either NBC or ABC, which were similar in the emphases given to one or the other. In addition, the emphasis given to "soft news" by CBS increased during the campaign, while the emphasis given to "soft news" by the other networks decreased. Thus, CBS displayed considerable preference for "soft news"—the background and analysis of trends. This would seem to reflect differences between CBS and the other networks in news policy decisions.

However, it is not possible to infer intention from content with certainty. Equally, it is very difficult to infer bias from news content alone. There was certainly no evidence of strong bias, although there were many differences in news coverage between networks and for the different candidates. Partly, these differences reflect differences in candidate behavior. For example, a difference in treatment may simply reflect the candidates' success in projecting the images they desire. Television news content does not vary only as a function of news judgments, but also as a function of news inputs. However, the analysis does show "striking news coverage emphases," and does illustrate a variety of ways in which the political messages reaching the public may vary.

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Friedrich, L. K., and Stein, A. H. Aggressive and prosocial television programs and the natural behavior of preschool children.


**Principal Findings:** Preschool children who saw violent television cartoons during the middle four weeks of a nine-week nursery school subsequently displayed greater interpersonal aggression, and reduced rule obedience and tolerance of delay. The effect on aggression occurred only for the half of the sample above the median in aggressiveness prior to seeing the cartoons. Playful, fantasy aggression was unaffected. Children who saw television entertainment emphasizing prosocial behavior showed increased rule obedience, and tolerance of delay. These prosocial effects were unrelated with intelligence. The prosocial entertainment increased prosocial interpersonal behavior for children from lower but not for those from higher socioeconomic status.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 98 nursery school children randomly assigned to one of three conditions—static cartoons (Batman, Superman), prosocial entertainment (Misteroger's Neighborhood), and neutral films (such as a nature picture). The neutral films provided a baseline for assessing effects. The visual stimuli consisted of 12 programs shown during a four-week period; the television programs were shown on a 19-inch television receiver, the neutral films by projector. The principal dependent measure was classroom observation of actual behavior.

**Theory and Discussion:** The purpose of the study was to assess the effects (on young children) of aggressive and prosocial television in a naturalistic setting where real behavior could be measured over a more substantial period than the minutes immediately following exposure. The intent was to preserve the experiment's power for causal inference while taking into account some of the criticisms made about laboratory experiments—such as that behavior in a laboratory environment might not generalize to the real world, and that effects occurring immediately after exposure might not represent effects more distant in time.

The most important conclusion is that exposure to aggressive content seems to increase the likelihood of actual aggression. The finding is especially striking when, as in this case, the stimuli involve cartoons, which are the least realistic of television entertainment formats. Originally, when the study was designed, aggressive and prosocial behaviors were thought of as opposite ways of responding to stimuli, with the implication that aggressive content would reduce prosocial behavior, and that prosocial content would reduce aggressive behavior. No such effects occurred; in fact, as in earlier research, prosocial and aggressive behavior tended to be correlated. There was evidence of generalization, since effects were observed in circumstances where there were no cues matching those presented on television. On the other hand, the absence of a correlation between initial behavior and home television viewing indicates a lack of pervasiveness of a relationship.

The study derives from observational learning theory; however, the data suggest that even this relatively well-developed formulation is not adequate to explain some effects of naturalistic television viewing, for neither attention nor knowledge of content were related to effects (although observational learning theory would hold that they would be).

**Principal Findings:** Kindergarten children can learn the prosocial content of television programs such as Misteroger's Neighborhood and can generalize that learning to other situations. Previous role training with hand puppets using the themes of the program enhanced both verbal learning and helping behavior. Verbal labeling, through the use of a storybook concerned with program themes, had the greatest impact on the verbal measures of learning, particularly for girls. The role-playing training was more effective, particularly for boys, in increasing nonverbal helping behavior. The dependent measures of verbal learning, helping behavior in a fantasy context, and helping behavior in a real situation were positively associated.

