analyses of survey data in which respondents who could be classified as to amount of television viewing were asked to choose between estimates of likely events which either fit statistical reality or the way the world is depicted on television. From a 1973 telephone probability sample, data were obtained from 607 persons, men and women in Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Dallas. They were asked to choose between estimates of the likelihood of being involved in violence in any given week in either fit television ("50-50") or the real world ("one in a hundred"). From a 1974 national probability sample, data were obtained by personal interview from 2,052 men and women 18 years of age or over. They were asked to choose between "television estimates" and "real world estimates" regarding likelihood of encountering violence, percent of crimes which are violent, percent of males who are employed in law enforcement and crime detection, and percent of Americans who are professionals or managers, and each respondent was given a "television cultivation score" which reflected his tendency to choose "television estimates."

**Theory and Discussion:** The analyses focus on trends in television content and, with the addition of the survey data, on effects of content. There have been changes in content since 1967-68, which reflect shifts in network policy to reduce violence in response to criticisms and government pressure. The quantity of violence has declined, with the composite index dropping from 181 to 160 over the six years. However, violence still remains frequent, occurring in three out of four programs which attempt to tell a story. The rate of victimization has increased; for every 10 persons portrayed as violent in 1973-74, 14 were hurt or killed. However, the visibility of violent characters was reduced, and killing was almost eliminated. Victims tended to be groups less powerful in real society: female, old, lower class, foreign, and nonwhite. Cartoons have tended to be the most violent of all types of programs, and this remained true in 1973-74. The trend in regard to the setting for noncartoon drama has been toward the "urban, domestic, and contemporary," which may reflect efforts to reduce violence, since these settings have been relatively low in violent content; thus, efforts to control violence may mitigate against dramas set in the past, future, or foreign places.

Over the six years, the networks have varied, with ABC in 1973-74 less violent (as measured by the composite index). The authors argue that television drama represents a symbolic depiction of power relationships which, although it reflects the actual relative distribution of power in society, also sharply distorts reality in the way that distribution is dramatized. For example, television, a person was more likely to do so than older persons who were medium and light viewers. Having a college education was inversely related to choosing "television estimates," but amount of viewing was positively correlated with the choosing of "television estimates" among those with a college education. This pattern held within these categories, for persons under and over 30. The authors conclude that "more important than sheer incidence is the nature and role that violence has taken on in the minds of viewers," and suggest that one effect of television has been a public exaggeration of the role of danger and violence in real life.

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**Principal Findings:** Black adolescents used mass media, and especially television, more than whites as sources of information to guide their own behavior in regard to the opposite sex. Blacks more frequently used the mass media for reinforcement—to find out whether ideas they had had about dating actually were used by people, and for norm acquisition—to get new ideas for dating. Among the whites, reinforcement increased with age; among the blacks, norm acquisition increased with age. Among the whites, girls were more likely to rely on the media; among the blacks, boys. Among whites, reliance on the media was highly irrespective of dating status. Among the whites, integration in the peer culture was negatively related to reliance on the media; among the blacks, integration in the peer culture was positively related.

**Design and Methodology:** Data were collected by questionnaire from 623 adolescents in schools and homes in four communities in the San Francisco Bay area. There were 272 whites and 351 blacks. Respondents for the most part were between 13 and 17 years old.

**Theory and Discussion:** The focus of the study is the differential use of the mass media for socialization by black and white adolescents. Two types of influence were examined: (a) reinforcement of values and attitudes, and (b) acquisition of norms. Relations with the opposite sex was selected as the topic because it permitted empirical measurement of variables, and because it was thought to be an area of role performance where the media might be more adequate informers than local sources.

The outstanding conclusion is that blacks report very different mass media behavior from whites. These differences—which indicate greater black reliance on the mass media—are probably attributable to three factors: (a) isolation of the black community from the white community, so that young blacks entering the larger world turn to the mass media for information; (b) self-hate, resulting from the marginality of being a black teenager, which leads black teenagers to attempt to act as white as possible; and, (c) subcultural differences between black and white communities, which leaves parents and others in the black community inadequate as a source of information about behavior in the white community.

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**Principal Findings:** Female subjects who were exposed to a jet of compressed air but were told it was a chemical gas that might make them feel anxious reported feeling less anxious while viewing a highly gruesome film than subjects who were not told about the false side effects or who were given no gas at all. Those given the gas side effect information were also less able to recall the film's content.

**Design and Methodology:** The subjects were 45 female students in an introductory psychology course at Carleton University, who were randomly assigned to one of three experimental conditions. Two of the groups were subjected to a jet of compressed air during the film-viewing session. One group was told that the gas was a chemical which, although harmless, could be
expected to produce symptoms of anxiety. The other group was
told the truth, that the gas was merely compressed air. A third
group (control) did not receive the gas at all.

The film, calculated to arouse anxiety, consisted of some of
the more gruesome scenes from Salvador Dalí's film Le Chien
Andalou. These included depictions of ants crawling out of a
wound, a girl's eyeball being sliced open with a straight razor,
someone being run over by a car, and two decaying mules
sprawled across two grand pianos being dragged across a room
by a character strapped to a harness. After the film, subjects
were given a questionnaire which tested recall of the film con-
tent and assessed the anxiety level of the subjects.

**Theory and Discussion:** In conclusion, the author writes:
"While the present film-gas method of inducing a misattribution
of internal state lends support to the notion of an interaction
between cognitive and physiological events, it also extends
the generality of attribution theory in that emotional states
have been cognitively manipulated using other than pill-shock or
heart rate-nude methodology."

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141 ***

Goranson, R. E. Media violence and aggressive behavior: A
review of experimental research. In L. Berkowitz (Ed.), Ad-
vances in experimental social psychology. Vol. 5. New York: Aca-

**Principal Conclusions:** Exposure to realistic portrayals of
aggression on television or on films will lead to the learning of
unfamiliar aggressive sequences of behavior, and a large propor-
tion of such sequences will be retained if they are practiced at
least once. Performance by children of such aggressive se-
quences is at least partly dependent on similarity between the
setting of the media violence and cues in later situations, and by
the perception that aggression is effective and will not result in
punishment.

**Theory and Discussion:** Many aspects of the relationship
between media violence and aggressive behavior have been ex-
plored in laboratory experiments. The findings can be discussed
in terms of learning effects, emotional effects, catharsis, and
impulsive aggression. In regard to learning, the findings are
that portrayed aggressive acts will be learned and that such
learning tends to persist if there is any practice. Performance
depends in part on cues in later situations which are similar to
the portrayal, and on the child's belief in the efficacy of aggres-
sion and its sanction from punishment. In regard to emotional
effects, the findings are that frequent exposure to media violence
seems to create some habituation to violence, which possibly
increases the likelihood of actually engaging in aggression. In
regard to catharsis, there is no evidence that observing violence
drains off aggressive energy. However, the anxiety aroused by
witnessing unjustified aggression may inhibit aggression, as
may the observation of unpleasant suffering, but such effects—
in which exposure to television or film violence is inversely
related to subsequent aggression—cannot be said to occur be-
cause of catharsis. In regard to impulsive aggression, the
findings are that such impulses may be easier to control when the
"wrongness" of aggression, or the possible suffering, has
been emphasized to the child. However, it must be remembered
that findings such as these should be interpreted cautiously and
as probability statements about the likelihood of outcomes. No
amount of laboratory experimentation could provide "complete
certainty" about the effects of the media in real life.

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Goranson, R. E. The catharsis effect: Two opposing views. In R.
K. Baker and S. J. Ball (Eds.), Violence and the media. A staff
report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention

**Principal Conclusions:** There is almost no support in the
experimental literature for the hypothesis that the observing of
violence on television or in movies purges the inclination to
behave aggressively, thus resulting in lowered subsequent ag-
gressiveness. The bulk of evidence suggests the opposite—that
the observing of violence in the media increases the likelihood of
subsequent aggressiveness.

**Theory and Discussion:** Only a single experiment provides
data supporting the catharsis hypothesis. In this study, the post-
viewing measures of hostility did not involve a target against
which aggression might be justified. When such a target was
introduced in another experiment, the observing of violence led
to greater expression of aggression against the target. This
finding is contrary to the catharsis hypothesis, which would lead
one to expect greater hostility in the absence of prior observa-
tion of violence. This result suggests that the earlier finding is
attributable to the arousal of aggression anxiety by the violent
media portrayal. When this anxiety was reduced by introducing
a target against whom some aggression might be felt to be jus-
tified, no catharsis effect was observed. More recent experiments
have not focused on aggression anxiety, and generally have
shown that observing violence results in the stimulation of ag-
gression.

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143 ***

Goranson, R. E. A review of recent literature on psychological
effects of media portrayals of violence. In R. K. Baker and S. J.
Ball (Eds.), Violence and the media. A staff report to the National
Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Washin-

**Principal Conclusions:** Fidelity to real-life circumstances
increases the likelihood that viewing a television portrayal of
violent behavior will lead to subsequent aggressiveness by chil-
dren, because such an effect depends partly on a resemblance
between elements in the real-life situation and what was seen.
The likelihood of subsequent aggressiveness is also increased when
the violence is not portrayed as having distasteful conse-
quences, since distasteful violence may inhibit aggressive im-
ulses.

**Theory and Discussion:** Although many studies show that
children do imitate observed aggression, the children were often
frustrated prior to testing and were tested immediately after the
viewing in a situation highly similar to that observed. Other
experiments show that children retain aggressive responses
when they are periodically tested over a period of several
months, but such studies are not analogous to everyday viewing,
since periodic testing provides practice. The length of retention
of unpracticed aggression is not known. In addition, the similari-
ity between what is viewed and the later setting for behavior is
an important factor to consider in evaluating likely effects of
media violence. Cartoon films appear to induce little imitative
aggression, apparently because the behavior settings used in
testing contain few of the cues present in the cartoon. These
results imply that aggressive behavior learned from realistical-
ly portrayed violence is more likely to appear later on than that
learned from fantasy settings.

Although the media constantly show children that aggres-
sion is an effective means to achieve goals, parental restriction
can control imitative aggression, at least as long as adults are
present. Since the child may become progressively less respon-
sive to repeated violence, it has been suggested that aggression
can be reduced by observing violence. However, recent studies
have not supported this view. Most have shown a stimulating
effect.
Inhibition of aggression may result when an angered viewer watches an unjustified aggressive action, and the perception of horrible effects of violence may sensitize the child to the harm aggression might inflict. However, media production codes usually prohibit the presentation of particularly distasteful outcomes of violence. When this self-censorship omits the real consequences of aggression, the result is the unwitting creation of the very conditions found most conducive to aggression. Actual performance of aggressive behavior learned from the media is highly contingent on the child's belief in the effectiveness of aggression in attaining his goals while avoiding punishment.

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Principal Findings: Rioters, defined by arrest record, were found not to differ significantly from nonrioters in attendance to violence in entertainment programming. The rafter watched significantly fewer programs than does the nonrister. The rafter was significantly less likely to feel that violence on television is harmful. Although television is the dominant source of news for both groups, slight differences existed between rafter and nonrister use of television for news, with the nonrister being slightly more dependent on the medium. Correspondingly, the rafter was slightly more critical of television coverage of inner-city problems, civil rights problems, and civil rights spokesmen.

Design and Methodology: The rafter sample was systematically drawn at random from the 3,230 felony arrestees of the 1967 riot in the Prosecuting Attorney's office in Detroit. The nonrister sample was drawn at random from the riot area. The sample consisted of approximately 31 respondents in each group, matched only on race, sex, and living area.

The questionnaire consisted of items dealing with television viewing habits, attitudes toward violence on television, and a checklist of 115 programs to assess the respondent's viewing of television entertainment.

Theory and Discussion: The author feels that the conclusions drawn from the study should be used as hypotheses for further research because the rafter and nonrister samples were matched only on race, sex, and living area. He suggests that in future work the samples also be matched on marital status, age, employment, and other variables.

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Principal Findings: The criteria by which a production staff judged a children's television show were identical to the bases the staff believed children would use, but children turned out to use very different criteria.

Design and Methodology: Programs of the Discovery television series were evaluated on 16 varied dimensions (by using the semantic differential technique), such as "good-bad," and "wise-foolish," by the seven members of the production staff and by 169 seventh-graders and 157 third-graders. The production staff made two sets of ratings, one representing their own judgments, and the other how they felt children would respond. The children only made ratings for themselves. The data were factor-analyzed to determine patterns.

Theory and Discussion: The study explores the dimensions or bases by which children and television people judge television programs. The right-ratings of the production staff were alike, indicating that the staff believed that children would have the same framework for reaction as did professionals. The major two bases were characteristics of style and degree of program interest, followed by a general evaluation ("good" vs. "bad"). The ratings of the seventh-graders indicated a very different framework. The evaluative dimension was paramount, followed by degree of program difficulty, and many more scales did not cluster into any pattern. The ratings of the third-graders were unreliable because they could not fully understand the rating procedure. The data suggest that for children, television is either good or bad or hard or easy, and that they do not judge it from the same perspective as television professionals, although the latter may believe they do.

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Principal Conclusions: Television violence is difficult to constrain because it is a handy means of resolving plots and making them exciting; because television must compete with movies, and movies have become more violent; and because increasing levels of violence are required to excite an audience accustomed to violence. Television is basically an entertainment medium, and people approach it with that expectation; as a result, news also tends to feature violence and conflict.

Various studies described in testimony before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency in 1955, 1961, and 1964 show high levels of violence, although the individual studies vary in the definitions and procedures used. Other media also contain violence: at the newstand, family magazines have least, while comic books, paperbacks, and crime and adventure magazines have large proportions of violence. Newspapers devote about 10 percent of their content to violence, but the attention given violence varies widely from paper to paper.

Theory and Discussion: The review attempts to summarize studies of media content, to examine the context of violence in mass media fiction—print or television—and to offer a rationale for provision of such content. There is violence in all mass media. Mass media violence in entertainment differs greatly from real world violence. Violence is so prevalent because it serves the needs of the mass media by attracting audiences. It also tends to be self-escalating because levels must be increased to maintain interest. Although television is an entertainment medium, and entertainment values even influence news presentation, this does not mean that entertainment violence is always received as irrelevant fantasy. Viewers often attribute information value to entertainment, and may take the fictional portrayals of the way certain kinds of people and organizations behave as relatively accurate.

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Principal Findings: Children and teenagers from lower-income families and from black families reported devoting more time to television, receiving less guidance about television viewing from parents, and expressed greater belief that television accurately portrays real life. Lower-income adults reported greater dependence on television as a source of stimulation and information, and for greater viewing of television, than did a
sample representing the general public. Lower-income adults were equivalent to the general public in access to a television set, but reported less access to other mass media.

**Design and Methodology:** Data were obtained from three samples. The Cleveland 1969 sample consisted of 400 fourth- and fifth-graders who completed questionnaires in their school classrooms. The sample included blacks and whites from families relatively high, middle, and low in socioeconomic status. The Philadelphia 1968 sample consisted of 300 tenth and eleventh graders who also completed questionnaires in their classrooms. The sample included blacks and whites from low-income families and whites from middle-income families. The East Lansing 1967 sample consisted of 213 lower-income blacks and whites who were personally interviewed and 206 persons representing the general public who were interviewed by telephone; both groups were randomly selected. Data consisted of self-reports on television viewing, related media use, and perceptions of the media.

**Theory and Discussion:** The findings indicate that the role played by television in people's lives depends to some extent on socioeconomic status and race. Among the children, there was a strong inverse relationship between amount of viewing and family income for whites, a far less strong if also inverse relationship for blacks. Amount of viewing was greater for black than white children independent of family income, and only among the whites was income inversely related to viewing. Among both black and white children, family income was inversely related to reporting that television accurately portrayed real life, and that a motive for watching was to learn things, and black children made such reports more often than did whites. Black children differed from whites in favorite programs, with less liking for variety shows.

Use of other media also varied as a function of race and income. Black children read the newspaper less and listened to radio news less, although there were no racial differences in total radio listening. Black children listened to records more, as did low-income children when blacks and whites were combined, although this latter finding is almost entirely the result of an inverse relationship between record listening and socioeconomic status among whites. Among the black children, moviegoing was positively related to socioeconomic status; among the white children, it was inversely related. Reports of parental rules governing television viewing were inversely related to income for both black and white children, and such reports were somewhat less frequent among blacks.

Among teenagers, the same pattern as for children was found—heavier use of television, more frequent reporting that television accurately portrays life, and more frequent reporting of learning as a motive for viewing as a function of lower income among the white and as a function of being black among those from lower-income families.

In the adult study, the lower-income adult sample did not differ from the higher-income general public sample in access to television, but did report greater viewing. It also more frequently found television more credible as a news source, and reported relying on it more for news. Lower-income black adults did not differ from lower-income whites on most variables, except for orientation toward newspapers (higher for whites) and phonographs (higher for blacks).

In terms of media ownership, low-income adults were as likely as the general population sample to own at least one television set, but the latter were more likely to have all other types of media available. Although only three percent of the low-income sample reported not owning a television set, seven percent did not have at least one radio, 25 percent did not have a newspaper delivered, 23 percent did not own a phonograph, and 22 percent had no phonograph records.

There were fewer media ownership differences between low-income blacks and whites than between the low-income and general public samples. Low-income whites were more likely to have a newspaper delivered, but low-income blacks were significantly more likely to own one or more phonographs and to own more phonograph records.

The most striking difference between the low-income and general public samples was amount of television viewing. The mean number of hours viewed for the general population was 2.9, compared with 5.2 for the low-income sample. Low-income viewers were also significantly more likely to be regular viewers of the twelve top-rated television shows. There was no correlation between the popularity ranking of the twelve shows in the low-income and general public samples, indicating that the favorite shows of the low-income adults were not the favorites of the general population. However, there was a fairly high correlation between the preferences of low-income blacks and whites, indicating substantial similarity of preferences. Between low-income whites and blacks, there were no consistent differences in either viewing time or content.

There were greater differences in newspaper usage between the low-income and general respondents than between the low-income blacks and whites. Fewer low-income respondents reported reading a newspaper every day and fewer reported reading all of the newspapers regularly. The only difference between low-income blacks and whites was the portion of the newspaper read regularly, with 23 percent of whites reported reading "all" the paper, compared to 10 percent for blacks. The general population sample tended to use radio more than the low-income sample. Their also read magazines more frequently and reported attending a movie more recently. The low-income sample reported more time expended with a phonograph. However, the general population owned a significantly greater number of phonographs and phonograph records. Low-income blacks differed from low-income whites only on phonograph use, with the former spending significantly more time than the latter.

Finally, the low-income sample was consistently more favorable toward television on all media attitude measures; low-income whites and blacks did not differ from each other in favorability toward television, including belief in television's credibility as a news source. However, for local news, blacks cited people as a preferred source more often than did whites.

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**Principal Findings:** More people are likely to report viewing television when asked about the amount of time spent viewing the day before than when asked to name the programs they watched the day before.

**Design and Methodology:** In a telephone survey, 100 adults were asked to estimate how many hours they had viewed the previous day. Another 100 were asked to name programs they had viewed, and estimates of total viewing were constructed from the replies.

**Theory and Discussion:** The study examined the relative merits of two methods of estimating the time spent viewing television. In some respects, the two methods give the same answer; in others, different answers. Only a third of those asked for time spent viewing reported no viewing, compared with half of those asked to name programs. On the other hand, the mean estimates for the two samples were the same, since there were fewer persons for whom time estimates were minimal in this category. The program recall method appears to be especially useful when the focus is on different types of viewers, since it seems to be more sensitive in isolating extremes, and provides data on the kind of content viewed as well as the amount of time spent viewing.

**Principal Findings:** Race and socioeconomic status of teen-agers were related to time spent viewing television and to attitudes toward television. Amount of viewing decreased across the three groups studied: low-income blacks (highest in viewing), low-income whites, and middle-income whites. Race affected preferences: whites tended to prefer comedy shows and general variety shows; blacks, shows where a family unit was featured. The tendency to perceive television as depicting life accurately, to use television as a means of finding out about life, and to use television for thrills and excitement, also decreased across the groups studied: low-income blacks (most likely to hold such attitudes), low-income whites, and middle-income whites. Most commonly mentioned functions of television, cited across socioeconomic and racial groups, were relief of boredom, relaxation, stimulation of emotions, and relief of loneliness. Less than half of the sample reported that there were rules governing how late they could watch television. One-fourth said that adults forbade certain programs; one-third said they had the most say about what they would watch.

**Design and Methodology:** Data collected was by self-report questionnaire in high school classrooms. One school supplied the low-income black and white data; another, the middle-income white data. The low-income data were collected from a sampling of eight English classes of tenth and eleventh graders in a racially balanced Philadelphia high school; the sample was 206 teenagers, 80 percent white and 40 percent black (the racial balance of the school). The next day, data were obtained from 100 middle-income white teenagers at another Philadelphia school. Each sample was equally divided between males and females.

**Theory and Discussion:** The study focuses on three topics: urban teenagers' use of television, attitudes toward television, and motivations for watching television. The authors argue that television fits into the life of the poor because it is cost-less, in the home, relatively effortless, and emphasizes concrete, visual experience. They hypothesized that socioeconomic status would be inversely related to: (a) time spent watching television, (b) evaluative attitudes toward television, (c) watching in order to learn, (d) the belief that television portrays life accurately, and (e) a preference for "variety" or nondramatic entertainment shows. It was also expected that low- and middle-income differences would be accentuated by the black low-income teenagers. In general, the hypotheses were supported.


**Principal Findings:** Reports from children and their mothers about the child's behavior in connection with television diverged markedly. Mothers made lower estimates of the amount of violence viewing, amount of total viewing, and the extent to which television is perceived as representing reality. Mothers made higher estimates of their role in program selection, and lower estimates of the amount of independent selection by the child and reliance on TV Guide. The highest correlation between mother and child reports was for the viewing of nonviolent programs (.52, compared with .22 for violent programs), followed by frequency of viewing with parents (.40) and with friends (.38). Among the children, perceived amount of family interaction was positively related to watching television with parents (.25), and watching with parents was correlated with watching more television and more violent television. Among mothers, perceived amount of family interaction was negatively related to her estimate of watching with the child (−.25), and of the child's total amount of television viewing.

**Design and Methodology:** Data were obtained from 85 fourth- and fifth-grade children and their mothers in western Michigan in 1970. Child data were collected by questionnaires completed in class; mother data, by interview on the day of questionnaire completion. The school was middle-class. Perceived family interaction was measured by reported (a) frequency of periods of conversation, (b) talks about school, and (c) child's participation in decisions.

**Theory and Discussion:** The data raise questions about the legitimacy of using parental reports about children's television behavior; probably, the validity of parental report declines as a child grows older and attains more freedom and privacy. In any case, the sources of the discrepancies are not clear. Children as well as mothers may be biased reporters. The evidence on family interaction is that children perceive it as a concomitant of television, mothers as an activity inconsistent with television viewing. Given this, a major question becomes the nature of parental communication with the child occurring in the context of television viewing. What is it about, and what effects does it have?


**Principal Findings:** Primetime television programs were ranked similarly in regard to violent content by a national sample of television critics and by a Detroit sample of the public. The same 20 programs were at the top of both lists; the two groups agreed on four of the top five; ranking of the total of 65 programs was almost identical (rank-order correlation .36). Within the public sample, ranking tended to be similar for men and for women, for persons given and not given a definition of violence in advance, and for all ages. Despite the similarity of rankings, there were absolute differences in scores: Ratings tended to decrease with age; women tended to rate high-violence programs as more violent than men, although there was no tendency over all the programs for women to give higher scores; and being given a definition of television violence in advance led to higher ratings.

**Design and Methodology:** Ratings of 65 primetime programs in regard to violent content were obtained from 43 newspaper and magazine television critics by mail questionnaire, a 48 percent response rate. Each program was rated on a five-point scale. Similar ratings were obtained from a Detroit sample of 303 interviewed by telephone, a 70 percent response rate. The critics rated all programs; each public respondent was asked to rate half the list. The critics were given a definition of violence; half the public sample was given the definition, half was not. The definition was, "By violence, I mean how much fighting, shooting, yelling, or killing there usually is in the show." The study was conducted in the spring of 1970.

**Theory and Discussion:** The study quantifies perceptions of television violence, with the program the unit of measurement; it does not measure actual content. The data strongly support the expectations that public and critics' rankings would be similar and that a definition would lead to higher ratings. Some support is also obtained for expectations that women would rate programs as more violent than men would, and that viewing is inversely related to the level of ratings.


**Principal Findings:** Among fifth- and eighth-grade boys, race and socioeconomic status were related to perceptions of the violence in scenes from television dramas. In the fifth-grade sample, low-income family blacks perceived less violence in the same television scenes than whites from lower-, middle-, or upper-income families. The more disadvantaged children, white and black, judged behavior in the violent scenes as more acceptable and more like real life. The more disadvantaged children also like watching the scenes more. In the eighth-grade sample, there were no differences between the race and income groups in regard to the amount of violence perceived. However, the black children found the violent behavior more acceptable, and the less advantaged children, black and white, judged the behavior in the violent scenes to be more like real life. The disadvantaged again liked the violent scenes more, primarily because of large differences between the low-income blacks and upper-income whites. The disadvantaged also perceived the violent scenes as more humorous.

**Design and Methodology:** The fifth-grade sample consisted of 325 boys from public schools in two Michigan cities, divided into four categories: low-income family blacks, and low-, middle-, and upper-income family whites. The eighth-grade sample consisted of 263 boys from three junior high schools in Kalamazoo, Michigan, divided into the same four categories. The stimulus videotape included four violent scenes and two control scenes, preceded by a practice scene. Each scene was rated immediately after it was viewed, and viewing occurred in groups of four to six. Attitudinal measures were developed through factor analysis of a battery of items. For the fifth-grade sample, the measures included perceived violence, acceptability, liking, and perceived reality. For the eighth-grade sample, perceived humor emerged in addition.

**Theory and Discussion:** It was expected that socioeconomic background would be related to perceptions of television violence, with the more disadvantaged youngsters perceiving less violence, but judging the violence as more acceptable, liking it more, and thinking of it as more like real life. The four groups studied roughly formed a continuum in the way television was perceived from least (low-income family blacks) to most (upper-income family whites) advantaged.


**Principal Findings:** The results of this 1969 telephone survey indicate that blacks watched more television programs featuring blacks than did whites; whites thought television was fairer to blacks and Latin Americans in newscasts than did black viewers; blacks perceived television as a more realistic portrayal of life than did whites; realistic towards blacks believed there were more blacks on television than did more favorable whites; and more antagonistic whites believed television to be fairer to blacks than did more favorable whites. However, there appears to be no relationship between race alone (with attitude ignored) and the perceived frequency of presentation of minority groups on television nor between racial attitudes of white viewers and the actual watching of programs featuring blacks.

**Design and Methodology:** A telephone survey was conducted in Lansing, Michigan in May, 1969. Two samples were constructed, one a random sample from the telephone directory and the second, a random sample of areas of black concentration through a reverse phone directory. From the first sample, 71 completed interviews were obtained from 88 adults contacted. Of these, 67 were white and four were black. From the second sample, there were 159 completed interviews from 209 contacts. Of these, 82 were black and 77 were white.

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors speculate that the lack of an observed relationship between whites' racial attitudes and frequency of viewing programs featuring blacks might be due to the idealized, middle-class characters depicted on such programs or to the action formats of the programs, which may have compensated for the presence of a black character.


**Principal Findings:** The attribution by children of reality to television portrayals was strongly related to the child's perception of the views of friends and family. The attribution of reality also was related to intelligence, school grade, and amount of television viewing. Children consistently rated television as real in congruence with their perception of the views of friends and family. Rating television as real was inversely correlated with age and intelligence, and positively correlated with amount of television viewing. The degree to which children said television portrayed reality also depended on the way the question was asked. They most often said television was real when asked about specific characters, and least often said so when asked about "television in general." The response in regard to three content areas—"policemen," "blacks," and "families"—fell in between. Contrary to expectations, greater real-life experience with "policemen," "blacks," and "families" was positively rather than inversely related to the perceived reality of their portrayal on television.

**Design and Methodology:** Data were obtained from 201 children in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth grades in a suburban Michigan school district. The sample was all white, included equal numbers of males and females, and represented a diversity of socioeconomic strata. Ages ranged from 8 to 13. Data collection was by questionnaire completed in classrooms. Principal items asked whether the respondent found a particular character, the treatment of a subject area, or "television in general" to be like real life, with responses falling into a three-point scale (i.e., "Yes," "I'm not sure," "No").

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors interpret the data as indicating that the principal influence in perceiving television content as real is interpersonal sources of information. They also note that the study demonstrated that the perceived reality of television increases as the element of television being evaluated becomes more specific. However, they note that only about a third of total variance in the perceived reality of specific characters was explained by the variables measured, and that the amount of variance explained dropped as the television element being evaluated became more abstract. Thus, the variables explained only 10 percent of the variance in the case of "television in general." They suggest that future research isolate other factors. They also comment that little is known about the attributes of content which influence the perception of reality.


Principal Findings: Studies of television broadcasting in four countries—the United States, Great Britain, Israel, and Sweden—indicate that sex and violence are issues everywhere; that there is some tendency toward an Americanization of world television because of reliance on the U.S. as a program source; that violence has been greater in U.S. television than in the other three societies; that the U.S. differs from the other three societies in its low level of governmental constraint on broadcasting and the reliance on advertising for economic support; and that, in the United States, the networks are predominant in shaping programming, and public investment in the industry is not at all small when the cost of receivers and cost to consumers of advertising are taken into account.

Theory and Discussion: Amount of television may be associated with personality traits because television viewing itself can be considered an expression of values and lifestyle. Heavy viewers rated themselves as being less active, more sociable, and holding more respect than did light viewers. In regard to the ideal self, heavy viewers gave more emphasis to being verbally and interpersonally aggressive, and exercising more leadership, and less emphasis to self-confidence than did light viewers.

When the data were analyzed by level of education, the emphasis by heavy viewers on sociability almost disappeared among those with education beyond high school, the emphasis on respect was unaffected, and the emphasis on activity by light viewers did not occur among those with less than a high school education. In regard to the ideal self-concept, the emphasis on
confidence declined with education, and the emphasis on leadership was notable only among high school graduates.

When the data were analyzed by income, light viewers' emphasis in self-description on sociability was most pronounced among those with higher income, although the trend was the same regardless of income. Income did not affect the trend in regard to respect, but the concept itself was much more emphasized by those lower in income. In the case of activity, there was a reversal, with sociability being given slightly greater emphasis by those with lower income. In regard to the ideal self-concept, the trend was unrelated to income for confidence or aggressiveness, but the emphasis on leadership by heavy viewers in general occurred only among light viewers with high income. On the whole, the data suggest that studies of television use and its integration into lifestyle should take personality variables into account.

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Principal Findings: After exposure to film, presented as a reward and not a test, incidental learning was found to be a curvilinear function of age among grade school children, with learning increasing from grades three to six and declining at grade seven. At all grade levels, girls had higher scores than boys. By the sixth grade, girls had reached a level of performance equal to that of college women, while the sixth-grade boys performed at a level significantly lower than that of college men.

Design and Methodology: The subjects were 444 middle-class children enrolled in grades three through seven in the Minneapolis public schools and 167 college students enrolled in a child psychology class at the University of Minnesota. The subjects were shown an eight-minute dramatic film, presented in the guise of a reward for participation in an earlier study. After the film, test booklets were administered.

Theory and Discussion: The finding of a curvilinear relation between incidental learning and age replicates earlier findings. The authors explain the increase from grades three to six as a growing ability to learn and to be attentive to a broad range of features in the environment. The drop at grade seven is attributed to the development of an ability to disregard nonessential features of situations. The observed sex difference had not been found in previous studies. These differences might have been attributable to the film itself, which stressed social interaction to which girls may be more attentive than boys.

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Principal Conclusions: Television has many effects on children, but they depend on the interplay of the program content viewed, the activities sacrificed for viewing, and characteristics of the child.

Theory and Discussion: Television has had an impact on children's values and outlook, and has reduced their use of other media. Effects depend on what is shown and what is given up to make time for viewing. Children learn to like programs available to them, including programs they ordinarily would not have selected. Thus, television influences children's tastes. Television appears to have no effect on school achievement. An increase in shows apparently is not relevant to academic achievement, and television is evidently better at stimulating interest than intellectual and creative activity.

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Principal Conclusions: Television and other mass media affect children's socialization by teaching about norms, the status of various social roles, and the way the society functions; by presenting information and models of behavior beyond children's immediate experience; and by increasing children's range of role models and reference groups. The media have come to play a part in socialization previously performed by other agents, such as the family and the school. However, nonmedia influences remain extremely important.

Theory and Discussion: The main sources of attitude formation are direct experience with objects and situations, explicit and implicit learning from others, and the individual's own personality. The media have some influence because they provide experience and contribute to learning. However, group and personal influences, personality, and susceptibility to persuasion are still important factors in socialization and attitude formation and change.

In fact, survey studies indicate that few individuals are affected by concepts received through the media. On the other hand, experimental laboratory research suggests that new communication may cause extensive attitude change. This discrepancy may be resolved by better studies about the credibility ascribed to the communicator and the predispositions and needs brought to the media. One study concluded that the media had their greatest impact on children as a safety valve for the fantasized solution of nonsolvable problems, but that children's values were essentially unchanged from those learned earlier from parents.

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Principal Conclusions: Laboratory experiments indicate that the viewing of television violence stimulates aggressive behavior and does not result in a cathartic purging of aggressive impulses. However, one must distinguish between an increased readiness to aggress and actual, overt aggressive behavior. There is little hard evidence linking violence viewing to the latter or to crime and violence. The most that can probably be said is that violence viewing probably increases the likelihood of other aggressive behavior.

Theory and Discussion: There has been a great deal of concern about television violence both in the United States and
England. None of the evidence indicates that it has a beneficial effect. Laboratory experiments show that violence viewing stimulates immediate aggressiveness, but whether the level of aggression or crime in society actually are affected is unclear.


**Principal Findings:** Juvenile delinquents differed from nondelinquents in the way television was used and how television was perceived, but not in amount of exposure or in programs preferred.

**Design and Methodology:** Data were obtained by interview from samples of delinquent and nondelinquent males and females in England in 1966. The delinquent sample consisted of all males and females between the ages of 10 and 20 within an area who had been placed on probation by the juvenile courts over a three-month period—251 males and 53 females. There were two nondelinquent control samples, drawn so as to roughly match the delinquent sample. One consisted of 98 males and 48 females, and the other, 127 males and 58 females. The two differed in that the latter group was higher in socioeconomic status, school achievement, and intelligence.

**Theory and Discussion:** The delinquent sample indicated much greater preference for "exciting" programs, gave much more emphasis to "exciting" content in describing ideal programs, were much more inclined to describe their emotional response to television as becoming "excited" rather than "interested." This difference in the degree to which television was used as a stimulus for excitement is the major finding. Other major findings are that the delinquent sample talked to others much less about television; seemed less articulate about it; were less able to name persons with whom they might identify; were more aware of hero-type characters; and were more likely to name "pop" music performers. There were no notable differences between the delinquent and control samples in amount of television watched, or the programs named as favorites.

Because of the cross-sectional nature of the data, no inferences about causal relationships can be made. However, a possible explanation is that the delinquent sample was relatively deficient in cognitive and social skills, used television to substitute for and compensate for low academic achievement and less rewarding interaction with others, and may have been reinforced in their aggressive behavior by the many examples on television of illegal and violent acts which give the perpetrator at least temporary success.


**Principal Findings:** Most public service announcements dealing with drug abuse were found not to be presented during times of high youth attendance. The announcements generally presented nonspecific, nondirected drug abuse messages to a presumably heterogeneous audience with nonspecific informational needs. Further, more than two-fifths of drug abuse announcements employed some form of threat regarding the harmful social and/or physical consequences of engaging in drug abuse, an approach that is effective only in certain instances, such as when the source is perceived as highly credible.

**Design and Methodology:** Public service announcements concerning drug abuse were monitored, primarily in Hartford, Connecticut, but also in Boston, Providence, Florida, and California during two five-day periods in December 1971. Coding was performed from sign-on to sign-off. Overlapping coding on approximately five percent of the total television time indicated intercoder agreement ranging from 79 percent to 95 percent.

**Theory and Discussion:** The study, apparently the first of its kind, was of an exploratory nature to ascertain the quantitative and qualitative aspects of televised drug abuse advertising. The authors suggest that some sort of systematic analysis of audience informational requirements should be a prerequisite to the design of an information campaign. They suggest that for informational campaigns to be effective they must provide the sort of personally relevant information which advertisers and marketing theorists suggest as a requirement for attitude change. Furthermore, they question the effectiveness of fear-arousing communications which seem to be maximally effective among those audience segments who do not see the subject matter as highly relevant to themselves.

**Hanratty, M. A. Imitation of a filmed aggressive model as a function of frustration and age. Doctoral dissertation, Tulane University, 1971.**

**Principal Findings:** Kindergarten boys who were exposed to a film of a person acting aggressively toward a clown subsequently imitated the portrayed acts in playing with the clown. Frustration did not significantly enhance imitative aggression. Nonimitative aggression was not affected by the film. Frustration was not significantly greater when kindergarten children were led to believe that the target was also the agent of frustration. Among first-graders, neither imitative nor nonimitative aggression was affected by the film—of the +2 subjects, only seven engaged in any aggression toward the clown and they were relatively evenly distributed among the different experimental conditions.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 60 four- and five-year-old boys and 42 six- and seven-year-old boys from several kindergarten and grade schools in the New Orleans area. One-half of the subjects at each age level were assigned to the film model condition and the remaining subjects to the no film model condition. In the film model condition, subjects were shown a 2½ minute color film with sound depicting an adult male model performing four distinct types of aggressive behavior toward the clown—fist-shaking, hostile comments, shooting a toy machine gun at the clown, and hitting the clown with a plastic hammer. In order to induce frustration, the child was told that he might win a toy as a prize if both he and a partner performed well in a game. The partner was the experimenter's clown working in another room. In the "target-blame" condition, the children were told that although they had done well in the game, the clown had not completed the puzzle properly and thus the child could not be given a prize. In the "self-blame" condition, the children were told that although the clown had solved the puzzle, their own solution was not satisfactory. In the no frustration condition, the children were asked to assemble the puzzle but no mention of prizes was made. One-third of the subjects in each age group was randomly assigned to each of the frustration conditions.

Once the experimental manipulation was carried out, each subject was escorted to a second room in which the clown was standing. The mallet and toy gun were located on the floor near the clown. The experimenter motioned toward the clown and said: "That's our clown, Dodo. Dodo doesn't talk very much. I have some important work to do now, so you can play while I'm busy. You may do anything you want." Then the experimenter seated herself in a far corner of the room with her back to the clown and child. The clown stood motionless and never spoke. Subjects remained in the room for five minutes. The dependent measures were the frequency of imitative and nonimitative aggression displayed, as recorded by observers.
Theory and Discussion: The author concludes that the results of the study support the hypothesis that, for kindergarten boys, exposure to a filmed model elicits a substantial amount of imitative aggressive behavior toward a human victim even in the absence of explicit provocation and that the results agree with other studies finding that exposure to an aggressive modeling film alone is not sufficient to elicit aggression toward a human clown on the part of first-grade boys. Several factors are given to account for this finding. The author speculates that failure to obtain significant results for frustration may be due to the weakness of the frustration manipulation used in the present experiment. Finally, the utility of a generic concept of frustration in relation to effects upon human aggressive behavior is questioned.

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Principal Findings: Kindergarten boys displayed more aggression toward human and inflated plastic clowns after viewing a film of an adult man behaving aggressively toward a human clown. However, the plastic clown victim received more of the children's abuse than the human counterpart. The results also indicate that young children recognize an inflated plastic clown as a legitimate object of aggression, because 60 percent of the children who were not exposed to the film aggressed toward the plastic clown, while none of these children aggressed toward the human clown. In the group that saw the film, some children accosted the human clown with both a gun and a mallet but never used verbal abuse.

Design and Methodology: The subjects were 20 Nashville, Tennessee, kindergartners, who were randomly assigned to film and control groups. In the aggressive film, an adult male beat a human clown with a mallet and shot at him with a toy gun while making threatening remarks. After the film, the children were brought into the experimental room, where the mallet and gun were lying on the floor in the same position as in the film. For half of the subjects, a large inflated clown took the place of the human victim, who remained motionless and never spoke. The behavior of each child was monitored and aggressive behavior scored.

Theory and Discussion: The authors interpret the study as bolstering the hypothesis that aggressive models depicted on film produce aggression in young male children, even in the absence of induced frustration or anger. The imitative aggression observed in this study occurred in the absence of the usual frustration manipulation or other provocation. Also, as predicted, the amount of aggression demonstrated appears to be an additive function of both the presence of aggressive modeling cues and the type of available victim. That is, aggressive behavior was most pronounced when the subject was both exposed to the aggressive film and given the opportunity to aggress toward the inanimate clown.

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Principal Findings: The viewing of a 2½ minute film depicting an adult male behaving aggressively toward a passive adult female clown increased imitative aggression in first-grade boys only when the subjects had been frustrated by being deprived of an anticipated reward. Frustration was induced by telling the subjects that they would not be given a valuable prize because their unseen partner had done poorly in a simple task. The children were then given the opportunity to attack either the frustrating partner (the female clown shown in the film) or another person. Overall, frustrated subjects displayed more aggressive modeling behavior than did subjects who were not frustrated. However, those who were allowed to attack the object of their frustration engaged in no more aggressive behavior than those who were allowed to attack another person.

Design and Methodology: The subjects were 30 boys enrolled in the first grade at two parochial schools in New Orleans. A 2 x 3 design was used, with half of the subjects assigned to the film model condition and half to the control condition (no film model). Subjects were further divided into two frustration conditions and a no frustration control condition. Subjects in the modeling condition were shown a brief color film which featured an adult male intimidating and abusing a motionless adult female in clown costume by shooting at her with a toy machine gun and hitting her with a plastic hammer.

To induce frustration, the experimenter showed each subject a toy cabinet which contained an array of attractive toys. After choosing the toy he liked best, the child was informed that it was not possible for him to receive the toy as a prize if both he and a partner, who was supposedly working on the same task in another room, performed well in a game involving a simple task. While the child performed the task, the experimenter left the room to check on the progress of the bogus partner. Upon returning, he remarked: "You've done very well in the game, but I'm afraid your partner didn't do well at all. Because he performed so poorly, I won't be able to give either of you a prize." One-third of the subjects in each modeling condition was led to believe that the partner was "our clown" ("frustrator-target group") and one-third that their partner was another child ("nonfrustrator-target group"). The remaining subjects were not frustrated. Then, each subject was taken to a room and left five minutes with the clown and the toy gun and mallet that were props in the film. The clown remained motionless and did not speak. Observing from a corner of the room, the experimenter classified each subject's aggressive behavior according to whether they had been frustrated by the behavior of the partner. Subjects were categorized as "frustrated" if they attacked the clown after exposure to the film; "nonfrustrated" if they did not.

Theory and Discussion: The authors conclude that frustration is an important variable affecting the performance of imitative aggression. Indeed, they write, "subjects who witnessed an aggressive model imitated his actions only if they had been frustrated." Citing this pattern of results, they argue that it does not seem likely that frustration acted as a general energizer by increasing the intensity of a dominant response. Instead, the authors advocate the idea that frustration may serve as a discriminative cue that aggressive responses would be instrumental to goal attainment. According to this position, frustration increases the likelihood that aggressive behaviors will be displayed once such responses have been acquired through observation of a model successfully removing barriers to a goal through aggression. The arousal-as-cue stance also suggests that the cue properties of frustration-produced arousal would facilitate aggressive responses primarily toward the frustrator. The authors note, however, that when the frustrator is not an available target, arousal cues would, through target generalization, direct aggressive behaviors toward a more accessible target. Since there was no difference in the amount of aggressive behavior directed toward the frustrator and nonfrustrator targets, it appears that either a target generalization mechanism was operating or that having seen the frustrator harmed may have reduced aggression in the frustrator target group.

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Hapkiewicz, W. G., and Roden, A. H. The effect of aggressive
Principal Findings: Second-grade children who had seen an aggressive cartoon engaged in no more interpersonal aggression— for example, pushing—in a play session than did children who had seen a nonaggressive cartoon or no cartoon. Boys exhibited more aggressive behavior than girls but also demonstrated more sharing. However, boys who had seen the aggressive cartoon were less likely to share than other boys.

Design and Methodology: The subjects, 60 second-grade children, were randomly assigned to same-sex pairs and to one of three film treatment groups: aggressive cartoon, nonaggressive cartoon, or no cartoon. In the test situation, each pair of children was given the opportunity to watch a “peep show” constructed so that only one child could watch at a time. The children’s aggressive and sharing behavior in this competitive situation was then monitored by a judge and an independent observer.

Theory and Discussion: No evidence that the aggressive cartoon produced aggressive behavior was found. However, the authors conclude that the unexpected result that males reduced their sharing behavior after viewing the aggressive cartoon suggests that such films may affect types of behavior other than aggression.