**Design and Methodology:** Seventy-three kindergarten children were shown a series of four television programs, each of which was followed by a training session. Four groups saw prosocial programs from Misteroger's Neighborhood. One of these groups engaged in activity that taught how to program, and the community received verbal labeling training in which the themes from the program were labeled in story books; one group received role-playing training in which the themes were rehearsed using hand puppets; and one group received both verbal labeling and role-playing training. Following the television sessions, tests were administered to tap knowledge of the content and generalization of the themes to other situations, spontaneous verbal and nonverbal production of program material in a hand-puppet play situation, and helping behavior in a real situation with another child.

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors interpret the results as suggesting that prosocial television can help children to learn prosocial content and generalize it to other contexts and, to a more limited extent, to engage in increased prosocial behavior. Within the framework of observational learning theory, the results indicate that the acquisition of content can be best enhanced by verbal labeling and that role training is more effective in facilitating the performance of learned behavior.


**Principal Findings:** A survey, conducted before and again immediately after the Presidential election of 1964, indicates that declarations of Johnson's victory, broadcast before polls closings in Western states, did not affect either voting turnout or vote switching. The turnout percentage was almost identical for respondents exposed to broadcast returns before voting and those who heard the returns only after voting. Only 2.7 percent of the respondents switched preference on the Presidential election, but there was slightly more switching among those who had heard the returns before voting.

**Design and Methodology:** The data was drawn from a probability sample of 2,700 registered voters in Alameda and Orange counties in California and Seattle, Washington. Interviews were conducted by telephone during the period from October 30 through November 2, and the respondents were contacted again on the day after the election. Actual turnout was verified through election records.

**Theory and Discussion:** The author discusses the results in terms of the possibility of a skewing of findings through mortality and the uniqueness of the election, which resulted in a Johnson landslide. He notes that an examination of county records showed that turnout was somewhat less among those who refused to be interviewed and suggests that the effect of computer-generated predictions may be stronger among this group. The election itself was unusual because of intense commitment among Goldwater voters. This commitment may have prevented nonvoting because of discouragement engendered by the broadcast returns.
Principal Findings: An analysis of the number of items on particular issues published in Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report suggests that the relationship of real events and news coverage was tenuous during the 1960s. As the author observes: "Media attention fell while events were increasing, rose while they were declining, or was concentrated at times when events were no different than at other times."

Five mechanisms that operate to influence the amount of media attention given an issue were isolated: adaptation of the media to the stream of events; overreporting of significant but unusual events; selective reporting of the news-worthy aspects of otherwise nonnews-worthy situations; pseudo-events or the manufacturing of newsworthiness events in a newsworthy way.

Design and Methodology: The Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature served as the basis for this content analysis of the number of articles appearing in Time, Newsweek, and U.S. News and World Report which dealt with issues deemed important to the 1960s. The years analyzed were 1960 through 1970.

Theory and Discussion: The author takes the position that the public agenda of the 1960s was at least partly determined by the media. He observed: "Going by available public opinion data, it seems likely that any set of 'national issues' would have been about as well received by the general public as any other."


Principal Findings: In a survey of Japanese fourth-, seventh-, and tenth-graders, attitudes and values were related to media use and there were age differences in regard to the relationships between media use and other variables. A large number of fourth-graders expressed guilt over watching too much television. With aging, television was increasingly perceived as a "lazy" medium. Print was viewed as opposite in character to television. In the higher grades, high television users scored lower than high print users in intelligence, creativity, positivity, and adaptability, and were less future-oriented. High users of both print and television had a wider range of interests than low media users.

Regardless of media use, children preferred television as a news source. However, high television users were inferior to high print users in knowledge of social events, science, and art, and in school achievement. Boys turned to sports and girls to diary-keeping rather than to television to escape from daily pressures. Boys watched more television than girls. At the tenth-grade level, when conflict with parents is maximal, there was no evidence that parent-child conflict was related to the seeking out of fantasy content television. However, parent-child conflict in the tenth grade was positively correlated with antisocial aggression. Parent-child conflict in both the seventh and tenth grades was positively correlated with a preference for aggression heroes in media content.

Design and Methodology: Data were obtained from samples of 510 nine-year-olds (fourth grade), 560 twelve-year-olds (seventh grade), and 1,800 fifteen-year-olds (tenth grade) in an urban and rural Tokyo area.

At each age level, the sample consisted of all the classes at that level in five schools randomly selected. Because of the size of the undertaking, the tenth-grade data were obtained one year, and the fourth- and seventh-grade data the next year. Most tests and questionnaires were completed in classrooms over several days. However, some instruments were completed at home. The response rate for any one instrument was over 95 percent, although absences within the survey period and unanswered items reduce the cases available in any particular analysis.

Measures included amount and type of programs viewed, intelligence, school achievement, use of other media, attitudes and values, reference groups (parents vs. peers), and motives for viewing.

Theory and Discussion: The respondents were selected to represent different stages in maturation and media use. At the fourth-grade level, media use is very unstable. Later, it becomes very stable. Although there are many relationships between television use and other variables, the differences often cannot be attributed to television's effects. For example, the relationship between television use and lower school achievement occurs because less intellectually competent children watch more television. Similarly, the absence of a finding that parent-child conflict was related to consumption of television fantasy content hides the fact that superficially such a relationship was observed, but the relationship was attributable to the predominance of boys in the high conflict category, and boys are higher users of television fantasy content. The absence of a finding that parent-child conflict increases television use suggests that absorption in television, or television addiction, does not stem from psychological dynamics but from the rewards and pleasures of watching television. On the other hand, the evocation by the medium of certain attitudes, such as guilt, can be considered a dysfunctional effect.

A principal problem with studying television's effects outside of the laboratory is the difficulty of finding a control group which, as the author writes, "is impossible in any community where more than 90 percent of the families have TV sets." The author substitutes high vs. low viewing. However, he notes that this tends to obscure any effects, for differences presumably would be more observable between children with and without television. He also notes that with the increase over the years of children's use of television, certain effects, such as the increasing absorption of time which could be spent more profitably, also become obscured.


Principal Findings: Data from adults and adolescents did not indicate that television was a major influence on thought or behavior for either group, although many in both groups found television helpful in understanding personal problems and making decisions, and both often used television for relief from problems. Adolescents differed from adults in finding television more relevant to their lives, and in using it more frequently for relief from problems.

Design and Methodology: Interviews were conducted with random samples of 200 adults and 200 adolescents in New York. The questionnaire focused on viewing, program preferences, attitudes, and the uses to which television was put.

Theory and Discussion: One-third of the total sample said television was helpful in understanding personal problems and making decisions, although a few said that it helped them make a different decision than they might otherwise have made. Television was often turned to for emotional relief, but viewers were also depressed by it at times. Although they preferred realistic stories, they also liked programs about adventurous characters. Adolescents' viewing habits were generally similar to adults, but they watched more comedy. They believed, more often than did adults, that television gives illustrations that are relevant to their lives, used television more for relief from depression, were more excited about it, and dreamed about it more. Adolescents who thought they had more personal problems found television more helpful in understanding problems.
than did less troubled peers. Frequent television viewers did not seem to be more influenced by what they saw than infrequent viewers. Television did not seem to have a cumulative effect, and did not seem to influence people significantly or encourage them to adopt radically different attitudes or behavior patterns.

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**Principal Findings:** Male undergraduates who had failed at solving an insoluble puzzle or who had been thwarted at the task by a peer administered more electric shocks to the peer after viewing a violent movie than did nonfrustrated control subjects. However, insult by the peer following successful completion of the task produced the highest degree of punitiveness. All subjects saw the movie, a seven-minute sequence from *Champion*. Subjects who had been previously reinforced during a similar administration of electric shocks tended to increase the intensity of shocks over blocks of trials.