Principal Conclusions: Generalizing to real life from experiments to date which show that violence viewing leads to imitative aggressive behavior by children is not justified. The experimental situation manipulations and measures are not sufficiently analogous to real life to permit such extrapolation.

Theory and Discussion: In order to extrapolate from the findings, the subjects must be representative and the viewing conditions, stimulus material, behavior, and social context similar to real life. These conditions have generally not been met. Furthermore, no consistent definition of aggression has been used. In most imitation-aggression experiments, the measures of aggression are children’s play behavior—the rough handling of toys, a choice of playing with aggressive and nonaggressive toys, and verbal attacks on toys. Their validity can be challenged because aggression was defined as attacking a toy designed for rough play, rather than a person.

In addition, the stimulus material generally has consisted of exhibitions by adults outside of a social context; no indications of punishment have been given, and the children have been placed in a situation identical to that of the adult in the film. Subsequent play behavior cannot serve as an accurate predictor of nonplay behavior because the former occurs in a permissive situation. In addition, no attempts have been made to measure the duration of aggression. Even in studies in which the aggressive adult, although punished, has been later imitated, this may be mere copying, rather than learning to be aggressive. One study in which children had the opportunity to be aggressive toward other children revealed no increase in aggression after viewing aggressive films. On the whole, the experiments so far provide no basis for alarm, for the stimulus materials have not depicted aggression in the socially accepted sense, and the criterion behaviors have involved actual aggression in only one case, where results were negative.

Hartmann, D. P. Influence of symbolically modeled instrumentali-
ental to the plot, and interest in the film, were measured by questionnaire. Forty-four adult volunteers also saw one or the other of the films. To make learning scores on one film comparable with scores on the other, the number of central and peripheral items each child answered correctly was converted to a proportion of the number adults answered correctly when instructed, prior to viewing, to remember everything about the film. Such an instruction to adults was assumed to negate any effects of interest difference between the two films on their learning.

Theory and Discussion: Previous theory would have predicted that understanding the more complex plot of the adult film would have exhausted much of the information-processing capacity of the ninth graders, so their ability to discriminate central and peripheral content should have led them to ignore the latter. This would have implied a negative correlation between central and peripheral learning for the ninth-graders watching the adult film, or at least a smaller positive correlation than at younger ages. Correlations did not follow such a pattern. As a result, the author rejects an explanation of the findings based on relative complexity of the adult film. The author suggests that boredom may have led ninth-graders to learn everything in the children's film or that attention was increased as a result of the novelty of the children's film.

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Principal Findings: Contrary to the folk wisdom of television newsmen, sharply different modes of presentation of television news were not found to affect viewer interest or information gain, although both were related to various personal characteristics.

Design and Methodology: Newsfilm, still-picture, and man-on-camera versions were prepared for each of nine news stories, and three matched telecasts were constructed in which the various modes of presentation were rotated for the stories. Subjects were 198 persons of widely varying social and cultural background. Measures of major interest were personal background, information gain, and interest ratings.

Theory and Discussion: Professional television newsmen usually argue that mode of news presentation significantly affects viewer interest and information gain. Social psychology would hold that personal factors would be related to interest and information gain. These data support only the second position. Personal factors which appeared to be related to information gain were relatively low age, high education, low religiosity, and low newspaper readership. Factors which appear to be related to high interest were relatively high age, low occupational level, and high newspaper readership.

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Principal Findings: In an adult sample, high anxiety was positively correlated with low cultural participation and the choosing of fantasy television programming, especially for those who are low in social status.

Design and Methodology: The data are based upon a survey of 430 adult viewers in Austin, Texas. Anxiety and cultural activity were measured by standard psychological scales; social position, by an index using education and occupation. Programs viewed were ranked in regard to fantasy content by judges.

Theory and Discussion: The author suggests that fantasy television programs have an audience that is disproportionately anxious, of low status, and avoids cultural participation. The results are discussed in terms of a theory of defense against anxiety. It is suggested that it is necessary to protect oneself against the paralyzing effects of severe anxiety and that learning the appropriate defenses is part of one's education. According to this, habitual responses to the mass media can become part of a generalized response against anxiety. Such responses might include selective inattention or the use of fantasy content as an "escape" or functional alternative to cultural participation.

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Head, S. W. Content analysis of television drama programs. Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television, 1954, 9, 175-194.

Principal Findings: People and events portrayed on regularly scheduled television drama series in 1952 constituted a fictional world sharply different from the real world. There was a higher rate of crime and aggression in children's plays than in crime and detection plays or in any other category.

Design and Methodology: The content of 209 programs randomly sampled from network schedules in March, April, and May of 1952 were analyzed. The sample was drawn from all programs identified as "network-distributed drama series complete in each episode and prepared specifically for television," which eliminated soap operas. Programs were coded by a single coder, but a reliability check indicated intercoder agreement around 90 percent on most items. The resulting fictional society equaled 1,763 characters.

Theory and Discussion: The study focuses on norms and values implied in television drama and their correspondence to real life. In most respects, television drama was sharply at variance from data on real life. For example, homicide was 22 times more frequent on television than in actuality; one-third of those with identifiable occupations were engaged in control of crime or in crime itself;males were overrepresented; the working classes were underrepresented, the middle and upper classes overrepresented; and the important events of real life—"birth, health failure, and natural death"—were ignored.

On the other hand, the distortions may in some instances conform to subjective realities. For example, the higher proportion of males may simply reflect actual dominance, and crimes—especially white-collar crimes—may be more tolerated and more frequent than statistics show.

The two most frequent types of plays, crime-detection and situation comedies, may answer similar subjective needs. In the former, the viewer identifies first with the villain and later with the hero, and experiences the victory of society's values. In the latter, the viewer follows the mishaps of a fool who represents values held in contempt and is laughed at. One implication is that those who fear negative social effects from television may be unduly alarmed, because both types of programs support accepted values.

In regard to violence, there were 711 acts of crime and aggression in the 209 programs, or about four per program. The highest index was for children's plays (7.6), followed by crime-detection plays (5.1); the indices for general drama (1.8) and situation comedy (0.8) were low.

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Principal Findings: Pollution was the environmental topic given the most attention in network television in 1971, as measured by number of statements and amount of time devoted to a topic. The majority of pollution content supported the combatting of pollution. In amount of attention, pollution was fairly closely followed by choice of transportation (public vs. private),
attitudes toward nature, resource conservation, and population growth. A majority of the content supported private transportation, was favorable toward nature, and supported resource conservation. Comparatively little content supported mass transportation. Population growth content tended to be buried in other content. Pollution content was least frequently obscured by other content.

**Design and Methodology:** The study examined a representative sample of network television in 1971 for content relevant to five specific and two general environmental areas: (1) pollution, (2) choice of transportation, (3) attitudes toward nature, (4) resource conservation or depletion, (5) population growth, (6) attitudes toward the environment in general, and (7) a miscellaneous category. The networks studied were ABC, CBS, and NBC; local programming was excluded to avoid regional biases. To avoid possible biases due to attention-directing events, a composite television week was created by examining programs from over a seven-week period, drawing successive days of the week diagonally across the calendar. Greater weight was given to the most popular programs. If a program counted among Nielsen's top ten regularly-scheduled series at any point during the entire period from February 1 until May 9, 1971, the program was weighted by including three of its episodes in the sample, the first of which occurred during a regular sampling day, the two subsequent episodes normally occurring in the two weeks following. Twenty programs met this criterion.

Programs making up the sample were color videotape, recorded off the air at time of broadcast. In total, the sample consisted of 416 programs, 287 hours and 43 minutes of network television content, including commercials. The 416 network programs included 261 entertainment programs, 83 programs in a broadly defined news and public affairs category, 44 programs created primarily for children, and eight news bulletins. Six coders watched each program in its entirety, identifying it precisely in terms of network, time of day, length, program category, etc. Coders then wrote a running log for each program, summarizing its total content, segment by segment, and indicating on the logs what they felt to be each segment’s environmentally relevant content, exclusive of commercial breaks. Coders then rescreened each program, isolating and reexamining each segment’s discrete pieces of environmental content, which were defined as "statements," and coders classified each statement so isolated.

**Theory and Discussion:** There were 570 network environmental statements for the composite week. Pollution was the most frequently encountered environmental topic. Twenty-three percent of all environmental statements (131 out of 570), and 28 percent of the total 301 minutes dealt with some pollution issue. Sixty-seven percent of the number of pollution statements supported attitudes or actions which worked to combat or diminish pollution. Pollution also had the highest percentage of statements whose specific environmental thrust was not overshadowed by some other content—100 of the 131 pollution statements were direct, straightforward, and not needed in some issue or concern other than pollution. Seventy-four of these direct statements supported the fight against pollution. When the 131 pollution statements were divided into eight subcategories, frequencies for each category were as follows: air pollution—32; water pollution—31; water pollution—19; pollution—27; soil pollution—1. Scenery pollution was the only subcategory in which a substantial number of statements (10 out of 21) seemed to foster pollution.

The second largest number of environmental statements related to choice of private versus mass transportation. For each program, except animated children's shows, trips made by various modes of transportation were counted. Data showed that there was a preponderance of private transportation on the television screen. Twenty percent of environmental statements and 16 percent of the time they took dealt with some transportation issue. Fifty-nine percent of all transportation statements and 54 percent of the time they took showed attitudes or actions supporting private transportation, and little supported mass transportation.

The third largest number of environmental statements, 19 percent, related to attitudes toward nature, taking up 18 percent of the sample's total time. Eighty-seven percent of statements expressed some positive attitude toward nature.

The fourth largest number of environmental statements, 16 percent, related to resource conservation and depletion; these ranked third in time (18 percent of total time). Sixty-one percent of the statements supported the conservation of nature resources; 26 percent supported attitudes or actions conducive to resource depletion. The resource statements were subcategorized as follows: 26 pertaining to recycling or reconditioning; 26 pertaining to conservation/depletion of fauna, 14 of flora; 12 of land, and 6 of water; plus 9 miscellaneous or general statements.

The fifth largest number of statements, 15 percent, concerned population growth and were also fifth in the total air time devoted to them, 14 percent. They were divided into seven subcategories: 30 concerning adoption, 20 large families, 12, having children; 9 abortion; 6 early childbirth; 5 birth control; and 4, population growth in general. Eighty-one percent of population growth statements were "overshadowed"—i.e., the purpose, the thrust, the direction of these statements was in another subject area, and their population content was only indirectly presented. In general, the network television sample revealed an involvement with population growth themes that was small by comparison with other environmental content areas.


**Principal Findings:** Mothers expressed ambivalent attitudes toward television. They believed it was educational, yet a possible source of nightmares or passivity. They believed parents should guide their children's viewing, but imposed few restrictions themselves. They expressed more concern over content than time spent viewing, but do not believe content has lasting effects.

**Design and Methodology:** Interviews were conducted with 99 Chicago mothers with children between the ages of five and ten. The sample was nonrandom, and selected on a door-to-door basis with interviewing taking place at the same time.


**Principal Findings:** Children who observed a male peer model performing aggressive behavior on film performed more imitative aggressive behavior immediately after viewing than did children exposed to either a female peer model or either
male or female adult models. The effect occurred for both boys and girls. However, girls' rate of imitation in all conditions was lower than boys'. In addition, the performance of imitative aggression was greater for children in all four conditions than those in a control group. Six months later, those who had seen the adult male model performed more imitative aggression, and there was a decline not only in number of acts but also in the variety of different acts imitated. A significantly greater number of the model's behaviors were recalled after six months than were voluntarily performed at that time. Design and Methodology: Subjects were 30 boys and 30 girls ranging in age from 41 to 76 months, enrolled in the Chico State College Laboratory School and Child Development Laboratory. They were assigned to the four cells of a $2 \times 2$ factorial design, so that there were four experimental groups and one control cell of 12 subjects each. The two independent variables were sex of model and peer/adult. Subjects in all groups were matched on age and on aggressive behavior prior to experimentation. Children were brought individually to the exposure room, where they watched the filmed sequence on television. The sequence consisted of the appropriate model performing a series of aggressive acts against a plastic Bobo doll. The series was repeated three times, with identical patterns of verbal and nonverbal responses. Following exposure to the film, all subjects were mildly frustrated, by being given some attractive toys which were taken away as soon as the subjects demonstrated involvement with them. Subjects in the control condition were also frustrated. Subjects were then led to the experimental room, where their behavior was observed and coded through one-way glass. In this room was a set of toys similar to the ones seen in the film, together with a set of nonviolent toys. The behavior of the subjects was coded into 240 five-second intervals by two judges. Six months later, subjects were brought individually by the same experimenter to the instigation room, where they were frustrated again, using the initial procedure, but with different toys. They were then brought to the original experimental room which was arranged as it had been previously, and observed as before. At the end of the second observation period, the experimenter questioned the child about the film that had been shown six months earlier. The child was rewarded with a large candy sucker for describing the things that had been seen on the film. The number of descriptions or performance demonstrations of behaviors on the film was scored by the judges. Theory and Discussion: The results of this study are interpreted as indicating that imitative aggression is similar in children of different ages. The data support the hypothesis that observation of media portrayals shape children’s aggressive responses. Because long-term performance of aggressive matching responses is greatest when the model is an adult male, this finding is especially important in the light of the frequency with which aggressive adult males are portrayed in movies and on television.

Hicks, D. J. Effects of co-observer’s sanctions and adult presence on imitative aggression. Child Development, 1968, 38, 303-309.

Principal Findings: Positive and negative sanctions by an adult co-observer produced corresponding increases and decreases in imitative aggressive behavior when the adult co-observer remained with children who had viewed a film of aggressive behavior. These effects disappeared when the co-observer did not remain with the children in the observation period. The sex of the child was a significant factor, with boys performing more imitative aggression than girls.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 42 boys and 42 girls enrolled in the Chico State College Laboratory School and Child Development Laboratory. They ranged in age from 60 months to 105 months, with a mean age of 84 months. The design was a $2 \times 2 \times 3$, with independent variables of sex, co-observer remained with child/did not remain with child, and positive sanction/negative sanction/no sanction. The children were brought individually to the exposure room, where there was an adult male co-observer present. All subjects were shown a film which depicted an adult male model performing a series of aggressive behaviors against a Bobo doll. During the film, the co-observer either made positive or negative comments, such as "That's wrong," or "Boy, look at him go," or no statements at all. In half of the cases the co-observer accompanied the child to the experimental room, in which were a number of toys, including ones similar to the ones seen in the film. In the other half of the cases the child was not accompanied. The children were watched through one-way glass, and their behavior was coded into five-second segments for imitative aggressive behavior, nonimitative aggressive behavior, and nonaggressive behavior.

Theory and Discussion: The study investigated the influence of an adult co-observer's sanction or disapproval of filmed aggressive behavior. When the adult was present during the child's subsequent play period, the child's imitative aggressive behavior corresponded with the co-observer's previous positive or negative statements about such behavior. However, in the absence of the co-observer, the child was less likely to imitate the behavior of the film model—a aggression of a nonimitative nature was more frequent. The author concludes that the adult co-observer provides cues as to which behavior is appropriate in a given situation, but in the co-observer's absence during the child's subsequent play, the imitative behavior is less likely to occur.


Principal Findings: Television influenced children's values and perceptions of the world. Amount of television viewing was unrelated to children's aggressiveness or passivity. Children were most likely to be frightened by realistic violence (as compared with the stylized violence of Westerns) and incidents in horror or space dramas. Viewing in the dark or alone increased the likelihood of being frightened. Television violence was more likely to disturb children if it involved a dagger or sharp instrument than if it involved a gun, or involved danger to an animal hero such as Lassie.

Children came to like programs they would ordinarily not have chosen if alternatives were available. Time spent viewing was inversely related to intelligence and an active life, and positively related to parental example. It also correlated with insecurity, maladjustment, and inadequate friendships.

Children watched many programs designed for adults; three-fourths of favorites named adult programs, and crime programs were especially popular; unpopular were adult political programs, documentaries, and discussions. However, children's tastes varied widely, and the most popular program was cited by only about a third of the children. Average total viewing was 11-13 hours per week, more than was any other leisure activity.

Design and Methodology: In 1955 and 1966, data were obtained from 1,854 10-11-year-olds and 13-14-year-olds in 4 cities, half of whose families had television and half of whose families did not. The viewer and control samples were matched for age, sex, intelligence and socioeconomic class. This was the main study. There was also a before-after study of the community. In this case, data were obtained from 370 children before the community had television, and again from the same children after the advent of television when some of the children's families had become set owners and some had not. This study provided a check on findings from the main study, and it would help to identify differences which existed prior to television but which set viewers apart from nonviewers and might be falsely interpreted in the main study as a consequence of television. In addition, there were 11 related studies covering such top-
ics as mothers’ reports of children’s viewing habits and reactions; parents’ and teachers’ opinions about television; several specific possible effects of television on children; the effect of television on school performance; television content; and effects on children’s viewing of increases in the range of program alternatives.

**Theory and Discussion:** Television appeared to influence the way children thought about jobs, job values, success, and social surroundings. Viewers were more ambitious, more “middle-class” in job values, and in regard to the factors leading to success, gave more stress to self-confidence. Furthermore, perceptions of the homes of the rich resembled their depiction on television. Adolescent girl viewers were more concerned than nonviewers about growing up and marrying, possibly reflecting their exposure to adult problems on television. Television’s influence was greatest among the less intelligent 13-14-year-olds; television’s lessons were not absorbed by children bright enough to be well-informed, who were critical of programs, or too young to perceive or be interested in the values implied. Television appeared to improve general knowledge only among younger, less intelligent viewers. In school achievement, brighter viewers tended to fall behind equally bright nonviewers, but there was not any great impact on school achievement. Television achievement-moving among younger children, and reduced radio listening among both younger and older children. Book reading initially declined, then returned to prior levels. Television increased home entertaining, but decreased casual companionship. Television’s appeal to children rests on a diversity of factors—easy availability; value as a time-filler; satisfaction of being in the know; security and reassurance through familiar themes and formats; access to change, excitement, and suspense; escape; identification; and access to warm and friendly personalities.

Broad sets of principles on four topics can be derived from the research. In regard to leisure displacement, television tends to replace media which serve the same purpose as television in a person’s life, since it is usually more easily available than other media; transforms some activities so that they come to serve more specialized needs; and reduces marginal or fringe activities, such as unstructured leisure. Thus, for younger children television replaces movies, but does not do so for older children, for whom movies serve as an important focus on away-from-home adolescent socializing. In regard to television’s effects on outlook and values, television is most likely to have an effect when the same values are presented repeatedly; when values are presented in emotion-provoking drama; when values are relevant to immediate needs and interests; when programs are viewed uncritically; and, when an alternative set of values has not been supplied by friends or parents.

In regard to children’s tastes, children appear to have developed a set of tastes which apply to all media by age 10; children prefer adult to children’s programs; children can enjoy programs without fully understanding them; children will come to like and seek out programs they would not have selected in advance; and there is an extremely great diversity of taste among children.

In regard to the type of content most likely to elicit fear and emotional disturbance, violence is less disturbing when it is stylized (as in Westerns); when it is part of a series, so that children have become used to the conventions, the ending fits an expected pattern, and the same hero appears in each episode; when the setting for violence is unfamiliar (but not frightening); so that children are less likely to conclude that something similar will occur in their own environment; when characters are drawn in black and white and not gray, so that sympathy is not aroused over villains who eventually suffer; and when there is little chance of identifying with the victim. Thus, a news report of a major disaster may be less disturbing than a dramatic incident in which someone is embarrassed or emotionally hurt.

**Principal Findings:** Children six, seven, nine, and thirteen years old increased in their ability to correctly distinguish fantasy from realistic violence on television. At age thirteen, the proportion of correct choices when fantasy and real-life video scenes were paired approached 100 percent, although errors still occurred. At age six, the proportion correct was 36 percent. The degree to which the fantasy content deviated from a realistic portrayal did not affect correctness of recognition, and there was no relationship between the reported affect or measured pulse rate and level of realism of a televised portrayal of violence.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were children, aged six, seven, nine, and thirteen, from the public school system of Eugene, Oregon. One hundred and fifty subjects, or 60 percent of the sample originally drawn, participated in the experiment. The independent variables were chronological age and two sets of paired video messages. In each set, there was a video portrayal of actual real-life violence consisting of 93 seconds of newsreel-type film. In the “close” video pairing, the other portrayal was 123 seconds of relatively realistic fantasy violence. In the “distant” video pairing, the other portrayal was 127 seconds of less realistic fantasy violence. Degree of reality of the three messages was validated by judges’ ratings. Thus, there were two experimental conditions for each age group—one in which the realistic video violence was paired with fantasy video violence resembling reality, and one in which it was paired with fantasy video violence with less resemblance to reality. Subjects were randomly assigned to conditions within age groups, and the stimuli were presented as segments of television programs on a television set. Dependent measures included correctness in identifying the realistic violence, the degree to which differences were ascribed to the messages in a pair, reported emotional response, and pulse rate.

**Theory and Discussion:** The study investigated the two assumptions—that children actually distinguish between make-believe and reality in the television and film they watch and do so with increasing strength and accuracy as they get older, and that they experience enhanced emotion when they perceive content to be realistic. The study found that children do discriminate more correctly between make-believe and actual violence-content messages with increasing age, and that the degree of discrimination between make-believe and actual video violence increases with increasing age. However, the closeness or distance of the fantasy violence from reality did not affect correctness or degree of discrimination, nor was perceived reality related to reported affect or pulse rate. The author suggests that the experiment should be replicated with adults to see if errors made by thirteen-year-old children are also made by adults.


**Principal Findings:** When asked to report the source of information for learning about war, 84 percent of subjects mentioned the media, while the percentages for school, family, friends, and church were much lower—42, 32, 23, and 14 percent, respectively. The media were listed more than any other source for similar questions about the causes of war, the results of war, the war in Vietnam, its causes, and its results. When media use was examined more closely, television was by far the most mentioned source, being mentioned as much as twice as often as the closest competitor, which was news magazines. A
similar breakdown of respondents mentioning school as a source revealed a dominance by teachers over textbooks by a ratio of over 2 to 1 for most questions. The only main exception was for the results of war, when textbooks were mentioned slightly more than teachers (29, compared to 24 percent). A similar but weaker pattern is observed in the family situation, with the father having a slight lead over others.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were students in the senior class of the two high schools in Everett, Washington, (no N is reported) who were given questionnaires during a class period of 55 minutes. The questionnaire first asked open-ended questions about war in general, the causes of war, the results of war, the war in Vietnam, its causes, and its results. They were then asked to fill in a code sheet listing 18 possible sources of information, by reviewing each of the earlier open-ended questions, and coding the responses in terms of the sources of the information they used in answering the questions. These coded responses provided the data that are reported here.