**Design and Methodology:** The subjects, 120 male undergraduates enrolled in an introductory psychology course at the University of Missouri, first participated in a bogus session in which the subject administered a number of electric shocks to a confederate posing as a subject and was either verbally reinforced or not reinforced. The subjects were then assigned to one of four frustration conditions. Task frustration was induced by giving the subjects five minutes to solve an insoluble jigsaw puzzle; personal frustration, by thwarting the solution of a solvable puzzle by an interfering "peer," in reality a confederate of the experimenter; and insult, by the delivery of a gratuitous insult by the peer following the subject's successful completion of the puzzle. In the control group, no frustration was induced. All subjects then viewed a violent seven-minute sequence from the movie, *Champion*. The subject then was instructed to administer electric shocks to the confederate as he had done in the pretest as part of a bogus code-learning experiment. However, in this set of trials, the intensity of the shocks was controlled by the subject, and this formed the dependent measure of aggression.

**Theory and Discussion:** The experiment demonstrated that frustration can act as a condition instigating aggression even when the frustrated person has not been attacked. Subjects in the task frustration condition, who had not been harmed or threatened in any way by the confederate, nevertheless gave shocks of greater intensity than did the untreated control group. This is contrary to a reported finding that frustration is only a weak antecedent of aggression. However, in that experiment, no aggressive cues, such as the movie sequence, were presented to the subjects.

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**Principal Findings:** Subjects who saw a violent film gave more shocks to an accomplice than did subjects who saw a nonviolent film. Subjects who were provoked, saw the violent film, and were given the opportunity to administer shocks to an accomplice whose name was associated with him with the victim of the violence in the film, gave more shocks than did other subjects, i.e., subjects not seeing the film, or those who could only administer shocks to accomplices who did not have the same name as the victim in the film. In almost every case the durations of shocks given in a "base line" period were shorter than those given in the experimental condition. The differences between base-line durations and experimental durations were analyzed by comparing them to experimental treatment condition, with no significant results.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 105 male university students who were distributed in a 3 x 2 factorial design of 15 subjects per cell plus one additional group of 15 subjects. Half of the subjects saw a violent film in which a man named Midge Kelley was beaten by a man named Johnny Dunne. This film was introduced with a synopsis describing the victim as a "scoundrel who deserves to be beaten." The other film, watched by the other half of the subjects, was a nonviolent track race. Before watching the film, the subject was told that he would have to solve a difficult problem under a five-minute time limit. His solution would be judged by the confederate, who would indicate his evaluation of the subject by giving him a number of electric shocks ranging from one to ten, the higher numbers representing poorer evaluations. A "base-line" period was used in which the experimenter asked the subject to help calibrate and test the equipment by pressing the key of the apparatus eight or ten times. The duration of these presses was recorded and used as "base-line" data. The experimenter then returned five minutes later to get the subject's "solution," which he "took to be evaluated." One minute later seven shocks were delivered to the subject. This was the "anger" manipulation.

Following this, the experimenter returned and had the subject complete self-report scales of mood. The experimenter then called the confederate back to the experimental room and introduced the film. When the name of the accomplice was the same as that of the victim in the film, the experimenter "casually but pointedly" remarked that the accomplice happened to have the same name as the person in the film. Following this, the experimenter sent the accomplice out of the room with instructions to work on a solution to a problem similar to the one the subject had completed earlier. Five minutes later, the subject was given a standard "response" from the confederate and told to give his evaluation by administering from one to ten shocks to the confederate. The number and duration of shocks were the dependent variables. Finally, the experimenter returned and administered another questionnaire, asking the subject to rate his acceptance of the confederate as a possible friend, as a roommate, etc.