**Theory and Discussion:** The major substantive finding of the study is the importance of the mass media as a source of learning about war. The findings cast doubt on the "present utility of much of the previous research on the sources of political socialization, and indicates that researchers have, perhaps, been passing over the major source of political learning." In the light of this study, the dominance of the mass media, and particularly television, suggests a careful reconceptualization of political socialization paradigms, with possibly a shift in the research strategies that are used to study them.

**Principal Findings:** Among English children, the belief that violent television programs accurately portray real life was positively correlated with viewing of violent programs and number of violent programs among current favorites. The belief that a policeman should act violently when facing trouble and the belief that fast, immediate action is necessary to solve world problems were positively correlated with number of violent programs among current favorites. However, the correlations were very modest.

**Design and Methodology:** Data were obtained by questionnaires from 101 boys and 105 girls 11 to 15 years old in a Leicestershire, England, comprehensive school. Measures included exposure to various classes of television content, including violent content, and various attitude measures bearing on a number of hypotheses. Each attitude area was measured by a single item. Correlations were calculated for relationships between different attitudes and two kinds of variables—demographic characteristics, and various measures of television use and preference—and the data were analyzed without assessing statistical significance, although correlations between viewing measures and attitudes were tested by partialing out sex, age, socioeconomic class, being an only child, and family size.

**Theory and Discussion:** Although the correlations are modest, they suggest that television has some socializing influence, especially in regard to circumstances unfamiliar to the child, such as expected responses of police and solutions to world problems. The belief in violent programs as realistic suggests they would have some influence. However, no relationships were found between exposure to or preference for violent television and a wide range of attitude variables, including attitudes favorable to violence and responses reflecting desensitization to suffering. Thus, the results suggest that "... the effects of mass media violence on attitudes are, if anything, very slight in terms of the adverse influences..."

Principal Conclusions: Television and other mass media may play an important role in socialization by encouraging the sentiment of pity and concern for human suffering. Even if the numbers affected are small, the social impact may be great. The possible impact of the mass media on such social sentiments has been largely ignored because the conventional conceptual schemes do not focus the attention of social scientists on this category of media effects.

Theory and Discussion: The mass media continually portray calamities and suffering in both news and drama. One effect may be to arouse and cultivate feelings of pity and concern for the human condition. The root meaning of "socialization" is "the process by which the individual learns to become social, a member of society." In such a process, the cultivation of social sentiments such as pity for human suffering is an important element. There is no reason to think that the mass media might not play a considerable role in the cultivation of such a sentiment. Violence in television drama may fail to arouse such a sentiment, and may only contribute to aggression, because suffering is not shown. Thus, the child does not leave the experience with any feeling of sympathy for the victim.

Little attention has been directed to the question because popular conceptual schemes lead people in other directions. For example, when the "needs and gratifications" served by the media are studied, no list of "needs" or of "gratifications" is likely to include such a social sentiment. Similarly, when "escape" functions of the media are studied, no attention will be given such a sentiment because it is hardly escapist. It is possible that only a few persons have the capacity for the cultivation of such feelings. Nevertheless, the possession by a few of such a sentiment may have a large social impact because of the contribution to society they are capable of making. This is analogous to the situation in which violent content may be said to affect only a few. The argument that one cannot ignore the negative effects of media violence because only a few are affected also cuts the other way—one cannot ignore the positive contributions of the media because only a few are affected.

In both instances, the size of the group affected is no index of the magnitude of the social effect.


Principal Conclusions: Various psychological barriers often prevent mass media information campaigns from having the effects desired. Frequently, the problem is not merely that of increasing the flow of information, but of gaining acceptance of the information among those who would usually reject or ignore it.

Theory and Discussion: Five such barriers are suggested:
1. There is a core of "know-nothings" who fail to learn of events despite their extensive coverage in the media. For example, in one study, a third of the respondents knew either one or none of five major public issues.
2. Interest increases a campaign's effectiveness, and apparently interest in issues is either general or low to nonexistent. For example, in one study people seemed either to be interested in several or all, or apathetic to almost all.
3. People tend to seek only information congenial to their attitudes, and those who favor a side seek out material supporting their view.
4. People interpret information differently, despite its objective content.
5. Information may not change attitudes as intended. For example, in one study, arguments favoring a government action persuaded those with a favorable disposition toward the beneficiaries, but did not affect those opposed on economic grounds.


Principal Findings: There are regular audiences for television violence and for national news, which have distinguishing demographic characteristics. The male audience for violence is high in persons of lower education and income, based on survey data from the 1967-68, 1968-69, and 1969-70 seasons. The male violence viewing audience also tends to be high in those over 50, blacks, and those 18-24 who are high school dropouts. These findings hold when total viewing is controlled. The same factors characterize the female violence viewing audience, except that race becomes the predominant predictor.

Regular news viewers are disproportionately drawn from the elderly, regardless of education or amount of total viewing, based on survey data from the 1969-70 season. News viewing is curvilinearly related to education; viewing is highest among the least and most educated categories. Viewing is especially high among college-educated blacks. Viewing is higher among males than females. Supplementation of television news by print media—newspapers and magazines—occurred among women but not among men who regularly view the national news. An astounding proportion of both sexes reported viewing no national news program in a two-week period—52 percent of men, 54 percent of women.

Design and Methodology: Data collected by W. R. Simmons and Associates to provide advertisers with information on potential audience size and characteristics were reanalyzed. For each season, a probability sample of about 7,000 was involved; data consist of viewing diaries maintained for a two-week period. Violence viewing analyses represent surveys in three seasons; news viewing, in one season. For both violence and news, criteria were established representing heavy viewing, and the demographic characteristics of those reporting such viewing were analyzed.

Theory and Discussion: In regard to violence in entertainment, demand is an important factor in its regular occurrence. This study analyzes the characteristics of the regular audience for television violence. Over the three years, the number of hours of violence viewing defined as representing "heavy viewing" was increased to keep the proportion so defined about the same, because violence viewing generally was increasing. In each season, the heavy viewers accounted for a third of the audience for the programs (13 in this instance) identified as especially violent. For these viewers, violence may relive lives perceived as "dull and unexciting," for lower socioeconomic status is correlated with such a perception, as it is with violence viewing. In regard to news viewing, it would appear there is a news-seeking syndrome or set not shared by many.


Principal Findings: In a study of high school seniors in Southern Appalachia, no support was found for the model which holds that increased availability of political information leads to increased politicization. Instead, the analysis favors a model
which holds that as a result of interest, persons are more attentive to the media and consequently show increased levels of information and participation. The basis of interest, according to the latter model, rests on primary social relationships, particularly family socialization. The specific hypothesis that television availability leads to greater political information was supported, although the association was not large. However, there was no evidence that greater political information leads to greater political interest or participation.

**Design and Methodology:** The study was conducted in Southern Appalachia, where television was a relatively late arrival. Six counties were selected. Three ranked low and three high in television availability. Each "low media" county was matched with a demographically comparable "high media" county. A low media county was defined as less than 60 percent availability, and a high media county as more than 90 percent availability. Respondents were the entire population of high school seniors in the six counties. Adult respondents were not used because it was thought that the political socialization of older persons would have been essentially completed before the advent of television. Data were collected by survey questionnaire; the response rate was 91 percent, with 472 questionnaires completed.

**Theory and Discussion:** The model that received the greatest support indicates that while television availability has an independent effect upon political information, it is the family's involvement in politics that is the primary determinant of politization. Initially, family involvement creates political interest, which in turn is the determinant of the other aspects of politization. The study lends support to the idea that television availability, while having an independent effect upon political information, a cognitive variable, does not directly affect such motivational and behavioral factors as political interest and participation. It favors the notion elaborated by Klapper (1960) that the media act primarily as reinforcers of tendencies that have grown out of family socialization and social relations.

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**Principal Conclusions:** Although laboratory experiments have demonstrated that television violence may be immediately imitated by children, and that television violence under certain circumstances may increase subsequent immediate nonimitative aggression by children and older youths, the evidence does not clearly link television violence with crime or antisocial behavior in real life.

**Theory and Discussion:** There are three possible hypotheses, assert the authors. The first is that television violence increases real-life crime and antisocial behavior. The second is that television violence leads to "catharsis," or the reducing of such behavior either by purging hostile impulses through their vicarious expression in watching violent behavior, by providing material for self-created fantasies which substitute for actual aggression, or by creating revulsion for aggression by showing its unpleasant consequences. The third is that television violence has no effect on subsequent aggression, crime, or antisocial behavior.

Most of the evidence usually interpreted as supporting the first is weak. Strong effects have not been shown, and the more the experiments resemble real-life circumstances, the less often is an activating effect observed. Moreover, even the weak effects found seem to be somewhat dependent on whether subjects were angered, whether a relatively legitimate target was available, and whether there are similarities between the television stimulus and the subsequent situation. Thus, the evidence does not warrant the strong conclusions offered by many reviewers. As a result, the second and third hypotheses remain possibilities. It is probable that the major causes of violence in society are developmental, social, and cultural factors and not television, and that the television industry has become a scapegoat.

It is unlikely that war, murder, suicide, the battered child syndrome, other violent crimes, and man's inhumanity to man stem to any marked degree from television viewing," write the authors. "Many social scientists may have become victims of the 'bearer of bad news' syndrome. A Persian emperor used to behead messengers who brought bad news, often news of a military defeat. Television, which shows us continually the aggression which man commits against man, may be suffering a similar fate. Instead of castigating the networks it may be more useful to ask why the public is so fascinated by programs portraying violence and to investigate the major causes of human aggression.

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**Principal Conclusions:** Television and other mass media may serve needs and gratifications in three ways—by the content, by exposure to the media *per se*, and by the social situation in which the media are consumed. Research on the way the media are used and the gratifications they serve is often accused of inherently supporting the status quo, because the attention is on the positive contributions of the media as they now operate. There is no reason why such research must have a conservative bias. Instead, such research ought to focus on human needs, and evaluate the degree to which the media "do or do not contribute to their creation and satisfaction." In addition, such research should investigate the extent to which certain kinds of media and content favor certain kinds of use.

**Theory and Discussion:** Two aims motivated early uses and gratifications research. One was to balance the attention given to the persuasive success of communicators in early "effects" studies. Another was to employ audience requirements as variables intervening between exposure to the media and any effect. The first was largely realized. Little progress has been made in regard to the latter. Yet, it is clear that the perceptions brought by viewers to television programs may influence the effect such programs have on them. For example, some may view a violent drama for a faithful portrayal of some segment of social reality, and others may view the same drama for a relief from tension. "Effects" may not be equivalent for the two groups.

Five assumptions have typically guided uses and gratifications research: (1) the audience is made up of relatively active rather than passive receivers; (2) much initiative in linking content and need lies with the receiver; (3) the mass media compete with other sources of need satisfaction; (4) people can fairly well indicate the needs and gratifications served for them by the mass media; and (5) value judgments about the media should not be made until audience needs and gratifications actually served are examined.

Priority research issues include the development of new typologies of audience gratifications; the development of a theory of audience needs; the study of the way content, media format, and social situation combine to serve needs; the disentangling of intrinsic media properties from audience perceptions of media characteristics; the study of the social sources of particular audience needs; and the study of range and limits of the flexibility of the mass media to serve a diversity of needs.

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Principal Conclusions: The findings of a variety of studies of the impact of the four televised Kennedy-Nixon debates in 1964 indicate that the audience was huge, ranging between 70 and 82 million; that watching was greater among those who identified with one or the other party; and that, although each candidate was perceived by viewers as winning one debate and two were perceived as close, the overall beneficiary clearly was Kennedy.

Theory and Discussion: The findings of 31 surveys—the most ever conducted in a single topic—on the effects of the debates were compared. Despite great differences in procedures and samples, there is considerable consistency. Kennedy, who was clearly perceived by viewers as winning the first debate, also was perceived as winning the series. Kennedy in general was the beneficiary, with the first debate “accelerating” commitment among Democrats. However, one cannot say whether voting decisions actually were affected, for public opinion trends suggest that there was in Kennedy’s favor anyway. However, a sizable proportion of viewers—about a third—said that the debates had influenced their decision. The debates also increased public knowledge about issues, and various beliefs about the candidates.


Principal Conclusions: Mass media are often characterized as “escapist,” and because of this, as dysfunctional for the individual or society. This argument blurs many issues, and they require clarification. Motive, content, or satisfaction in some circumstances may be called properly “escapist.” Yet, even if one may be “escapist,” this does not mean that the others in a given sequence are—an “escapist drive” may lead to exposure to realistic or practically useful content, and exposure to “escapist” content may lead to psychological processes devoted to dealing with reality. Furthermore, what is dysfunctional for one may be functional for another, who engages in the behavior under different circumstances or with a different prior history.

Theory and Discussion: Theorists of popular culture generally contend that people use mass media for escape. Deprived and alienated, the people are said to seek substitute gratifications. The model is that everyday modern life creates drives which lead to high exposure; the context of exposure and media content are always about the same; by way of psychological processes such as identification, gratification is obtained as well as a possible unanticipated consequence—“narcotization” in regard to public issues and affairs. Evidence indicates that dissatisfaction can increase media use; this does not mean that the result is “escape.” High media exposure itself is not escape; it can be used both to withdraw from and also for social purposes. Content analyses do show that mass media content does not as a whole represent the real world; this alone does not make that content “escapist.” Such a view overlooks the role of fantasy, which may be used in many “real” ways to relax, refresh the mind, and solve emotional problems symbolically. For many, television and other media support the real-life ego by offering a substitute for unavailable social interaction. Obviously, attention to the media draws time from other activities, including participation in public affairs. However, what is dysfunctional at one level may be functional at another; thus, the same exposure may improve work performance the next day.


Principal Findings: Viewers-hours per day spent with soap operas rose steadily between 1952 and 1970, and simply the result of more broadcast minutes per day being devoted to soap operas. As new soap operas appear, they attract audience without diminishing the audience of other serials. The bulk of the audience is composed of women, and the typical viewer is a Southern or Midwestern woman from a large household with relatively low education and income. Soap opera characters are largely male and female adults, and there is great attention to male professionals, their wives, lovers, female assistants, and secretaries. These people almost always appear indoors, spend most of their time talking, and often pair off. Over 90 percent of the conversations are about people, who usually are not present, and emphasize family matters, romantic relationships, and ever-present health problems.

Design and Methodology: The data on audience composition were computed from raw figures in the archives of the A. C. Nielsen Company. Content of daytime serials was studied by
having a team of observers, during the week of April 13, 1970, view all the episodes of each of the fourteen serials available in Lansing, Michigan. No observer had ever before seen the series he was viewing. Thus, minimal interaction could be made, and only the activity that appeared on the screen was recorded. From the individual reports of several observers for each serial, 14 summaries of the events of the week were prepared. These made up a summary of the soap opera week.

Theory and Discussion: The growth in viewer-hours can be explained almost totally as a function of the steady growth in the number of hours spent with television and the growth in the number of minutes of serials broadcast each day, indicating what economists would call an "elastic demand" for soap operas. As the population grows and the number of homes with television increases, a fairly stable proportion of the new potential viewers will turn to daytime serials. Each new soap opera attracts an audience without reducing the audience for other serials, even when the networks schedule three serials opposite each other. Based on the average audience, the number of shows on the air, and the pattern of composite viewing, roughly 40 percent of all homes with televisions are tuned to at least one serial in a given week. The audience for daytime serials is 71 percent female. Geographic region, degree of urbanization, income level, and household size are all related to soap opera viewing.

When the topic of soap opera conversation is not business or small talk, conversations turn to family matters (where negative comments equal positive comments), the more favorable aspects of romantic relationships, and health. During any given week, many problems and events are under consideration in each program. The characters discuss the problems, add minor pieces of information, and discuss the problem again.

The author suggests that the almost-realism of the characters and themes, the repetition due to slow pace, and the extremely large number of hours spent viewing operas indicates that soap operas may have great potential power. They can establish or reinforce value systems; they can legitimize behavior and remove taboo about discussing sensitive topics such as drugs and premarital sex. Thus, it is argued that the big question is to what degree the daytime serials change attitudes and norms and to what extent they merely follow and reinforce their audience.


Principal Findings: Color altered the balance between plot-irrelevant and plot-relevant content ("peripheral" vs. "central" material) learned from a television drama by schoolboys. Color favored the learning of plot-irrelevant content, and violence and color combined to accentuate the difference. Neither overall learning nor plot-irrelevant learning were affected by degree of violence in content, however.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 240 fourth-, sixth-, and ninth-grade males, middle-class to upper-middle-class and predominantly white, randomly assigned to experimental conditions. Effects on recall of "central" vs. "peripheral" material of four variables were studied: (1) age; (2) high vs. low violence; (3) black-and-white vs. color presentation; and (4) test delay—immediate vs. two weeks after. "Central" material was defined as content relevant to the basic message, plot, or theme; "peripheral" material as content not relevant to the central message, plot or theme.

The television was a half-hour program originally broadcast more than five years before, which was edited to create equal-length high- and low-violence versions. Post-viewing tests covered recall of visual and auditory elements and attitudes toward the program.

Theory and Discussion: The study was concerned with the possible effect of color in altering the balance of central and peripheral material learned from television entertainment. If color makes a difference, this presumably would have implications for effects on attitudes and behavior of color vs. black-and-white portrayals of violence. For example, color might alter the degree to which consequences, rewards, and justifications for television violence are comprehended.

Violence itself affects neither total learning nor the balance between central and peripheral learning. Color resulted in better recall for the peripheral visual minus central material. Color and level of violence also interacted. High violence and color combined to increase the difference between peripheral and central learning. Color, however, did not affect the amount of perceived violence, or liking for the program. Learning increased with age. Sixth- and ninth-grade boys liked both versions of the program equally, but fourth-grade boys liked the low-violence version better, liked both versions more, and perceived more violence in both versions. Fourth-graders recalled more from the low-violence version; sixth-graders, equally from both; and ninth-graders, more from the high-violence version. This effect occurred for total and central learning. The same interaction occurred for subjects who were tested immediately on scores for peripheral material. These findings imply that any measurements of television's effects may be specific to the age group studied.

For all recall categories, recall decreased over the two weeks, but the high-violence version was perceived as more violent.


Principal Findings: Intermittent distortion of a televised persuasive appeal delivered by a political figure produced more attitude change and agreement with a communication that was counter to already-held attitudes than either continuous distortion or no-distortion. However, the television distortion had little impact on the image of the political figure.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 79 undergraduates at Ohio State University randomly assigned to three experimental conditions: no television distraction, intermittent distraction, or continuous distraction. Subjects were asked to evaluate video a speaker and his advocated position. In one speech condition, the candidate argued against the establishment of a volunteer army; in the other, he argued for government censorship of pornography. Premises indicated that students disagreed with the speaker's position on both topics.

Intermittent distraction was produced by decreasing the television video signal by 20 db for two-second periods, 20 distinct times during the speech; continuous distraction was produced by decreasing the television signal by the same factor throughout the entire speech. Lowering the signal by 20 db resulted in a cloudy picture. In all conditions the audio reception was undistorted. Dependent measures covered subjects' attitudes toward the two issues, toward issues not mentioned, ratings of the speaker as a political leader, and judgments of the speaker's position on the issues.

Theory and Discussion: The authors infer that the effect of distraction was to inhibit subjects' subvocal counterargumentation, which resulted in subjects' lowered defenses against the arguments and conclusions of the message. This interpretation is viewed as supported by the finding that intermittent distrac-
The effects of mass communication can be best understood when mass communications are not viewed as a "necessary and sufficient" cause of audience effects, but as an influence whose effects depend on a variety of mediating factors. This could be called a "situational," "phenomenistic," or "functional" approach. The mediating factors operate so that mass communication usually reinforces existing conditions, whatever the topic area may be.

**Theory and Discussion:** When mass communications are viewed as one of many factors related to an effect, some generalizations become possible. These are that mass media seldom have direct effects independent of mediating factors; that because of these factors, mass media usually reinforce existing states; that direct effects will usually occur only when mediating factors cause or create pressure for change; that some direct effects do occur; and that media efficacy is influenced by presentational factors or the communication situation.

In the case of mass persuasion, the mass media seldom convert and usually reinforce existing predispositions. It should be emphasized that the mediating factors themselves lead to mass media having a conservative role. Such mediating factors as predisposition, social milieu, opinion leadership, personality, and even the nature of mass communication in our society, all tend to delimit any effects of the mass media. Messages are selected on the basis of predispositions; people associate with others of similar mind; opinion leaders tend to be supernormative who exemplify their followers' values; messages are interpreted in accord with personality traits and individual preferences; and messages conflict and diverge because of mass media diversity. Thus, the total effect is conservative.

The mass media may have direct effects in some circumstances when the influence of mediating factors is reduced—such as when group membership is not valued; an issue is viewed as important, or is new and unfamiliar; where following group norms no longer result in benefits; and when group memberships conflict and lead to "cross-pressures." There are other cases in which direct effects occur—such as the learning of slogans—and various elements of message presentation, context, and organization affect prowess, as does the situational opportunity to take action after receiving a message. This emphasis on the role of the mediator's social environment in which mass communication messages are received appears applicable to a wide range of areas where mass media might be thought to have some effect.

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**Principal Conclusions:** Although much research has been done that could be said to deal with the functions or gratifications served by mass media, little research has fully followed the implications of a functional approach. It is not enough merely to analyze content for functions that might be served, or report the uses to which audience members apparently put mass media. One should go further, and investigate the actual consequences of the particular gratification being served, both in relation to nonmedia behavior and in relation to future behavior in regard to the media.

**Theory and Discussion:** Few questions about the effects of the mass media can be answered yes or no. "Do depictions of crime and violence produce juvenile delinquency?" The probability is that "some types of depicted violence will be found to have some types of effects on the aggression levels of some types of children under some types of conditions, or—yes and no."

Whether the television content is violence or the adventures of doctors, drama or news, one must understand the gratifications derived to understand effects. News may be dismal, but some people watch news programs as tranquilizers—to relax. Gratifications studies must go further than they have. They must consider which various possible media elements—the content; the process itself of reading, listening, or viewing; and the concept held of the medium by the user—provide the gratification. It must also consider the alternatives or consequences when media fail to provide certain gratifications. Studies taking such an approach would probably put an end to "such gross and very probably misleading dichotomies as 'entertainment content' and 'informational content,'" and typologies of content and audiences would become more meaningful. One design exemplifying this functional approach would create the conditions in which a particular function could be expected to occur, and measure its occurrence and the effects.