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors interpret the data as evidence indicating that observed aggression by itself does not necessarily lead to overt aggression by the audience. The persons who are most likely to be attacked by someone who has recently witnessed violence are those people having appropriate aggression-eliciting cues. These cue properties derive from association with the victim of the observed aggression, rather than the confederate of the observed violence. This rationale assumes that the potential attacker has been adequately aroused so that he is ready to aggress and that the restraints against aggression are weak.

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**Principal Findings:** Three variables—exposure to film violence (violent vs. nonviolent film), frustration (nonfrustration vs. frustration vs. frustration plus insult), and identification with a film victim (cues encouraging identification vs. no cues encouraging identification)—were related to the intensity of shocks given as punishment in a learning situation in which mistakes were punished. Subjects who saw the violent film gave more intense shocks than did those who were not, and subjects who were also insulted gave even more intense shocks. The interaction effects for film-by-treatment and for confederate's name-by-treatment were significant (the confederate's name was the mechanism for identifying the confederate with the victim in the violent film).
In the group seeing the nonviolent film, only the insulted group gave significantly more intense shocks than the control group, while in the violent film condition, both treatment groups gave more intense shocks than did the control subjects. The intensity of the shocks given was not affected by the target's name or the nature of the film witnessed when the subjects were either frustrated or insulted. The most intense shocks were given by insulted frustrated subjects who were shown the nonviolent film and had an opportunity to punish a person with the same name as the victim in the film. In the violent film group, the insult + frustration treatment led to significantly more intense shocks than the frustration treatment alone, but this difference was not significant in the nonviolent film group.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 108 male undergraduates assigned to twelve conditions of a 3 x 2 x 2 factorial design. There were three arousal treatment groups: one-third of the subjects were given an insoluble puzzle (frustration condition); one-third were frustrated and then insulted by a confederate (frustration + insult); and one-third were neither insulted nor frustrated. The subjects then witnessed either a violent prizefight movie or an exciting but nonviolent racing film. In half of the conditions the confederate's name was associated with the beaten boxer in the fight film, while in the other half he had a name not connected with either film. Subjects were then given an opportunity to aggress against the confederate in what was described as a learning task, in which they punished mistakes by administering electrical shocks of arbitrarily chosen intensity.

Theory and Discussion: The data support the theoretical analysis that suggests that frustration leads to stronger aggression than nonfrustration when the frustrated subjects were given inhibition-lowering information, in the form of the violent movie, and were then provided with an opportunity to attack a person having high cue value for aggression because of his name-mediated connection with the victim of the observed aggression. The connection between frustration and aggression is explained in terms of: (1) the frustration producing a general arousal or drive state which is capable of energizing whatever response tendencies are elicited in the situation; (2) the highly salient aggressive cues evoking aggressive responses which are strongly energized by the arousal state; and (3) the high arousal resulting in a decreased responsivity to the peripheral cues in the situation, so that there is a temporary lessening of some possible interferences with the aggressive reaction. Another interpretation is that it is not a general arousal state which is produced, but one which "had a somewhat selective...effect and it may be that other types of arousal also increase the probability of certain response classes rather than making all actions equally likely."

Principal Findings: Previously angered subjects who had been exposed to a violent fight sequence administered more intense electric shocks in a bogus learning experiment when the film violence was presented as vengeful than when it was presented as coolly professional. However, subjects who had not been angered reacted most aggressively when the violence was described as professional.

Design and Methodology: The subjects were 60 male undergraduates in an introductory psychology class at the University of Missouri. The experiment was falsely described as a study of the effects of punishment on learning, with the subject acting as teacher and a confederate of the experimenter posing as a learner of a set of concepts. As part of a preliminary exercise, the confederate was given the opportunity to administer shocks to the subjects. Those subjects in the no-attack condition received two mild shocks; in the attack condition, subjects received eight moderately strong shocks and two mild shocks. Then all subjects viewed a six-minute fight sequence from the movie, Champion. Subjects in the vengeance condition were told that the fighter in the movie had been savagely beaten by the other fighter in a previous bout and wanted to get even. Those in the professional condition were told that no hard feelings existed between the two fighters and that each was just doing a night's work. Control subjects heard no introductory narrative. Then, the subject was returned to the "learning" experiment and asked to shock the confederate when he made mistakes in the learning task. The intensity of the shocks was left to the subject's discretion, and this measure was the primary dependent variable of the study. A mood inventory was administered to measure the subjects' restraints against violence. This measure was associated with overt aggression, as measured by the electric shock exercise.