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**Principal Findings:** Groups of working-class boys viewing a film in which aggressive behavior was portrayed displayed a wider range of imitative aggressive acts and more total aggression than did a control group who did not see the film. Subjects in the experimental groups changed their behavior significantly more often than those in the control group. There were no significant differences in aggression and imitation attributable to variations in the length of the delay between exposure to the
film and first opportunity to play in a situation that would allow imitation to be observed and measured, which varied from no delay to one day to a week.

**Design and Methodology:** Subjects were 32 boys of working-class background with a mean age of 69.6 months. Subjects were randomly divided into three experimental groups and one control group, each of eight subjects. All experimental group subjects were shown the film, which featured a sequence in which a five-year-old model aggressed against a Bobo doll in a variety of ways. The "no-delay" subjects were then allowed to play individually for a period of 15 minutes. The "one-day-delay" subjects were not allowed to play until the next day, and the third group played a week later. All groups returned a number of times for follow-up measurements. These later times ranged from one week to 169 days later. The control group played immediately, and again after one week. The play room was provided with a one-way mirror, through which behavior was observed and scored for imitation and aggression. Toys were placed in the same location at the beginning of each period.

**Theory and Discussion:** The results of this study support previous findings that working-class children would imitate a film both immediately after exposure and after a one-week delay. This is interpreted as showing that imitative behavior is not dependent on immediate rehearsal of the behavior. Moreover, it is suggested that this is also evidence that the children do not take advantage of the intervening time to consider alternative methods of play. Since the children in the experimental groups "fit" or changed behavior more often than those in the control group, it is suggested that the viewing somehow increased the activity of the children. Perhaps the film made the environment more stimulating, by altering the salience of certain cues or aspects of the play situation. At any rate, the behavior learned by watching the film seemed to be retained over a long period of time.

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**Principal Findings:** The effect of an aggressive film model on the play behavior of middle-class nursery school boys was greater for the child who had had no experience in the situation portrayed than for a child who had recently played in that situation. However, when the children were observed again one week later, there was no difference between those who and without the previous play experience and between those who had and had not seen the aggressive film model.

**Design and Methodology:** The subjects were 30 middle-class boys enrolled in two English nursery schools. In one experimental condition, the boys were shown a film with an aggressive model, mildly frustrated, and then allowed to play in the situation portrayed in the film. In another condition, subjects were allowed to play in the same situation before seeing the film and then brought back into the play situation for observation. A third group of subjects played in the experimental setting but were not shown the film.

**Theory and Discussion:** The author interprets the results as suggesting that the imitation of filmed aggression in a situation is largely dependent upon the novelty of the situation. If children have played in the experimental situation prior to seeing the film and, presumably, developed their own interests, the amount of imitation is "dramatically" reduced. The experiment is also said to suggest that the effects of exposure to aggressive models is short-lived, as demonstrated by the lack of differences between the film and no film groups at a follow-up session one week later.

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**Principal Findings:** Susceptibility to imitating the actions of filmed models appears to be an enduring individual characteristic in early childhood. On two occasions at least four months apart, nursery school boys were shown films portraying different aggressive acts by different characters in different settings. There was a highly significant positive correlation between the imitative response to the two films. These increases in aggression occurred consistently over and above the initial tendency to behave aggressively.

**Design and Methodology:** The subjects were 38 boys in English nursery schools. Each subject was tested twice, with a minimum of four months between observations. Both times, they were allowed to play in an experimental room for 15 minutes, were exposed to a film, and then allowed to play in an experimental room for another 15 minutes. The films portrayed a peer using the same toys provided in the experimental room in an aggressive fashion. However, the model, his actions, and the toys props were different on the two testing occasions.

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors infer that some children are more prone to be influenced by filmed violence than others. They suggest that future research be concerned with testing the limits of this susceptibility; discovering the relationship between imitation of aggression and imitation of contrast-aggression behavior; such as constructive play; examining the relationship between the subject's performance in experimental situations and his identification with films viewed in natural settings; and exploring the relationship between the tendency to imitate and the age of the child.

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**Principal Conclusions:** Television advertising may sometimes achieve effects by changing attitudes, but it is more plausible to argue that television advertising affects purchase decisions by altering recall and perception of products. Effects may not appear until the purchase situation; then, television-induced alterations in memory and perception will affect the purchase decision. What occurs falls short of what is ordinarily called attitude change.

**Theory and Discussion:** The model usually used in regard to persuasion, including advertising persuasion, assumes high receiver involvement. In such a circumstance, attitude change is a relevant concept. It would be reasonable to expect that attitude change should precede behavioral change. Advertising, however, usually involves low involvement. Strong resistances need not be overcome.

Constant exposure to television commercials alters memory of the product, alters the way it is perceived and the importance or salience of the characteristics attributed to it. These effects occur over time, and may have no measurable effects on attitudes. In the purchase situation, the product will be seen differently, without any preceding attitude change. Then, because of television advertising, the balance of forces may differ from the last familiar purchase situation, and television advertising will have an effect.

Politics often involve high involvement and strong resistance: as a result, many of Madison Avenue's lessons may not apply in many instances of political persuasion.

Principal Findings: An electroencephalographic analysis of a 22-year-old secretary showed that her neurological responses to television were quite different from her responses to print regardless of content differences within the media. Response to print can be characterized as active, or composed primarily of fast brain waves, and the television response as passive, or composed primarily of slow brain waves. The amplitude of the print waves was also about five times that of the television waves, suggesting that greater effort and tension is involved in reading.

Design and Methodology: The electroencephalograph was taken in a room furnished like a living room. The apparatus was unobtrusively affixed to the back of the subject’s head. She was given magazines and told to relax while waiting for some commercials to be shown on a mock television screen. The commercials were: a gentle, quiet story about a boy who could run and play because his defective heart was artificially paced with a medical device developed by General Electric, a very gentle Nice 'n Easy commercial, and a very explosive General Electric commercial showing star baseball pitcher Bob Gibson throwing fastballs at an unbreakable glasslike product.

Theory and Discussion: The author suggests that the response to television is more passive because it is an easier form of communication than print. He characterizes a “print man” as selective, with studied responses, while a “television man” is more active, experience-oriented and clumsy in his reactions. In conclusion, he writes: “The task now is to determine just how easy or hard different communication or even educational materials should be made for optimal learning by various audiences.”


Principal Conclusions: Ordinary television viewing may lead to passive learning, which is different in character from active and purposive learning. The difference does not lie in the stimuli, but in the state of the receiver attending to the stimuli. Passive learning occurs in the absence of concentrated attention or resistance. The implication is that television could be designed specifically to take advantage of the phenomenon to affect behavior, that television has given the public a great deal of knowledge about violence, and that numerous facts have been learned by the public which wouldn’t be known in the absence of television.

Theory and Discussion: The state of excitement and attention and the state of passive relaxation differ in the character of brain activity, as measured by EEG; the latter is not simply a diminution of the former. In one instance, recall of a slow-motion Clairol commercial was high, but eye pupil response did not indicate interest or excitement. Thus, learning occurred despite passive relaxation. Other research indicates that suggestions are more likely to be followed if made when the person is in a relaxed state. Since such a state—as measured by EEG waves—can be induced externally, it could be induced in connection with television programming designed to affect people—to help them stop smoking, lose weight, control drinking, and the like.

The major implication is that the fact that many people approach television with the expectation of entertainment and relaxation does not mean that viewers do not learn from what they watch. Learning may occur whether excitement, interest or relaxation, is high as long as there is attention, and may be enhanced by a relaxed, nonpurposive state.


Principal Findings: Three models regarding the relationship between television viewing and aggressive behavior were examined: reduction of aggression through vicarious participation in television violence (catharsis model); legitimation or learning of aggression from television violence (facilitation model); and television programming as an agent of cognitive arousal, generating a predisposition to action which is shaped by situational factors (arousal model). No support was found for the catharsis model, but both the facilitation and arousal models were supported to some degree. A partial correlation analysis was carried out to separate the effects of the overt violent content from arousing effects and to discriminate between the facilitation and the arousal models. These factors appeared to operate independently of one another, and the data supported a combination arousal-facilitation model.

Design and Methodology: The data were based on a survey of 147 adolescents in Middleton, Wisconsin, and 450 adolescents in Prince Georges County, Maryland. The questionnaires included television viewing checklists and aggression scales. The measures used to quantify the viewing behavior of the respondents were the viewer’s perception of the violent content of television programs, the objective violent content of programs viewed, and the content-free arousal power of programs viewed. The latter was defined in terms of program dynamics and unfamiliarity of format.

Theory and Discussion: The authors conclude that both the form and the overt violent content of a program must be taken into account when attempting to assess the effects of televised violence on adolescents as it “appears that a program must be cognitively arousing and/or contain information facilitating an aggressive act in order to produce increased aggressive tendencies in a viewer.”


Principal Findings: The impression given by television of a public event—MacArthur Day in Chicago—contrasted sharply with the experiences of persons gathered to view the various events in person. There was also a sharp difference between the attitudes of spectators and the way in which the attitudes were described on television. Those who watched on television experienced seething masses, an exuberant welcome, and a great deal of the General. On television, the event was described as a celebration, a welcome, and an honoring; those on the scene seemed to look upon it as a chance to participate in something exciting, and to see a famous man. The television event matched expectations conveyed by the media; television viewers were not disappointed, while actual onlookers did not have their expectations matched.

Design and Methodology: MacArthur Day occurred when Gen. Douglas MacArthur decided to visit Chicago for a speech after his dismissal by President Truman as commander of American forces in the Korean war. There were only three days’ notice for design of the study. Thirty-one participant observers, all advanced social science graduate students, were stationed at various points where events were televised: MacArthur’s arrival at Midway Airport, his parade through the city and dedicating of Bataan-Corregidor Bridge, and his evening speech at Soldiers Field. At the same time, the television coverage was analyzed.
Analysis consisted of comparison of the television and on-site experiences.

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors conclude that television does not convey reality, but structures it. They attribute this to (a) television's technological character, in which scenes must be ordered in some sequence and what is shown cast in foreground and background, based on the decisions of television personnel as to what is important; (b) the announcer's structuring of an event, which ties the assorted visual perspectives together; and (c) reciprocal effects, so that events themselves are modified to make them suitable for televising. There is a bias toward combinations of high audience, since the broadcasters want the largest audiences possible. The portrayed unanimity of public reception amounted to a "landslide effect," and this was enhanced by two aspects of the television coverage: (1) the tendency to blur together partisan and conventional aspects, restricting the possibility of dissent, and (2) the absence of the possibility of testing impressions against anything other than further television coverage, which reinforced what had gone before.

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**Principal Conclusions:** Television, like other mass media, presents in the form of political news coverage a constructed image of events and does not simply transmit unfolding events as they occur. The television event, although often false or distorted, becomes an actuality that is talked about, written about, and evaluated in other media.

**Theory and Discussion:** When television covers a convention or a campaign or a debate between aspirants to public office, or subjects a figure to pointed questioning by a panel of journalists, or otherwise portrays nonfiction political events, the event that is presented is often different than what would have occurred in the absence of television. In any case, since its appearance, television has been entwined with politics. The various dramatic events in which it has figured; in addition to convention coverage, campaign coverage, the polling of public figures by panels of newsmen, and year-round political reporting, include General MacArthur's return after his controversial discharge by President Truman, the Nixon "Checkers" speech, and the Nixon-Kennedy debates.

Overall, television has changed the political environment in various ways. Although it has not often been demonstrated that mass communication has dramatically changed votes, this does not mean that television does not have important political effects. The importance of television in a particular instance reflects the power of previous beliefs and commitments and perceptions. These are acquired cumulatively over time, and television may well be a major contributor to them.

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**Principal Findings:** In the 1964 election in California, the initiation of national television coverage with the computer-based projection of the winner before the California polls closed did not affect the outcome of the California vote for President, did not alter support for either candidate, and did not affect turnout. However, information indicating that the California Senate race would be a close one increased the desire to vote, especially among those who perceived they were for the underdog.

**Design and Methodology:** Data from "pre-coverage" and "post-coverage" 1964 samples were compared. The post-cover-
to persons, issues, organizations, and movements. Fifth, by emphasizing personalities, heroes and villains, thus offering new role models which might operate as socializing agents. Sixth, by altering family behavior by influencing the wide range of behaviors which figure in family interaction, including possibly altering the way families are formed by emphasizing romantic values. Seventh, by magnifying material values and elevating the perception of the importance of the economic sector of life. Eighth, by speeding cultural diffusion, bringing urban values to the rural sector, and furthering social change.

Television may be becoming increasingly important in the socialization of children and youth. Children are heavy viewers and this, in combination with the nature of television content, creates a great potential for socialization, including the learning of socially disapproved behavior.

Television monitors a vast environment and offers a wide range of models for social norms and values. Despite this apparent diversity, the medium consistently presents similar models across various types of content, which may reinforce the influence of the portrayal of successful methods for reaching goals. When many types of programs demonstrate the success and desirability of socially-disapproved means of goal attainment, as is the case with television, the likelihood of children learning and accepting such means is increased. The goal of research must be to establish how children perceive, identify with, and use media content, and to isolate this impact for the continuing influence of other socializing agents.

A widely-used schema developed in connection with effects on attitudes and values classifies outcomes in terms of "creating," "viewing" or acceptance, "reinforcing," including intensifying or buttressing, views or tendencies which already exist; "diminishing" the intensity of views or tendencies; "converting" to different views or tendencies; and "no effects." A popular interpretation of the evidence has been that mass media most often "reinforce" the status quo. However, this inference has largely depended on the lack of evidence of "conversion" effects. Thus, this schema may not be adequate, since it does not lead to a direct test of whether "reinforcement" occurs, and tends to minimize effects when the encouragement of constancy may very well be an important effect in itself. For example, it is possible that if the mass media encourage constancy among individuals, the societal—and important effect—is increased polarization.

There has been a tendency to think that "conversion" is the "true" test of mass media effects. However, there may be many effects which are less observable but not necessarily less important, and may in fact be neutralizing in regard to each other, but which represent shifts and experiences, and possibly a boost to the status quo, which would not occur in the absence of mass media stimuli.

We must also be skeptical of the notion that "conversion" effects are uncommon, since data tend to be collected only on changes of the kind and in the direction of principal interest to the communicator. In any case, the trend in social science has been toward taking into account an increasing variety of effects, including "privatization" (a retreat to personal matters when overwhelmed by mass media messages); "apathy" (a retreat from action into mass media consumption, also referred to as the "narcotization" effect); "boomerang" effects (when outcomes are opposite to those intended by a communicator); and "sleepers" effects (when effects not measurable immediately after exposure to a message are measurable later). It seems highly likely that empirical research will come to play an increasingly important role in connection with the mass media, as the range of clients who desire it for the making of media decisions expands.

Principal Conclusions: Controversy over the communication of violence on television and in other mass media will continue because more and more people are spending more and more time with the media. The two foci have been the social effects of such communication, where evidence is not so conclusive as to eliminate disagreement, and possible means of control, where the reply of the broadcasting industry has been self-regulation.

Theory and Discussion: In regard to the controversy about effects, a number of viewpoints have been expressed. A media sociologist might argue that there is no conclusive evidence about whether violent television entertainment is harmful or beneficial in regard to children's later behavior or psychological state. A psychiatrist might argue that clinical studies indicate that such entertainment corrodes children's values and encourages crime and antisocial behavior. A media economist might argue that while common sense suggests that anything attended to as frequently and regularly as television would affect a child, media violence may be a symptom of social ill and not a cause, and much of the concern may reflect the use of television and other media as a scapegoat. In regard to the means of controlling media violence, critics of the media help shape public opinion, and increase the threat of legal and formal restrictions, and the response of the media customarily is self-regulation.


Principal Findings: Socially disapproved means were widely used to obtain socially approved ends in evening network programs. About half the means could be said to be nonlegal, violent, or an escape from circumstances or the situation. The differences between adult, adult-child, and children's programs were slight in regard to means and goals. Violence was used as a means in about half of children's content.

Design and Methodology: Eighteen programs shown after 6 p.m. in Seattle in 1962 were analyzed. There were three groups of six each, classified as adult, adult-child, and children's programs on the basis of audience composition. During one week, each program was coded for goals and means by two persons independently, and reliability was high (about .90). A goal was defined as any verbal act or behavior by any character indicating a desire for an identifiable situation, including preservation of the status quo. A method of goal achievement was defined as a verbal or nonverbal act by a character employed, directly or indirectly, to increase the probability of goal achievement. Goals were coded on the basis of characters' verbal expression of a desire for property, self-preservation, affection, achievement of a sentiment (such as justice or revenge), power and prestige, psychological needs, or "other." Means were recorded in connection with the goals for which they were used. There were eight categories of means: legal, nonlegal (but nonviolent), economic, violent, organizational (negotiation, etc.), escape, chance, and "other." The "socially disapproved" category for the final analysis was created by combining the nonlegal, violent, and escape categories.

Theory and Discussion: Across the three program types, only five significant differences occurred for the seven goals, eight means, and their 56 combinations. The conclusion is that various kinds of television programs deliver similar messages. Since content across types is so similar, the data are not consistent with the contention that only certain kinds of programs
may be harmful to children. The data are also not consistent with the contention that television portrays common values and mores—unless those called "socially disapproved" actually are approved. The authors suggest that given the consistency of the portrayal of socially-disapproved means to achieve approved ends, television presents "models for anomie."


Principal Conclusions: Two kinds of research might help in understanding television's effects on children. One is experimentation with high-quality programs, rather than analyzing effects of less desirable fare. The other is the longitudinal study of cumulative effects.

Theory and Discussion: Research is not a panacea. It cannot solve all problems. Some problems must rely on conviction and taste for solution, and cannot be settled by research. Little is known about how children would react to high-quality programs, because few have been available. Possibly, children's viewing preferences would change if the set of options were different. Thus, one area of needed research is experimentation in the production of good programming. Furthermore, long-term follow-up studies are required to give a realistic picture of television's influence. There should be greater governmental funding of research which could aid in improving television programming. The goal should be a theory of the psychology of television viewing which would lead to concrete guidance for writers, broadcasters and parents. (The paper summarizes the author's testimony before the Kefauver Committee on Juvenile Delinquency.)


Principal Conclusions: Mass media serve several social functions, including the conveyal of status on the events and people depicted, and the enforcement of social norms by giving such norms wider exposure, but have a narcotizing dysfunction by encouraging vicarious, passive absorption of public affairs, rather than active participation.

Theory and Discussion: Because the mass media are privately owned, operated for profit, and supported by businesses with a strong vested interest in the present system, they tend to support social conformity and the status quo, and are devoted to entertainment. The relationship of the mass media to popular taste, however, is complex, and little can be said with certainty. There are not only the issues of whether the mass media reflect or determine tastes, and under what circumstances, but the issue of the effects of the mass media on the work of artists and intellectuals. The power of the media to influece behavior and attitudes depends on the degree to which there is "monopolization," or control over contrary views; the possibility of "canalization," or the opportunity of taking advantage of existing attitudes, rather than having to change attitudes; and supplementation of mass media messages by face-to-face communication. Given the need for such special circumstances, the power of the mass media may often be overestimated.


Principal Findings: Psychiatric patients who viewed soap operas and subsequently engaged in discussion sessions about them improved clinically. The patients were judged to have become more aware of their problems, to be able to verbalize them more directly, and to increase in capacity to ventilate both dependent and aggressive feelings. Measures of change were taken, but no claims concerning reliability or validity were made. Thus, the authors present these results as tentative.

Design and Methodology: The study was undertaken to devise a new means to facilitate the treatment of patients not ordinarily considered good candidates for psychotherapy. The technique consisted of 10 group sessions each lasting two hours. The first 15 minutes of the session were devoted to watching an episode of a television soap opera. After the group viewing session, each member was asked to choose a particular character or situation for discussion. The leader exploited opportunities to draw the patient out as to what he perceived, to have the patient associate his perceptions to his own personal experience, and to stress the importance of emotional expression in terms of the concept of self.

Theory and Discussion: The authors observe that the soap opera technique allows the patient to become involved in an emotionally charged situation without the ego-threat of direct participation and provides a takeoff for education on emotional conflict. Sharing of the television experience also legitimizes it as a subject of discussion.


Principal Findings: Male undergraduate subjects who had heard the experimenter make censorious remarks about violent characters in the film, Rebel Without a Cause, were not as likely to increase the intensity of electric shocks they administered as were subjects who had not heard the remarks. Subjects who had been exposed to the remarks and who were found to be in a state of conflict about the expression of aggression decreased the intensity of shocks administered. When both the intensity and duration of the shocks administered were taken into account, a significant interaction was found between the aggression-conflict measure and the censure condition. Conflicted subjects were found to increase aggression with low expectancy of censure, while nonconflicted subjects were largely unaffected by degree of expectancy of censure.

Design and Methodology: Forty male volunteers completed an aggression-conflict test under the guise of a study of creativity. The test consisted of a series of unambiguous hostile pictures that served as cues for a story-writing test. Failure to acknowledge the aggressive nature of the pictures constituted aggression-conflict. Each subject then administered a series of electric shocks to a confederate of the experimenter, and the experimenter recorded their duration and intensity. Expectancy of censure in regard to aggression was manipulated by remarks made by the experimenter during the showing of a violent scene from the movie, Rebel Without a Cause. To subjects in the low censure expectancy condition, the film was introduced as a movie "you ought to remember with the kids and all that kind of thing." Subjects in the high censure expectancy
condition heard the experimenter say: "I am now going to show you a film about a bunch of hoodlums who ought to be locked up."" The experimenter also made comments either praising or derogating the actions of the aggressors during the film. Then each subject was asked again to administer a series of electric shocks. The intensity and duration of these shocks comprised the measures of aggression.

**Theory and Discussion:** This study investigates the effects of experientially-induced norms that are either censorious or permissive with regard to punitive aggression, along with the personality characteristic of aggression conflicts.

**Principal Findings:** Four, seven, and ten-year-old children were shown a 20-minute entertaining film and asked to sequence photographs from the film and explain the feelings and motivations of various characters. The results show that the ability to reconstruct the sequence and to understand the emotions of the characters increases with age. However, there was no evidence that children understood the feelings and motivations of same-sex models better than opposite-sex models nor was there any sign of development of a trend to do so.

**Design and Methodology:** Sixty children, 10 boys and 10 girls from each age group, were used as subjects. The children watched the film in pairs. Memory of the sequence of events was tested by presenting each subject with photographs of central incidents from the film and asking him to lay the photographs on the table in the order of occurrence in the film. Understanding of the feelings and motivations of characters was tested by showing each subject a photograph of a scene from the film, reminding him of what was happening in the photograph, and asking him to explain how one of the pictured characters felt or why he was doing whatever was pictured.