Theory and Discussion: The finding that vengeful violence produces more aggression than professional violence among angered subjects but that professional violence produces more aggression among subjects who have not been angered could not have been predicted from previous studies. The authors interpret this finding as suggesting that "aggression following the observation of violence may depend in part on how closely the subject's motive state compares to that of the actors in the film." For the angered subject, the vengeful violence depicted in the film may have made his own desires to get even with the confederate seem more appropriate. For the subject who was not angered, professional violence may have reduced his inhibitions against administering electric shocks to a person who had not harmed him.
Principal Findings: Among subjects who had viewed a violent film and were not reminded that the film was fictitious, those who heard a person express suffering when they delivered electric shocks rated the film as less violent than those who did not hear expressions of suffering. Among subjects who were reminded of the film’s fictitiousness, those subjects who heard the person voice distress rated the film as more violent than those who did not hear the person voice distress.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were sixty undergraduates from introductory psychology classes. Subjects came individually to the laboratory, where they met the experimenter’s confederate, posing as a subject. A bogus lottery determined that the subject would be the teacher and the confederate the observer in a “concept learning task.” The confederate, seated in a separate cubicle, would always make a number of errors. One-third of the subjects were told that they would inform the confederate of errors by lighting a red lamp. One-third were told that they would administer electric shocks, and in these cases the confederate emitted signs of suffering and distress. The rest of the subjects administered shocks, but did not hear the confederate respond to the pain. The subjects were then shown a violent movie. In half the cases, the movie was introduced as a movie of an actual prisertight. In the other half of the cases, the fictitious nature of the film was emphasized, and subjects were told that the actors were pulling their punches. Subjects were then interviewed by means of a questionnaire asking about the actual details of the movie and the subjects’ impressions and interpretations. One question asked about the motives of the winner of the fight, who brutally beats the loser, such as to be champion, to earn money, or to get revenge for an earlier beating. Responses to this question were interpreted as assessments of the subject’s attribution of violence to the movie.

Theory and Discussion: On the basis of blood-pressure change scores, the treatment for inducing aggression was considered to be successful (this was the manipulation involving the confederates who showed signs of distress and suffering when they were shocked). The main hypothesis of the study was that the subjects who were informed that they had caused pain to the confederate would appraise the movie as less violent than the subjects who had not been so informed. This hypothesis was only partially supported by the data. However, the data did show that subjects in whom aggression anxiety had been aroused defined a violent act as less violent than subjects who aggressed but were not made to feel anxious. When the violence was labeled as fiction, the reverse was found, which suggests that the fight may not have been initially appraised as violent and thus did not represent a threat to the subjects in whom aggression anxiety had been made salient. Under these circumstances the subjects who had been made anxious may have been sensitized to violence in the environment and were therefore relatively likely to report. The results are interpreted as consistent with the view that cognitive reappraisal of a potentially threatening stimulus takes place in some cases, while in others, when the stimulus is not originally appraised as threatening, this reappraisal does not take place.


Principal Conclusions: Different methods of measuring the degree of violence on television lead to different results in regard to the programs identified as violent. The Gerbner "violence index" can be criticized for arbitrarily weighting various distinct, nonequivalent factors. However, arbitrary weighting is common to indices, and when all data on the components which make up the index are reported, as they are in the case of Gerbner, an index can be a useful summary figure whose level over time can be explained by the data on its components. The criticism that the index should follow and not precede evidence on the kinds of television violence which have undesirable effects misconstrues the purpose of the index, which is to describe violence wherever it occurs in television drama. However, there is always the possibility that the existence of an index will lead to policy decisions and corrective measures in the absence of any evidence that what is reflected in the measure is in any way harmful.