**Theory and Discussion:** The observed support for the developmental hypothesis that children will increase with age in their ability to remember dramatic sequences and to understand feelings and motivations of characters is not surprising. However, in view of previous research, the lack of evidence for the hypothesis that children will understand same-sex characters better than opposite-sex characters and that this trend increases with age is somewhat surprising. The authors suggest that such a trend may begin with adolescence, when appropriate sex roles are more clearly defined.

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**Principal Conclusions:** Future research and research-related activity in regard to children's television on the part of the Office of Child Development should give primary emphasis to six directions—diversity of portrayals; communication of socially valued behaviors; modification of the impact of current programming; formation of a "Television Information Center"; television viewing as an activity; and the meaning of new video technologies for child development. Several possible other directions would be less advisable, if inadvisable.

**Theory and Discussion:** "Diversity of portrayals" refers to the range of roles and kinds of persons presented on television, and the effects of diversity. "Communication of socially valued behaviors" refers to ways television might encourage behaviors generally accepted as desirable. "Modification of the impact of current programming" refers to ways in which the effects of current programs might be increased or decreased. A "Television Information Center" would disseminate research information to production groups, television consumers, and policymakers. "Television viewing as an activity" refers to the present and potential impact on children of increased exposure to visual stimuli. The "meaning of new video technologies for child development" refers to the potential impact on the way children use media of new communications developments. For various reasons, four possible directions seem less promising—political socialization; ecological awareness; integration of television into specialized settings; and school-related uses of television. Four possible directions are inadvisable because research has produced about as much as can be expected, given present methodology—exposure patterns to media and content; effects of exposure to violent content; effects of exposure to advertising; and the demonstration that observational learning occurs.
sary to create diversity and a greater quantity of programming for children in the hours that children view—mornings, at noon, and from afternoon until about 9 p.m. "The precedents for television's responsibility to present diverse community and national views have been established; we would like to see them incorporated into entertainment programming," they state.

Parents can involve themselves in their children's viewing by controlling quantity and subject matter; they can set limits on viewing time and teach children discrimination and discrimination in regard to television. However, research suggests that none of these occur very frequently.


Principal Findings: Understanding of the motivations and consequences depicted for aggressive behavior in television drama increased among five age groups from preschoolers through the twelfth grade. Exposure to violence in television drama consistently resulted in increased subsequent aggressiveness. There was only very slight evidence that this effect is modified in any way by the kind of motivations and consequences depicted.

Design and Methodology: The research encompassed construction of a measure of aggressiveness and four experiments. The measure, which differed for various age groups, reflected the degree to which the subject would respond aggressively to emotionally arousing or anxiety-provoking material. In two of the experiments, emotional responses were measured by means of skin conductance, heart rate, and blood pressure. In the remaining experiments, emotional responses were measured by means of self-reports of anxiety and anger.

In experiment No. 1, 271 children in five age groups (40 preschoolers, 54 third-graders, 56 sixth-graders, 51 ninth-graders, and 70 twelfth-graders) saw half-hour television programs varying in amount of violence, and in whether it could be said to be relatively justified, or led to good or bad consequences. In experiment No. 2, 35 preschoolers, 37 fifth-graders, and 19 teenagers saw either a nonviolent program or programs in which violence was a whole or was said to have: (a) "good motivations—good consequences"; (b) "good motivations—bad consequences"; (c) "bad motivations—good consequences"; and (d) "bad motivations—bad consequences." In experiment No. 3, 51 fourth-graders, 56 seventh-graders, and 53 tenth-graders saw a nine-minute televised film sequence of a bloody beating in a boxing match that was presented as more justified or less justified. In experiment No. 4, 99 third-graders, 138 sixth-graders, and 112 tenth-graders saw a violent television portrayal under one of two conditions—in one, commercials separated a violent scene from depictions of the motivations and consequences: in the other, there was no such separation of the violent scene from the motivations and consequences. With the exception of the box sequence, the stimuli were about the same length as ordinary television programs.

In each experiment, understanding of motivations and/or consequences and post-viewing aggressiveness were measured, as well as other variables.

Theory and Discussion: The main thrusts of the findings are that exposure to violence increases aggressiveness; understanding of the motivations and consequences presented in television drama for violence increases with age; and the character of such motivations and consequences have only slight, if any, effect on the aggressiveness elicited. Each experiment of course, provided its own set of findings. In experiment No. 1, there was a continued improvement in learning of motives and consequences through the twelfth grade, with the effect the same for both boys and girls. Three variables contributed significantly to prediction of physical aggressiveness: (a) sex—boys were more aggressive than girls; (b) grade—physical aggressiveness increased with age; and (c) amount of violence—the more violent the program, the more aggressive the responses.

In experiment No. 2, preschoolers understood the depicted motivations and not the consequences; fifth-graders, the consequences and not the motives; and twelfth-graders understood both. The depiction of bad motivations produced a slight decrease in physical aggressiveness; good motivations, a slight increase. The depiction of good and bad consequences did not affect subsequent aggressiveness.

In experiment No. 3, subsequent physical aggressiveness was unrelated to whether the beating portrayed was depicted as more or less justified. However, boys were consistently more aggressive than girls. In experiment No. 4, understanding of motivations and consequences of a violent scene was no greater when these elements were contiguous with the violent scene than when they were separated from it in time by commercials. There was some evidence that the third-graders but not the older subjects displayed greater aggressiveness when motivations and consequences were separated from the violent scene; this provides tentative support for the hypothesis that effects of such temporal separation on the subsequent aggression will decrease with age.

Two findings from this set of studies are relevant to common programming policies. Policies generally emphasize that violence, when presented, should be justified, or when unjustified should have negative consequences for the perpetrator. The inverse relationship between age and understanding of motivations and consequences suggest that such a policy is largely irrelevant to younger children. The general conclusion that subsequent aggressiveness was unaffected by differences in motivations and consequences suggests that such a policy also may be irrelevant for older children.


Principal Findings: For national news, television was preferred over radio and newspapers. For local news, however, newspapers were the choice for both use and believability, although the difference was greater for use than for believability. Television news for most respondents meant network news, while for local news the local newspapers were dominant. Television news was the focus of more uniformly held public perceptions than other media, and was perceived by a majority to be superior in "immediacy" and quality of personnel. One out of five thought network news was live, rather than rebroadcast.

Design and Methodology: A probability sample of telephone numbers was drawn for the Eugene, Oregon, area, and telephone interviews were conducted in early 1969. Sex of respondent was randomly designated in advance, and substitutions were not allowed unless the designated spouse was dead or no longer living at the address. Data were obtained from 185 of 250 numbers drawn into the sample.

Theory and Discussion: Only two of five suggested advantages were attributed by a majority to a single medium, and this was television. Despite the Pacific time zone location of the survey, "immediacy" was cited by a majority as an advantage of television news. The second advantage cited by a majority was "better personality," despite the fact that the newspaper report-
ers working for the newspaper had regular weekly columns. More than other groups, newspaper choosers cited completeness and habit, television choosers cited immediacy and people, and radio choosers cited habit and immediacy. It was difficult for many respondents to spell out what "immediacy" meant, with nearly 40 percent unable to provide any response to the immediacy question or to verbalize a specific answer.

Respondents generally overestimated the recency of the television deadline, with some 19 percent thinking they were seeing the Huntley-Brinkley report live. There were fairly accurate responses as to newspaper deadlines, however. Television believers were more likely than newspaper believers to think network television newscasts were live. Television newsmen, including both national network and local personnel, weathermen, and sports men were all identified by significantly more respondents than were any newspaper personnel.

Finally, despite an unusual format for the layout of the local newspaper, respondents did not notice any differences between their local newspaper and other newspapers they were familiar with. The author argues that audiences think of news media in terms of television when comparing newspapers with television. It is also suggested that it is noteworthy that a statement that broadcasts are delayed was absent from network newscasts on the Pacific Coast.

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Principal Conclusions: Sesame Street illustrates that children can and will learn cognitive material from television, such television can be highly popular and entertaining, and empirical research can increase the instructional effectiveness of such television.

Theory and Discussion: Sesame Street represented an effort to demonstrate that entertainment, popularity, qualities prized by television professionals, standards advocated by educators and social scientists, instructional content, and empirical research are not incompatible. On the whole, it has succeeded. However, a number of factors had to come together, including strong financial support, a production group open to suggestion, and researchers able to focus on problems and to produce findings on issues relevant to the kind of decisions a production group makes.

One kind of television research can be said to be "summative" because it evaluates the effectiveness of the product. On the basis of research of this kind, Sesame Street appears to have been highly successful in terms of reaching a large audience, reaching an ethnically and economically varied audience, and in achieving instructional goals. Another kind of television research can be said to be "formative" because it guides the decisions in shaping what is finally broadcast. Sesame Street undertook extensive research of this type, and it improved the final product, especially in terms of increasing attention-holding and comprehensibility.

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Principal Findings: In Saturday morning cartoons, male characters outnumbered female characters three to one, a ratio similar to those reported by others in regard to adult television drama. Males were shown in a greater number and variety of occupational roles, while females were most commonly pretty teenage girls or, if adults, housewives. Cartoons provided girls with little information about educational opportunities because adult women were rarely portrayed and careers in which females did appear were limited. Women's roles in the plot were neither super-heroes nor arch-villains. In general, cartoons presented females as passive performers with "socioemotional" roles compared to the males' "instrumental" roles, who were defined in status by their relationship to males.

Design and Methodology: All continuing cartoon series appearing on one commercial independent and three major network channels in Atlanta were observed for three consecutive Saturdays in May, 1973. Coding was done by undergraduates, and inter-rater reliability was high (90 percent agreement). For every cartoon show or segment, attributes were coded for every character making a "contribution" to the show, defined as a speaking role or appearance outside a crowd, street scene, or audience. The programs appear to be representative of all commercial Saturday morning television in the country. Results are reported in terms of frequencies and percentages.

Theory and Discussion: Whether comparisons were made within species (human, animal) or within age groups, the over-representation of males remained. Where sex could be determined, animal characters were approximately one-quarter female. Although in every age category males predominated numerically, the magnitude of the difference varied. The discrepancy was most severe in the "adult" human category where males outnumbered females by a ratio of four to one. However, when teenagers alone were considered the gap narrowed to a two to one ratio. Similarly, "stars" of cartoon series reflected a more balanced presentation of male and female teenage characters. Of 58 "stars," 33 percent were female and 67 percent were male.

The study supported the contention that television's portrayal of the sexes does not accurately mirror real-world events but does reflect real-world values concerning sex-role assumptions. The author feels that the possible nefarious impact of sex-role stereotyping should be empirically investigated. He also admonishes that the mass media serve multiple functions in a "tuned-in" society and the controllers and regulators need to be reminded of the responsibilities related to their position.

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Principal Conclusions: Recently completed experiments are consistent with the prior scientific literature in demonstrating a causal relationship between the viewing by children of violence on television and subsequent aggressiveness. The strength of the experiment is that it permits causal inference, for design and analysis factors eliminate possibly confounding elements; thus, despite various limitations, the experimental literature is important evidence indicating a causal link between violence viewing and aggression.

Theory and Discussion: Both imitation and disinhibition of aggression among children have been demonstrated to be attributable to viewing television violence. In the former, what is viewed is imitated; in the latter, aggressiveness different from what was viewed occurs. There is very little evidence that catharsis occurs. The frequency of the finding that exposure to violent models on television is followed either by aggression
imitative of what was seen or by an increase in nonimitative aggression, together with the experiment's strength for causal inference, make a causal link the only tenable inference.

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Liebert, R. M., and Baron, R. A. Some immediate effects of televised violence on children's behavior. Developmental Psychology, 1972, 6, 469-475.


Principal Findings: Boys and girls, 5-6 and 8-9 years old, who viewed a violent television sequence, displayed greater interpersonal aggression and played more with aggressive toys than those who viewed a nonviolent sports sequence.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 156 children (68 boys and 88 girls) in two age groups (65 aged 5-6, 71 aged 8-9). The experimental trials consisted of (1) a violent television condition in which children viewed a series of scenes from The Untouchables which included a chase, two fistfighting scenes, two shootings, and a knife; and (2) a control condition where children viewed a "highly active" sports sequence including hurdle races, high jumps, etc. Exposure time for both conditions was approximately 3-5 minutes. The same commercial preceded and terminated viewing in both conditions, bringing total viewing time to 6-7 minutes. Interpersonal aggression was measured by subjects' decision to press a button they believed would "hurt" rather than one they believed would "help" other children in an adjacent room playing a game. Aggressive play was measured by the scoring of occurrences of play with a knife, a gun, and the number of assaults on either of two inflated plastic dolls in a free play situation in which attractive nonaggressive toys were also available.

Theory and Discussion: Results are interpreted as indicating disinhibition of aggressive tendencies. The authors conclude: "The overall results of the present experiment provide relatively consistent evidence for the view that certain aspects of a child's willingness to aggression may be at least temporarily increased by merely witnessing aggressive television episodes." It is noteworthy that the effects were in the same direction for both age and sex groups, although aggressive play was particularly high for the younger boys.

The violent content itself seems to have had an effect on subsequent behavior apart from merely arousing or exciting the children (and thus increasing later activity), since the sports sequence, also exciting, did not produce an equal level of aggressiveness or aggressive play, and the violent sequence did not lead to higher levels of helping (as opposed to hurting) behavior. It is also noteworthy because the treatment in the button-press measure afforded the subjects a choice of behavior, rather than forcing them to merely aggress to a greater or lesser degree.

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Principal Conclusions: There is a great deal of violence in television entertainment, and it has not appreciably decreased over the years, despite network promises. Experiments and survey data confirm the viewing of violence on television by children and young people increases the likelihood of subsequent aggressive behavior. Specifically, viewing violence may result in the learning and imitation of violent behaviors seen, and/or may lower inhibitions against performing violent behaviors learned previously. There is little evidence that violence viewing results in catharsis and the lowering of the likelihood of behaving aggressively, and, given the evidence about effects on aggressive behavior, it is highly probable that television has the capability to increase the likelihood of more desirable kinds of behavior.

Theory and Discussion: The research on television's effects can be interpreted as indicating that television is "...a powerful force which operates through observational learning, itself a natural process which is continually at work in the lives of our children." The authors argue: "The case against TV's present offerings is clear. But we cannot eliminate the medium's impact on the lives of our children, even if we wished to do so." Television, they believe, could and should make a more positive contribution than in the past. They suggest several ways of changing television programming: by increased government regulation (with violence treated analogously to obscenity); by public sanctions against advertisers supporting violent content; by formation of special public "watchdog" groups to advise the FCC; by changing the pattern of economic support, so that there is less dependence on advertising; and by increasing the public funding of alternative noncommercial programming.

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Principal Conclusions: Survey and experimental research indicates that television can be a powerful moral teacher. Because of the surfeit of violence and other antisocial behavior portrayed on contemporary television, its moral effect is essentially adverse. The authors stress, however, that it is not television per se but certain types of television content that stimulates antisocial behavior. They cite a body of research literature which demonstrates that desirable, prosocial forms of behavior, such as sharing, can be acquired through the same processes as antisocial behavior is acquired.

Theory and Discussion: The authors argue that social scientists should construct a code with which regular television programs can be evaluated for prosocial content; conduct research to demonstrate the positive impact of commercial programs high in prosocial content; and collaborate with broadcasters in the production of children's programs.

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Principal Findings: Five- and six-year-old children who had just seen High Chaparral, a Western television series containing "justified" fictional violence, scored no higher on an aggression test than did children who had not seen the program. However, a larger proportion of children who had seen all the programs in the series, High Chaparral, and 15 had seen only a few, as reported by the mothers.

Design and Methodology: The subjects were 34 children and their mothers from Stockholm, Sweden. Eighteen of the children had seen all the programs in the series, High Chaparral, and 15 had seen only a few, as reported by the mothers.

Theory and Discussion: The author interprets her findings as meaning that the program had long-term but not short-term effects on the aggressive behavior of the children.
Principal Findings: Of the 34 female characters observed on the 22 children- and family-oriented programs surveyed, women were portrayed primarily in comic roles or as supportive wives and mothers. None of the married women worked outside their homes, and of the single women and widows who did, only two occupied positions of prestige. Even these two played their particular roles so as to appear subservient, dependent, and less rational than their male counterparts. Women never appeared to occupy positions of authority either at home or on the job. They were usually portrayed as silly, overemotional, and dependent on husbands or boyfriends. Most women on television were well-groomed, 40 years old or younger, and generally attractive. They were primarily concerned with their appearance, their families, and their homes.

Design and Methodology: The 22 programs studied were selected from the approximately 50 programs shown on Saturday mornings and late afternoons and early evenings on Monday through Friday. Some were eliminated because they were aimed primarily at an adult audience, others because the show had no adult female character, and others because they were musical-variety type shows in which there was no continuity of characters or roles. The unit of analysis was the female character, and these were classified according to the amount of time on the screen, their role and status, their relationship to men, and their personality traits, physical characteristics, and concern with appearance.

Theory and Discussion: The authors conclude: "The overall image is the traditional one that women are dependent, and perform expressive and socioemotional roles within a family context. All the women are portrayed as housewives, secretaries, quasi-secretaries: none as doctors, professors, or executives. Women are referred to as girls, while men are men unless they are in fact boys. All of the unmarried women spend much of their time trying to attract a man. This general image of women that is projected is one of tradition and sexism. The young people to whom these shows are largely or primarily aimed are not likely to gain any insights into the new roles and perceptions that many women have of themselves or want for their daughters."

Principal Findings: Estimated daily television viewing by individuals varies markedly as a function of the means of measurement. The mean estimate for persons asked about "an average day's viewing" was 200 minutes, for persons asked about "the previous day's viewing," 125 minutes; and for persons who recorded the day's viewing in a diary, 119 minutes. About one-third viewed while engaged in other activities, with work and housework most frequently cited, followed (in order) by eating, talking, reading, and child care.

Only ten percent of programs were reported as viewed in their entirety by 90 percent or more persons; one-tenth were viewed in their entirety by 80 percent or more. Asked why they watched television, 32 percent said "entertainment," 26 percent, "relaxation," 18 percent, "killing time," eight percent, "keeping up," and four percent, "self-improvement" or "learning." Seventy-five percent said the previous day's viewing had included something "really worth watching."

When asked what they would like to have changed, 25 percent volunteered that there were too many commercials, 19 percent that they would like more or less of some type of program, and 11 percent that there was too much violence. When asked whether they agreed with suggested complaints, 75 percent agreed that there were too many commercials, 43 percent that there was too much violence, and 33 percent that there was too much sex.

Like viewing, satisfaction with television varies as a function of means of measurement (for example, the complaint about too much sex was volunteered by only five percent, but fully a third of the sample said they agreed with such a complaint when it was suggested to them). One out of two mothers named a program as not good for children to watch; about one-third reported that children had been frightened by something viewed. Network news was reported as watched once a week or less by 38 percent; as watched almost every night by 38 percent; and, as watched two or three times a week by 23 percent.

Design and Methodology: One-hour interviews and diaries reporting a week's television viewing were obtained from all members 12 years of age and over of 252 families representing a national probability sample; 512 interviews and 452 diaries resulted.

Theory and Discussion: The purpose of the study was to obtain data describing viewing habits and attitudes. The data are interpreted as indicating that there is general satisfaction, if not great enthusiasm, for television; that viewing is a disconnected behavior often undertaken in conjunction with some other activity; and that television is seldom purposefully sought out for information or learning.

The use of the family as a sampling unit caused problems because of the opportunity for intrafamily influence on diary completion, and week-long diaries proved hard to collect because of refusals, incompletes, early terminations, and completions by other than the respondent. The small size of the sample limited analysis by subgroup, and the very low quality of comments in the viewing diaries (80 percent had few or no comments) resulted in less data than sought on attitudes about viewing.

Principal Findings: Exposure to a violent cartoon affected children's subsequent play. Children four to six years old who saw a violent cartoon were more inclined to play with a toy that involved the expression of aggression than those who saw a nonviolent cartoon.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 20 day-care-center children four to six years old. After being matched on age and sex, they were randomly divided into an experimental and a control condition. In the experimental condition, the children played briefly with aggressive and nonaggressive toys, viewed a five-minute violent cartoon, and then were given the opportunity to play with the aggressive and nonaggressive toys. The control condition was the same, except that the cartoon was nonviolent. The aggressive toy was a pair of dolls in a Plexiglas box. When a lever was pressed, one doll hit the other with a club. The nonaggressive toy was an obstacle course in a cage. When a lever was pressed, a ball was lifted to the top of the cage and then rolled back to the original position through a series of obstacles. The dependent measure was the number of lever presses.

Theory and Discussion: The author writes: This study was concerned with the effects of exposure to a violent cartoon on the play behavior of children. A bar-pressing response which produced aggressive doll action was observed immediately after
the children had been exposed to either an aggressive or a nonaggressive motion picture. " It is assumed that the results of an aggressive response can be reinforcing, leading to an increase in such responses.

Four possible outcomes to exposure to symbolic aggression are examined in light of the actual results: (1) a satiation effect; weakening aggressive reinforcement; (2) an increase in general drive level; (3) increased sensitization, increasing the probability of aggressive behavior; and (4) increased discrimination of circumstances when aggressive behavior may occur. The data do not support the first, since aggressive responses did not decline, and do not support the second, since overall response rate, aggressive and nonaggressive combined, was not different for the two groups. The data are consistent with both the third and fourth explanations.

The author notes that the stimuli "were not unlike those presented for children's entertainment ... on TV," and that "the educational implication ... is that aggressive films are likely to make children more aggressive rather than less aggressive." The final experiment was preceded by two experiments which showed no differences attributable to viewing the aggressive cartoon. Are these conflicting results, or unsuccessful tests of experimental procedures? The answer appears to be the latter, since in both instances only the aggressive doll toy was used and the instruction to play with the toy led to maximally high response rates in both conditions, which the author considers an "instruction effect."

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**Principal Findings:** Content analyses of the three major networks' evening newscasts before and after Agnew's 1969 criticism shows at both times an almost complete lack of judgmental statements either for or against the Administration. No change in the number of unlabelled inferences was observed, but the networks did increase significantly in the number of attributed statements made. The author calls this increase a "safe" response to a perceived threat of governmental interference.

**Design and Methodology:** The before sample of 15 days or 45 newscasts was randomly drawn from the Monday through Friday network evening newscasts in the months of June, July, and August 1969. The after sample, also 15 days, was taken during July and August of 1970. All items in which the Administration was the major source of action were classified according to whether the sentences contained were reports, inferences, or judgments, and whether they were favorable or unfavorable, attributed or unattributed, and labeled or unlabelled. The coding was performed by one coder and two check coders. Intercoder reliability was .78; intracoder reliability was .88.

**Theory and Discussion:** The author interprets the increase attributed sentences as a response to the threat of government intervention. He writes: "Can an administration which has no de jure control over news content succeed in using de facto pressure to significantly influence network TV news treatment of itself? The answer, based upon the data produced in this study would seem to be: Yes."

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**Principal Findings:** Of 820 news items analyzed during evening network newscasts, just 34 percent were classified as "bad news." Of all "bad news," the Sharon Tate murder, an intrinsically sensational event, accounted for 28 percent of coverage, with social conflict, strikes, and riots accounting for just 14 percent. However, items classified as "bad news" tended to be presented during the first half of the newscast, received more visual emphasis, and were more often augmented by the use of film tape, or a correspondent on camera.

**Design and Methodology:** The sample universe for this content analysis was 44 weekdays during July and August 1970. Using a table of random numbers, 15 days were chosen, and the evening newscasts of all three networks were recorded on audio tape. All items were classified according to content and according to three of the main types of news emphasis that a television news producer has at his disposal: position emphasis, length emphasis, and visual emphasis. Position emphasis was determined by dividing the newscast into quarters according to the number of items. The presence of visual aids associated with each item was also recorded. Reliability checks were made on the categories involving coder judgment, the "bad news" categories, and "other news." Intercoder reliability using two checkcoders was .89; intracoder reliability was .97.

**Theory and Discussion:** The author concludes that "Bad news does not drive out other news on network TV." However, while "other news" items outnumbered "bad news" items on evening network newscasts, it appears that "bad news" may seem more pervasive than it really is because of the emphasis given such news. For example, items concerned with social conflict,
strikes, and riots accounted for only 14 percent of all bad news but had by far the highest percentage of film or tape coverage, 58 percent. The author notes: "If, indeed, 'a picture is worth a thousand words,' this could partly explain how such a relatively small number of stories can disturb so many people."

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Principal Findings: Verbal and visual bias in network television news may differ. During the 1972 election campaign, the three networks devoted more total time and news items to Nixon than to McGovern, although McGovern items were longer. On the whole, however, verbal treatment was unbiased. Visually, more camera time was given to pro-McGovern spokes-

Design and Methodology: A random sample of 20 days was

Bias was defined as statistically different treatment.

Theory and Discussion: The verbal data did not indicate

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Principal Findings: Viewing of educational television by adults was positively correlated with heavier use of print media, attendance at cultural and civic events, selectivity in regard to programs, criticism of television, and such viewing represented time that otherwise might be spent on commercial television.

Design and Methodology: Personal interviews were conducted with 203 males and females in Denver who could be classified as viewers or nonviewers of the educational television station. The sample was randomly drawn from a larger random telephone sample of 3,424.

Theory and Discussion: In previous research, children have been classifiable in regard to media use as "reality-oriented" vs. "fantasy-oriented," with the former displaying greater preference for news, information, and educational content, and the latter for entertainment content. The present study examines whether the same dimensions can be used to describe adult media use. The data suggest that they can. Viewers of education-

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Principal Conclusions: Children are "purposeful viewers" with regular viewing times and favorite programs before entering first grade. Children and adults alike typically seek relaxation and entertainment from television; there is little evidence that television creates "escapists, social isolates, or deviates." However, learning can and does occur from television and it can be functional or dysfunctional for the individual or society. Comparisons of recent data with data collected a decade earlier suggest that television has become "more interwoven" with daily life, but that its "hold on attention" has lessened.

Theory and Discussion: On many points, the varied available sets of data converge. When the new data are compared with data collected a decade earlier, one gets the impression that television is now a more completely if indifferently accepted part of life. For example, among young persons there has been a leveling of viewing among groups which once differed. More specifically, in the 1970 data heavy vs. light viewing no longer was as strong a predictor of mental ability, social class, parental conflict, or social isolation. Furthermore, unlike the early days of television when people watched for great lengths of time, the set now "is largely just left on and the viewer 'drops in and out of programs.'" The author speculates that television now actually gets less attention and is held in less favor because of a general increase over the decade in amount of time sets are turned on. Because television is not an unmixed blessing, it poses a problem with which no one seems able to deal. Parents seem disinclined to attempt to regulate or guide children's viewing. The influence of the schools is weakened because by the time the child enters school, he "has already accumulated considerable experience with television content, has acquired viewing habits, and probably has acquired knowledge and predispositions from what he has seen."

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Principal Findings: Data on first-, sixth-, and tenth-graders indicate that most children watch at least some television daily, but that amount of individual viewing varies widely. Television watching, along with school and sleep, is a major activity for the majority of children. Over a week, first-graders spent the equivalent of slightly less than a full 24-hour day watching television; sixth-graders spent slightly more than 30 hours; and seventh-graders spent about 28 hours. In each grade, girls viewed slightly more than boys. Over a third of first-graders reported watching four or more hours on a given school day; less than 10 percent said they did not watch at all. About 25 percent of sixth- and tenth-graders reported watching five-and-a-half hours or more
on a given school day; similar proportions said they did not view at all. Viewing increases until adolescence, then declines. As children grow older, viewing increases on weekends, declines in the afternoon.

First-graders named situation comedies and cartoons as their favorites; sixth-graders replaced the cartoons with adventure shows; and tenth-graders named adventure and music and variety shows. The children were especially attracted to programs with characters they knew; black children were attracted to programs with black characters. There was almost no viewing of news programs. Of 20 "most violent" programs identified in other research (Greenberg and Gordon, 151), sixth- and tenth-graders saw on average of two each week; one-fourth saw none, one-fifth saw four or more. However, violent programs commanded very large shares of the children viewing at any given time.

Heavy viewers of violence reported higher levels of conflict with parents over grades and spending (sixth- and tenth-graders), and greater conflict over clothes and hair styles (sixth-graders). Tenth-graders reported a higher level of parental complaints over grades, greater viewing when lonely, and greater perception of people on television as real people in real life.

Programs were often selected by channel-switching, although most children said they sometimes used a log; sets were often switched off if nothing interesting was found; and most viewing was in the company of parents, siblings, or both. Considerable conflict over program selection was reported; young generally deferred to older persons. A third reported parental complaints over watching too much, too late, or program selection, and some attempt at control "now" or "when younger."

Half the first-graders said they used what they saw on television as a model for play with others; sometimes" or "often," 50 percent said they used television as a model for solitary play. Among the first-graders, 40 percent of the boys and 60 percent of the girls said they had been frightened by something seen on television, but programs cited as frightening also were often named as favorites. Between 65 and 75 percent of sixth- and tenth-grade boys and girls said they discussed television with friends "sometimes" or "often," discussions with parents about television were said to be less frequent. Television was favored over various alternatives for entertainment, for relaxation, and for relief from loneliness, but was not favored when angry or suffering from hurt feelings; citing of television as a likely activity in any of these circumstances declined with age.

Higher IQ sixth- and tenth-graders were likely to be high in television viewing, reading, sports, hobbies, and social activities. Among high viewers who did not read, there was less reported social interaction. Level of social and recreational activity was generally unrelated to television viewing, although first-graders who were heavy viewers reported less play with others. More than three-fourths of the sixth- and tenth-graders reported learning from television. Commercials were highly criticized; 90 percent of sixth- and tenth-graders said there were too many commercials. For the first-time viewers of commercials. Television was seldom a highly focused activity: a majority at all three grades frequently did something else while watching. There was a high frequency of discussions with parents and siblings while viewing, and program content was frequently the topic.

Design and Methodology: The survey was conducted in a small community at the eastern edge of Los Angeles in May 1970. For the first-graders, individual interviews and one-day viewing records were obtained from a 25 percent sample—274 in 12 public and three parochial elementary schools—and telephone interviews were conducted with 114 of the mothers. For the sixth- and tenth-graders, reports of previous day's viewing and other data were obtained over a five-day period by daily completion of questionnaires in the classroom by all children in these grades in the community; data were obtained from about 800 and 500 children, respectively.

Theory and Discussion: The study attempts to provide data beyond that usually available in audience surveys about the viewing behavior of young people, which can be compared to the data of *Television in the lives of our children* (Schramm, Lyle, and Parker, 332), the last comprehensive compilation of data on children's viewing behavior. There appear to have been some changes over the past decade. The new data indicate that children now watch more, about an hour each day, and stay up later. In the earlier study, bright sixth-graders were heavy users of all media, but bright tenth-graders preferred books over television; in the present study, bright tenth-graders did not differ from their peers. In the earlier study, heavy viewing by black-collar children was related to high conflict with parents; in the present study, the relationship is less clear-cut although still detectable. In both studies, blue-collar children viewed more television than white-collar children, and white-collar and brighter children were more critical of television and more selective in their viewing.


Principal Findings: Three, four-, and five-year old preschool children view television regularly, have favorites, are affected by television in their interaction with parents and siblings; age, sex, and ethnic differences are already observable. Of the sample of 158, between 80 and 90 percent reported they were allowed to watch television in the morning, in the afternoon, after supper, and on Saturday morning, and about 50 percent said they were allowed to watch while eating supper. Amount of viewing varied by ethnic group: blacks were highest, Mexican-Americans second. Caucasians third. The Flinstones was the favorite program, with citations increasing with age; Sesame Street was second favorite, with citations decreasing with age. Sesame Street was a much greater favorite among Caucasians, being singled out three times more often (25 percent) than by blacks (9 percent), and not being named at all by Mexican-Americans. The Flinstones was more preferred by blacks than Caucasians by a ratio of 2.1:34 (17 percent), and was most frequently named by Mexican-Americans (41 percent).

The Flinstones was much more popular among girls than boys; violent cartoons were much more popular among boys than girls. There were age differences: solitary viewing was infrequent (11 percent), but most frequent among three-year-olds (17 percent); a majority of five-year-olds (52 percent) said they selected their own programs, compared with about a third of three- and four-year-olds. The preschool children readily identified television characters from still photos. Nine out of ten mothers of these children said they believed beneficial learning from television occurred, with "school readiness," Sesame Street and Mister Rogers, and learning "about life" most frequently cited. About 90 percent reported that their children asked for food items or toys seen on television, and 74 percent said the children sang television jingles.

Design and Methodology: Interviews were conducted with 158 children recruited with the cooperation of day care centers and nursery schools. Interviews were also conducted with about half the children's mothers. The child interview consisted of 24 questions, after which the child was allowed to rest or stretch before being shown 21 photos of television characters for identification. The sample was nonrandom, evenly divided between boys and girls; about half were four-year-olds, with the remainder about evenly divided between three- and five-year-olds.
somewhat more than half were Caucasians, and there were somewhat more blacks than Mexican-Americans.

Theory and Discussion: Despite the importance attributed to the early years for later development, very little is known about the role of television in the preschool years and most data are from mothers' reports. This is an exploratory effort to obtain data directly from children. The data is said to "provide strong testimony to the fact that mass media—and particularly television—do play an important part" in very young children's lives and "claim large shares of their time."


Principal Findings: In network television commercials in 1971, men had more central and dominant roles than women. Men appeared more often as central figures and were more often portrayed as experts about products. Even when the product was to be used by women, men were more often portrayed as experts. Males were more often portrayed as rewarded for product use by social and career advancement. Females were more often portrayed as rewarded by approval from others.

Design and Methodology: A sample of 199 commercials were coded in 1971. Each of the three networks was watched one day for six hours: 10 a.m. to noon; 1:30 to 3:30 p.m.; and 8 to 10 p.m. Every other commercial was coded for the presentation of adult central figures. A central figure was defined as a person speaking or having a prominent visual exposure; no more than two were coded for each commercial.

Theory and Discussion: In the commercials, women appeared as central figures less often than men. The difference is attributable to the high frequency of male central figures in evening commercials—70 percent. Women were less often depicted in the role of an expert with knowledge of the product, more often depicted as a product user or consumer. Women less often offered arguments in behalf of a product. Male product users were rewarded more often than women users by social and career advancement. Females were rewarded more often than men by approval of others. Women were more frequently defined in relation to others ("wife," "girlfriend"). Among product users, women were more likely than men to be identified with home products. However, since men were more often presented in the role of expert, they consistently appeared as authorities on products shown to be used primarily by women.

Men comprised 16 percent of home product users, 86 percent of home product authorities; 33 percent of body product users, 78 percent of body product authorities; and 40 percent of food product users, but 95 percent of food product authorities. Women only infrequently are identified as having an occupation, with only one out of 10 central figures having occupations being women.

The data demonstrate that men and women are not treated alike in television commercials. This is true for frequency of appearance, expertise, and behavior. The differences are consistent with sex stereotypes. It is interesting that in the morning and afternoon, when most viewers are women, men hold a slight edge (52 percent), and in the evening, when about half viewers are male, men are overwhelmingly featured (70 percent). Treatment does not follow real life; of the central figures depicted in an occupational setting, 11 percent were women, compared to a 37 percent female representation in the labor force. The question is whether these portrayals actually reinforce sex stereotypes in society. One condition is fulfilled—the presentation of the sexes in a stereotypic way. Other research—including findings that same-sex models are more likely to be imitated, that models seen on television sometimes are imitated, and that exposure alone can affect reactions positively—suggest that there is reason to believe that the commercials do influence sex-role attitudes and behavior. The evidence is convincing that television commercials present sex-role stereotypes. Since commercials are judged on the basis of their success in selling, the data that would have the greatest impact would demonstrate that sales effectiveness is hampered by stereotypic sex-role portrayals.


Principal Findings: Results of this study, which combined the methods of content analysis with a panel survey, indicate that exposure to television network news had only minimal impact on voters' awareness of the issues and candidates in the 1972 Presidential campaign. The television news impact that was observed was limited to a few issues and to voters who had low exposure to newspapers. Conversely, newspaper exposure had substantial impact upon voter perceptions. Exposure to televised political advertising also had significant impact, and this impact was clearest among voters with low exposure to news sources. Television news provided viewers with little information on the candidates' positions on issues, emphasizing instead action films of the campaign.

Design and Methodology: Respondents for the panel survey were 600 voters, who were interviewed at the start and conclusion of the 1972 campaign. The survey provides information about the voters' media exposure and their issue awareness. Changes in voters' issue awareness were determined by changes in their issue beliefs, or the connection a voter sees between a candidate and an issue. Issue beliefs were measured by having respondents indicate where they thought George McGovern and Richard Nixon stood on a wide range of major political issues. The content analysis included all week night television network newscasts and all televised political ads broadcast during the period of September 18 through November 5, 1972.

Theory and Discussion: Aside from the low issue content of network newscasts, the authors suggest that another reason for the low impact of the medium may be the possibility that the format strains viewer attention and comprehension. They write: "Our data indicate the average campaign story was some hundred seconds in length, hardly enough time to provide more than a quick topical sketch. The surrounding material is other, unrelated news stories, with an occasional product ad. The rapidity of story presentations in this format creates a montage effect that actually reduces the impact of television news. In response to recall questions, many respondents could not remember what they had seen on the previous evening's news, explaining that their impressions were blurred—in their minds all the stories had run together." The impact of televised political advertisements was attributed to the fact that these ads reach voters who ignore political information in other media and possess little political information. These ads effectively help reduce the "information gap" between these voters and better-informed segments of the population, although they provide little background or depth.

Principal Findings: Between 1952 and 1964, blacks markedly increased their use of the mass media for political information during election campaigns, and there has been a strong black shift towards television.

Design and Methodology: Media use data from the University of Michigan Survey Research Center's Presidential campaign studies for 1952, 1956, 1960, and 1964 were analyzed. The data permitted classification of blacks and whites into one of four media-use patterns during the campaign: "high media users" (high television, high newspapers); "low media users" (low television, low newspapers); "television specialists" (high television, low newspapers); and "newspaper specialists" (low television, high newspapers).

Theory and Discussion: In 1952, the majority of blacks were low media users. This is not surprising, since blacks historically have been limited in educational opportunity, and persons with less than a high school education contribute heavily to the low media-user category. By 1964, this had ceased to be the case. The trend: blacks have been becoming high media users, and by 1964 there was little difference between blacks and whites in the proportions of high users. There was little change in black or white attention to newspapers. However, the proportion of blacks who could be called "television specialists" increased sharply, while the proportion of whites in this category declined. When education, age, and sex are taken into account, the black increase in high media use remains. In other words, it is not explained by an increase in education among blacks, or by changes specific to one sex or age group. "In short," writes the author, "the data suggest that a historical period of intensive civil rights activity engendered extensive information-seeking behavior, overcoming many of the barriers posed by a lack of formal education."

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Principal Findings: In the 1968 Presidential election, uncommitted voters' perceptions of the salience of issues very clearly matched the attention given issues in television, newspapers, and news magazines in the community. The correlation between voters' judgments of salience and media emphasis was almost perfect for both major (.97) and minor (.98) news items. Uncommitted voters tended to express agreement with all news items rather than only those about their own party. There was great similarity between media in the emphasis given issues, and much coverage concerned campaign strategy rather than issues.

Design and Methodology: In order to control for local/regional differences in media performance, the survey was limited to one community, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. Respondents were randomly drawn from lists of registered voters in five precincts selected for demographic representativeness. The investigators screened respondents and selected only those who had not yet decided how to vote. Between September 18 and October 6, 1968, 100 interviews were completed. Using an open-ended format, interviewers asked respondents to outline the key issues in the campaign. Concurrently, the mass media serving the community were content analyzed. Media analyzed included newspapers, television, and news magazines. Media news content was divided into "major" and "minor" levels. For print media, this division was in terms of space and position; for television, it was made in terms of position and time.

The former discussion. The data are interpreted as supporting the plausibility of the agenda-setting hypothesis, which holds that while the mass media may have little influence upon the direction or intensity of attitudes, they set the agenda for political campaigns by influencing the salience of political issues. The authors also report that there is considerable agreement between media, with the highest correlations between similar media. They also note that a considerable amount of campaign coverage was devoted not to the discussion of political issues but to the analysis of the campaign itself. For example, 35 percent of the coverage of George Wallace was directed toward the question of whether or not he had a chance of winning the election. The authors conclude that the study represents a satisfactory first test of the hypothesis, but advocate moving from aggregate data to the matching of individual attitudes with individual use of the mass media, for future research.

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Principal Findings: Two studies were undertaken to assess the effects of news coverage on the salience of issues and topics for the audience. The first, conducted among sophomore men at Syracuse University, dealt with public affairs issues. The analysis showed that frequent readers of the New York Times rated issues emphasized by the Times as more important and talked more about them than did less frequent readers. Exposure to the potentially competing agenda of television news had no impact on the agenda-setting function of the newspaper. The second study consisted of an analysis of airline sales data during weeks in which the dangers of flying received varying degrees of emphasis in the press. The findings show that ticket sales dipped significantly during weeks in which (1) airline accidents received at least two consecutive days of national coverage, (2) there were at least 10 fatalities, or (3) a skyjacker gained control of a plane while it was airborne.

Design and Methodology: Data for the first study was taken from the Syracuse Sophomore Survey conducted during the fall of 1973 with 302 male respondents. Since the majority designated the New York Times as their principal newspaper source of political information, the parallel weeks' issues of the newspaper were content analyzed and an item count taken from the New York Times Index. The issues examined were Watergate, the Middle East war, the new Vice President, rising prices, and energy-environment problems. The second study was based on airline ticket sales data between 1969 and 1973. Depending on the amount of coverage of airline accidents, weeks were classified as either high or low salience for fear of flying.

Theory and Discussion: The first study adds support to the agenda-setting hypothesis, which holds that the media influence audiences not so much by telling them what to think but by telling them what to think about. The second study, based on aggregate data, suggests a direct behavioral outcome from press attention to plane crashes and skyjackings that discourages people from flying.

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Principal Findings: Preference for violent television programs was positively correlated with five kinds of behavior for a sample of Maryland high school students—aggressive or violent acts; petty delinquency; defiance of parents; political protest; and conflict with the law, or serious delinquency. The five relationships held up when age, socioeconomic status, and ties to the society were controlled. The correlation was strongest for
serious delinquency, weakest for political protest.

Design and Methodology: The sample consisted of 2,270 students from five senior and eight junior high schools in Prince Georges County, Maryland. Roughly equal numbers were sampled for each grade; a predominantly black school was oversampled to provide enough blacks for comparison. Data were collected by questionnaire. The principal television measure asked respondents to name their four favorite programs, and to choose from these their most favorite program. Each was then assigned a violence score on the basis of judges' ratings of the degree of violence in each program. Other measures covered a wide range of variables.

Theory and Discussion: The research focused on television and deviance, with the latter defined as departure from norms. Five distinct classes were measured. The major hypothesis was that violence viewing would be correlated positively with deviance. Secondary hypotheses were that the correlation would vary with perceptions of television (it would be stronger for those who believed television violence to be realistic, effective, or acceptable) and with background (it would be stronger for those most vulnerable—those who were younger, or male, or from families of lower socioeconomic status, or had fewer ties to the society). Only the major hypothesis received clear support. The sole significant correlation between the violence rating of the most favorite program and the five classes of deviant behavior was with serious delinquency. All five forms of deviance, however, correlated positively with the average rating of four programs, a more representative proportion of all programs watched. The strongest of these relationships was between the violence measure and serious delinquency (r = +.16, <.001) followed by violent acts (r = +.11, <.001), defiance of parents (r = +.09, <.001), petty delinquency (r = +.08, <.001), and political protest (r = +.06, <.001).

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Principal Findings: Viewing of violent television entertainment by adolescents was positively correlated with aggressive behavior. This held for boys and girls, and for junior and senior high school samples. It also held when a variety of variables were controlled, including, in addition to sex and age, school performance, socioeconomic class, and total amount of time spent viewing television.

Design and Methodology: Questionnaires were completed by 229 seventh-graders and 244 tenth-graders in eight public schools in Maryland, and by 68 seventh-graders and 83 tenth-graders in two Wisconsin schools. Data also were obtained from mothers and teachers for the Wisconsin sample. The number measures cover total amount of television viewing, quantity of violence viewing, aggressiveness (measured by self-report, peer ratings, mother's evaluation, and teacher's evaluation), school performance, socioeconomic status, and various individual and family attributes.

Theory and Discussion: There was no intent to test hypotheses; instead, the many complex relationships between the various measures were evaluated in terms of possible theoretical meaning and importance. Total television viewing, violence viewing, and self-reported aggression all declined from junior to senior high school. However, the positive, moderate correlation (about +.30) between viewing violence and self-reported aggression held up for most indices of aggression in both Maryland and Wisconsin samples and when various other variables were controlled.