Theory and Discussion: Coffin and Tuchman compare the sets of programs identified as violent in five surveys, and conclude that the results vary markedly. They note that in the most scientifically acceptable content analyses—those by Gerbner—situation comedies are included, and are often found violent. They argue that violence measurement should be confined to types of violence on which there is evidence about harmful effects, express doubt about the justifiability of classifying as violent content not widely perceived by the public as violent (such as situation comedies) and voice fears that policy will be influenced by the mere existence of an index.

Eley, Gerbner, and Tedesco reply that different methods should be expected to produce different results, and point out that the five surveys involved such disparate methods as two formal content analyses—one based on detailed coding of videotapes, the other on TV Guide synopses; the results of polling the public; an informal tally; and a critical review. They assert that their results are actually quite consistent with the other studies when the proper comparisons are made.

Owen criticizes the Gerbner index for arbitrarily weighting several quite different measures, and for including elements in the absence of evidence that they have any harmful effect. "In sum," writes Owen, "the Gerbner index is an unacceptable method of measuring violence on television. There surely does exist a phenomenon which can be called 'violence on television,' and that phenomenon may well be a matter for serious social concern, and it may be a measurable phenomenon. But the proper course of action is first to understand its effects, and then to measure it in methodologically acceptable ways in terms of the psychological or sociological effects which matter. A priori measurement is an improper basis for the social policy which may be encouraged by the mere existence of a quantitative measure."

Gerbner replies that Owen's remarks constitute no more than "the standard critique" of index numbers and that the objections he raises are limitations of indices widely and fully recognized. He describes his index as no more than a heuristic device to "facilitate gross comparisons," and points out that the complete presentation of the data on its components gives anyone full access to their individual behavior. The prevalence of violence, its rate, the human roles involved, and the degree of saturation of time all have distinct and specific meaning. He rejects the contention that measurement must depend upon knowledge of effects on two grounds—first, that the criticism represents a confusion between studying the occurrence of a phenomenon and its effects, and second, that science begins by describing a phenomenon, so that research on effects can become more properly meaningful. Thus, he concludes that a "violence index" should be expected to include such disparate elements of violence as slapstick and sadistic acts. In fact, it is precisely because slapstick illustrates violence that slapstick should be included in any analysis of television violence.

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Principal Findings: In the 1973-74 television season, killers and other violent characters appeared less frequently in dramatic content on television, but about three-fourths of programs still contained some violence, and the rate of victimization—the ratio of those who commit violent acts to those suffering from them—was up. Among viewers, amount of exposure to television was correlated positively with the holding of a belief about the likelihood of being involved in violence which was more in accord with the depiction of the world in television drama than with statistical fact.

Design and Methodology: Since the 1967-68 season, one week of primetime and Saturday television for all three networks has been analyzed each fall. Television programs were videotaped for later coding. Analysis was limited to dramatic content that tells a story televised during specific hours, which means that news, variety shows, and network specials were excluded because they did not contain plots, but that cartoons were included. Typical hours for a weekday were 7:30-10 p.m.; for a Saturday, 9-11 a.m. and 9:30-10 p.m. Violence was defined as "the overt expression of physical force against others or self, or the compelling of action against one's will on pain of being hurt or killed." Coding covered frequency, actors, recipients, and nature of violent acts. The output includes an arbitrary, composite "violence index" in which several separate measures are combined and weighted.

The analysis, originating in a quantitative description of the violence on television prepared for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, are now viewed by the investigators as a study of cultural indicators, with the content sample chosen to represent each year's popular drama, thus providing index over time of cultural change. Besides the content analyses, the most recent report contains preliminary