In addition to this relationship, numerous other relationships with possible significance appeared. Adolescent boys were found to watch considerably more violent television than girls. There was a sharp decline in viewing from junior to senior high except for news and public affairs and violent movies. The examination of various indices of cognitive reaction showed that a belief that one learns from television, the belief that what is shown on television reflects reality, and involvement and identification with violent characters were all positively related to aggressive behavior. Analysis showed that the same variables were generally positively linked with violence viewing.

When the degree to which subjects thought they could learn from television was taken into account, the relationship between violence viewing and aggression improved markedly; other factors were less consistent or relatively unimportant in accounting for additional aggressive behavior. The data also show a decline from junior to senior high for various indices of cognitive reaction except for perceived efficacy of violent characters. The decline is especially pronounced for perceived learning of aggression and for reports of identification with violent characters, particularly among girls.

Analysis of family variables showed that the children whose families emphasize harmony in social-relations (''socio-orientation'') but do not stress exposure to controversy or expression of ideas (''concept-orientation'') are the heaviest television viewers, and are also quite high in violent viewing. The adolescents whose families stressed controversy and ideas but not social harmony are very low consumers of television and violent content in television, and are below average in their cognitive reactions to television (e.g., identification with violent-characters, linkage of television violence to real life). Total television viewing and viewing violence were only moderately correlated. Preference for violent programs and actual exposure to violent programs also were only moderately correlated.

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Principal Findings: Mothers in non-television homes reported that their children spent more time on other mass media, in play with playmates, and in household tasks. Nontelevision families spent less time together, but spent more time in joint activities other than television watching.

Design and Methodology: Open-ended interviews were conducted with a probability sample of 332 mothers of children between the ages of four and 17 in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1950. The sample included families with and without television sets. The mothers were asked for hour-by-hour descriptions of the activities of their children for the day before the interview and the preceding Sunday.

Theory and Discussion: Comparisons between television and non-television homes, with the comparisons based on children matched on age and socioeconomic status, suggest some of the impact of television on children's behavior. The biggest parental problem was terminating viewing for meals or bedtime, and children in television homes had later bedtimes. Television interfered little with homework. More than half said television was treated as an absorbing activity and other activities were not engaged concurrently. About half also said television had made child care easier, and about 40 percent said there were programs they did not like their children to watch.
Principal Findings: Among upper-middle-class children, a restrictive and frustrating home life was related to amount of television. Among upper-middle-class children, no such relation was found.

Design and Methodology: Interviews were conducted with 379 Boston mothers who had children in nursery school in 1951-52. The interviews covered child-rearing practices and children's television viewing. On the basis of the data, the mothers were rated in regard to emotional warmth.

Theory and Discussion: It was hypothesized that frustration would increase television use, on the grounds that involvement in fantasy may provide distraction and escape or wish-fulfillment. Among upper-middle-class children, television watching was reported as greater for children whose mothers also said they were less permissive and required neatness, mannerliness, quiet, and punctual bedtimes. The interpretation is that the difference reflects the influence of norms. The argument is that in the lower-class homes, television was probably more frequently watched, and the nonfrustrated child would follow his parents and watch television, with the result that frustration does not affect these children in regard to television viewing.

Principal Conclusions: When children become addicted to television or other pictorial mass media—movies, comic books—it is frequently a symptom of interpersonal maladjustment for which therapeutic activity might be helpful. Parents and others can, by teaching which is explicit or otherwise, nullify or counteract the influence of the mass media on children's values. Nevertheless, the mass media "to some degree" can shape children's values, beliefs, and actions. Television and other media are an important part of children's environment, and public pressure on broadcasters and other media persons is desirable in order to strengthen the influence of those in the media concerned about children's welfare.

Theory and Discussion: The effects of mass media are difficult to separate from other influences. Mass media may affect children by consuming time, on through the content presented. The time consumed by television comes from other media, from sleep, and from marginal leisure, such as casual play. The effects of content are only partly researched. Violence may increase aggressiveness by teaching aggressive behavior. However, the performance of aggression when learned from television depends in part on similarity between the real-life situation and what was viewed, and the belief that punishment will not follow. Television also has been shown to affect moods, feelings, and attitudes. Television probably is most influential where other influences are minimal. Thus, television may have no effect in areas where parents communicate unambiguous attitudes, but may have some effect when such communication is absent.

Principal Findings: In one experiment, frustration of children prior to viewing a violent film led to increased recall of aggressive content a week later. In a replication, no such effect occurred.

Design and Methodology: In the first experiment, subjects were 127 fifth- and sixth-grade Boston children in five classrooms. In each classroom, subjects were assigned to teams matched for sex and intelligence, and one team was frustrated in a spelling contest by being given obviously more difficult words. All children then saw a violent spy movie—a serial episode with the Dead End Kids and the Junior G-Men. A week later, recall of aggressive content—the overt acts of aggression portrayed, and the identity of perpetrators and victims—was measured, along with recall of nonaggressive interactions and the details surrounding aggressive and nonaggressive interactions. In the replication, subjects were 190 fifth- and sixth-grade children in eight classrooms in semirural upstate New York.

Theory and Discussion: It was hypothesized that recall would be a function of emotional state at time of viewing. Presumably, frustrating the subjects induced anger. It was predicted that the frustrated subjects would recall more aggressive content and less nonaggressive content than those in a more neutral emotional state. In the first experiment, the frustrated subjects recalled more aggressive interactions, and more surrounding detail about both aggressive and nonaggressive interactions. In the replication, in which identical procedures were followed, there was no relationship between film condition and recall of aggressive or nonaggressive interactions, or recall of the details surrounding them.

One possibility is that the nonurban second sample was more anxious about aggressiveness because of more severe socialization in this respect, and thus repressed aggressive content. If so, however, one would expect greater variability in recall among respondents who had been frustrated, since aggression anxiety would be affecting only certain subjects in this condition. No such greater variability was detectable. Thus, there is no ready explanation for the discrepancy in results.


Principal Findings: In two studies of identification and retention of content from movies, seventh-grade students were found to identify with the like-sexed leading character in a movie with strong male and female stars. However, viewers were more likely to identify with the protagonist whose social class corresponded with the viewer's "aspired" social class, rather than his current objective status. The viewers also tended to remember better the words and actions of their object of identification when the behavior is relevant to the viewer. For example, boys remembered aggressive content better than girls when the aggressor was a boy. Girls remembered boy-girl interactive content better than boys when the heroine was the agent of action.

Design and Methodology: The 269 subjects were students in 10 seventh-grade classes in the Boston area. The movie, two 20-minute episodes from Junior G-Men, a story about adolescent spy chasers, was shown to pairs of classes during regular class sessions. One week after the screening, a questionnaire was administered.

Theory and Discussion: The results suggest that viewers of movies often identify with a character and view the action mainly from his or her point of view. The choice of an identification in part determines what the viewer learns from the film.
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Principal Findings: When eye movements were recorded, male viewers spent more time, relative to female viewers, watching the male lead in a movie. However, subjects of both sexes spent more time looking at the heroine than at the hero, although females devoted more time to her than males. Viewers shifted the focus of their attention frequently and tended to watch the character who was speaking.

Design and Methodology: For each of the two movies shown, the subjects were 12 male and 12 female students at Harvard Summer School, none of whom required glasses. Two movies, which starred well-known actors and featured the male and female leads on screen simultaneously at an adequate distance from one another, were selected. They were The Doctor Takes a Wife, with Ray Milland and Loretta Young, and Once Upon a Honeymoon, starring Ginger Rogers and Cary Grant. Subjects were shown the movie individually. The viewing room was set up so that the subject could not focus his eyes on the entire screen, and his head was placed on an oculist's head rest so that eye movements could be monitored by two observers. There was an average difference of 1.1 seconds per scene between the observers in the length of time they recorded the subject as watching a particular character, and the average length of time per scene the subject spent viewing a character was 31.2 seconds.

Theory and Discussion: The fact that males and females watched the same-sexed actor more than viewers of the opposite sex suggests that sex-based identification influences movie viewer behavior. The fact that both males and females gave more attention to the heroine is not readily interpretable because this may be attributable to characteristics of the stimuli, such as acting or camera treatment. However, it suggests that females may tend to focus more on targets they perceive as similar to themselves (the heroine) while males may tend to focus more on targets they perceive as objects of desire and affect (the heroine). The authors note that such a tendency would be consistent with the implied message of the magazines of the time, because women's magazines emphasize women as attractive rather than attracted and do not portray men as seductive (so females would not tend to focus on the hero) while men's magazines emphasize women as seductive (so men would be open to focusing on the heroine).

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Principal Findings: The viewing of erotic films had increasingly less effect on sexual activities of married couples, indicating a satiation effect. The sex films, seen once a week for a month, led to increased sexual activity on movie nights. However, the level of activity on movie nights decreased during the month. Couples did not try new behaviors.

Design and Methodology: Couples were solicited for a study of "marital behavior" by advertisements and handbills. They were predominantly middle-class and well educated, and a large majority reported that their sex lives were "satisfactory" or "very satisfactory" and their marriages "very happy" or "happier than average." The data were originally obtained in an experiment on the effects on sexual activity of viewing erotic films. The present study is a reanalysis to test the hypothesis that satiation occurred with repeated exposure.

Sexual activity is compared for subjects in three conditions—those who saw nonerotic films; those who first saw two films of unconventional practices, followed by two films of conventional practices; and those who first saw two films of conventional practices, followed by the films of unconventional practices. The unconventional films showed a whipping, male and female homosexual encounters, and oral and anal sexual contact; the conventional films, standard heterosexual interaction and female masturbation. Subjects mailed in questionnaires measuring sexual and other activity daily. Data for males only is presented; however, male and female reports were highly correlated and the pattern for female data is identical.

Theory and Discussion: The results are consistent with those of experiments on the effects of film-mediated violence. Certain media effects appear to be transient. Modeling analyses tend to emphasize the effects of learning new behaviors. The present data clearly show behavioral effects attributable to exposure to a class of media content, but there is little evidence for learning or disinhibition. The subjects simply practiced previously engaged-in sexual activities, and did not imitate what they saw or try unseen innovations.

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Principal Findings: The emotional response of hostility was reduced among male college students by exposure to a brief violent film sequence. Aggressive behavior was not stimulated by such exposure. Angering subjects prior to film exposure affected neither subsequent aggressive behavior nor hostility.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 80 undergraduate males at the University of Maryland, randomly assigned to four experimental conditions: instigation-aggressive film; instigation-neutral film; no instigation-aggressive film; and no instigation-neutral film. Instigation was induced by angering subjects during a problem-solving task. In each condition, half the subjects were measured for hostility and half for aggressive behavior. Hostility was measured by identification of ambiguous slide stimuli as either violent (knife, riot) or nonviolent (apple, beer party); the rationale was that motivation has been found to affect perception. Aggressive behavior was measured by quantity of electric shock delivered as feedback to a person solving problems. In the aggressive film conditions, subjects saw an 85-second sequence containing a violent firefight from the movie, The Chase. In the neutral film condition, subjects saw a 77-second soundless film of four track races. Hostility and aggressive behavior scores were converted to T-scores to permit direct comparisons between the two.

Theory and Discussion: In early formulations, catharsis was said to refer to a reduction in motivation, not behavior. The assumption that there is a one-to-one relationship between hostile emotion and aggressive behavior is invalid; catharsis is not adequately tested when behavior is measured.

In the present study, hostility and aggressive behavior are examined to see whether they behave differently under identical conditions. It was hypothesized that the aggressive film would stimulate aggressive behavior but have a cathartic effect in regard to hostility, and that both behavior stimulation and catharsis would be increased after instigation. There is "direct confirmation for the prediction that a catharsis effect would be found for a hostility response measure." Support was not found for the stimulation of aggressive behavior, or for the enhancing prowess of instigation. "This study suggests," it is concluded, "that viewed violence alone may have positive effects in terms of reducing hostile responses and has no effect on aggressive responses. In dealing on a practical level with how to prevent television from increasing aggressive behavior... one must deal with discovering and altering elements within the violent content which serve as eliciting or reinforcing stimuli... Removing all violent shows from television may be throwing the baby out..."
with the bath' by removing a valuable outlet for hostility in order to prevent any increase in aggressive behavior."

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**Principal Findings:** Working-class mothers and fathers much more frequently reported that their children were heavy television viewers than did middle- and upper-class parents. Middle- and upper-class parents were similar in the frequency of such reports, with heavy viewing being somewhat more frequently reported by upper-class parents. In all three social strata, mothers' estimates were greater than fathers' estimates. There were at least as many differences in the perception of the role of television in child rearing between parents within social strata as between social strata, and differences were particularly great at the bottom of the social scale. Neither social status nor education were related to efforts to control children's viewing. Father's education appears to be significant in determining family behavior in regard to television, because it was inversely correlated with reported quantity of children's viewing, and positively correlated with discussing television content in an educational way with children, while mother's education was not correlated with either reported quantity of viewing or educational use of television.

**Design and Methodology:** The data were collected in 1966 and 1967 as part of a larger study of socialization practices of families in Omaha, Nebraska. The sampling population was all white sixth-grade children. A probability sample of 370 families were selected from a total of 5,897 on the school census rolls. Only families in which both parents lived in the same household and could be interviewed simultaneously were accepted, and only 54 percent (189 mothers and fathers) of the original sample were interviewed, since 124 did not meet the criteria and there were 54 refusals. Social class of father was based on father's occupation, in accord with Census Bureau criteria. The measure of television as an educational device was based on reported discussions of science and ethics while viewing, and discussions about programs about great Americans.

**Theory and Discussion:** For further examination of class differences, the working class was subdivided to create a "bottom lower class." When this was done, the lower-class fathers emerged as differing from working, middle-, or upper-class fathers in lower reporting of parental rules for television viewing, and much less often said there were rules than lower-class mothers. Interestingly, although the trend was not statistically significant, the working-class fathers now emerged as the paternal group most often reporting such rules. Among fathers, reported amount of children's viewing and education were inversely correlated, and educational use of television and education were positively related. Among mothers, no such relationships appeared. The lack of a positive correlation between social status and parental influence is contrary to expectations.

In general, the data suggest that the way mothers behave in regard to television is more uniform across social strata than the way fathers behave. The least involved group was the lower-class fathers, and the lower-class mothers more frequent reporting of parental rules may reflect an effort to compensate for this lack of paternal involvement. The data also suggest that the quality of a child's television experience is somewhat dependent on the father's education. In addition, data suggest caution in extrapolating from reports by mothers to both parents, since there were noteworthy differences between the reports of mothers and fathers.

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**Principal Findings:** The most striking pattern observed in this content analysis is the uniformity of political coverage across network television and several major newspapers. The percentages of time and space accorded 1972 Presidential candidate George McGovern was essentially the same for both newspapers and television newscasts. McGovern campaign activities were reported with greater frequency than Nixon campaign activities, even among newspapers that supported Nixon editorially, suggesting that McGovern simply made more news. But when the reporting of Presidential activities was included, Nixon received more total coverage than McGovern from almost all news sources.

**Design and Methodology:** All weekday network newscasts for five weeks prior to the 1972 election were taped and coded. During the same period, three newspapers available to the residents of Philadelphia—the Evening Bulletin, the Inquirer, and the New York Times—were also coded. Units of analysis were number of items, column inches, and photographs for newspapers; number of items, filmed reports, placement, time, and speeches or interviews for television.

**Theory and Discussion:** The study suggests that candidates who make more news receive more coverage, at least as candidates. When Administration news was added, the incumbent enjoyed an advantage. But if an aggressive campaign is more newsworthy, the question remains as to whether it is more effective.

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**Principal Findings:** In regard to children's advertising, inaction by the Federal Communications Commission was itself a form of policy that influenced the nature of public debate on children's television and, along with aggressive strategic action by the advertising and broadcasting industries, removed from consideration policy options involving structural change.

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors examine the actions and deliberations of the FCC since February 1970 when it accepted for consideration a petition filed by a citizens' organization, Action for Children's Television (ACT). The petition urged the FCC to find alternatives for what ACT considered exploitative and abusive practices in television advertising directed at children. After examining public discussions on the issue and the policy alternatives open to the FCC, the authors conclude that the failure to act was itself a policy decision. Children's programming and advertising continued unchanged, and because of the FCC inaction, citizens' groups had no legal recourse. The authors suggest that in such cases Congressional action may be the only hope.

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**Principal Findings:** Only 12 percent of a California sample were exposed to televised vote projections and reports before the polls closed, and only one percent of the total sample changed their vote. Exposure to such information did not increase support, or create a "bandwagon" for the winner, and did not affect turnout.

**Design and Methodology:** Interviews were conducted with
1.700 California voters at two time periods—the day before the 1964 election, and after the polls had closed.  
Theory and Discussion: The broadcast in California before the polls closed of reports and computer-based projections of the eventual national winner raised questions about the effects of such broadcasts on voting behavior. The data indicate that they did not affect voting for President in California. Only one percent changed; only 12 percent of all voters and only 11 percent of those making up their minds on the last day were exposed to such broadcasts; and exposure did not increase support for the winner. Thus, the broadcasts could not be said to have been an important factor.

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Principal Conclusions: Mass media entertainment serves the valid and useful psychological function of providing enjoyment for audience members. It also serves other psychological and sociological functions. Media content is usually chosen to conform to the concurrent psychological state of the audience member. Labeling mass entertainment as “escapist” reflects the values of the labeler, and not necessarily the use made of such entertainment.  
Theory and Discussion: Mass entertainment should not be confused with aesthetic experience. Mass entertainment provides fleeting, superficial pleasure; however, its very popularity suggests that it serves psychological and sociological needs. Most authorities have been concerned about the effects of the media rather than its function for individuals. One charge commonly leveled is that mass entertainment is “escapist.” However, entertainment termed “escapist” may not actually function as such for most of the media audience. There is some evidence to suggest that mass entertainment may be sought out by individuals not enjoying healthy personal relationships or otherwise abnormal, but there is no evidence that indulgence in mass entertainment actually aggravates social stress. A certain puritanism and elitism has been reflected in the study of mass media. This has led to an emphasis on the negative effects of popular entertainment, and a tendency to associate information, education, and seriousness in the media with goodness. The media may have bad effects, but they also perform positive services, among which distraction from daily cares is probably major.

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Principal Findings: Survey research dealing with the effects of three public information campaigns planned in close collaboration by social scientists and communications specialists is reviewed. The results of this evaluative research indicate that public information campaigns can succeed in achieving realistic goals. Included in the analysis are the effects of the CBS National Drivers’ Test, which resulted in increased awareness of driving deficiencies and a marked surge in enrollments in driving school; another CBS production dealing with drinking and drivers’ perceptions, which resulted in public concern and reconsideration of driving habits; and a bilingual program aimed at Mexican-Americans, which resulted in awareness of ways to improve the quality of life.  
Design and Methodology: The programs described were planned by communication specialists and social scientists, who contributed by using social science findings to determine appropriate targets, themes, appeals, and media vehicles. Large-scale surveys were carried out for evaluative purposes. Sampling methods are not described.

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Principal Conclusions: Television has changed traditional American politics in four ways. It has altered nominating conventions, campaigning, party operations, and has increased the questioning of traditional procedures, thus encouraging future political change.  
Theory and Discussion: The increasing sophistication of polling techniques and the power of television to disseminate information to large masses of people have changed politics. However, neither polls nor television usually have direct effects in changing votes. There is little evidence that there is either a “bandwagon” effect when polls show a candidate leading, or an “underdog” effect when they show him trailing. Forecasts and predictions do not seem to affect voting. Included are forecasts received on Election Day representing apparently sound projections based on actual early votes, such as those broadcast by the television networks in California in the 1968 Presidential race, which were based on Eastern voting where the polls had closed earlier.

On the other hand, the indirect effects of polls and television have been many. Put another way, if there has been a direct effect at all, it has been on politicians and not on voters. Polls provide politicians with information on which to base choices among possible candidates, and candidates with information on which to base decisions on which issues to emphasize and which stands to take. Television has drawn such attention to conventions that they are certain to be increasingly manipulated to maintain interest and give a favorable impression; has become a major element in campaigns; has changed the way campaign staffs are organized and funds spent; and has generally greatly increased vicarious political participation.

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Principal Findings: Nationally, about as many persons heard about the assassination of President Kennedy from the electronic mass media as from other persons. However, in studies in various localities, wide differences emerged which indicate that numerous factors may affect the degree to which news of a given crisis is disseminated by the electronic media or by word of mouth. In all the studies, between the electronic media television played a lesser role than radio in initially disseminating the news.  
Design and Methodology: Results of a nationwide survey and five surveys in various communities on dissemination of news of the assassination of President Kennedy are compared.
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Principal Findings: White male prison inmates with violent histories did not differ in their preference for violent television content from inmates with nonviolent histories, or from noninmates.

Design and Methodology: Preference was measured for three groups: 20 inmates of the Federal Correctional Institution at Tallahassee, Florida, with histories of violent behavior; 20 inmates of the same institution with nonviolent histories; and 21 students at a vocational-technical school. All were white males; the median age was 23. Each group was presented with 12 videotaped stimuli—a violent or nonviolent synopsis of television programs in six categories—war, comedy, documentary, spy, South Seas, and detective—and asked which in each category they would like to see as a series. Each violent and nonviolent pair had been previously revised until judges rated them equal in excitement; the synopses ended before the plot was resolved to prevent confounding influence on plot outcome.

Theory and Discussion: It was expected that the inmates with violent histories would show greater preference for violent television than those with nonviolent histories, and that both kinds of inmates would show greater preference for such content than the noninmates. These hypotheses were not confirmed. As a result, the data suggest that attributing positive correlations between aggressiveness and exposure to violent television to a preference on the part of already aggressive persons for such fare is questionable.

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Principal Findings: Lengthy exposure to televised violence increased favorable attitudes toward aggression among a population with a history of antisocial behavior, prison inmates.

Design and Methodology: Subjects were 54 youthful inmates 18 to 26 years of age randomly assigned to three conditions: violent television, in which subjects’ attitudes were measured after each of three 45-minute violent television programs; nonviolent television, in which the treatment was the same except for the nonviolent character of the three programs; and a condition to control for effects attributable to repeated measurement, in which subjects were measured only once at the end of viewing the television. The measuring instrument was a questionnaire with 31 items taken from prior research or written by the investigator.

Theory and Discussion: The study’s purpose was to measure empirically the effects of repeated exposure to televised violence on attitudes toward violence of a prison population. The violent programs mixed realistic and fantasy violence. The violent television increased aggressive attitudes both for the regular experimental group and the effects-of-measurement control group (which also saw the violent television). There was also evidence of a trend effect—with impact increasing with lengthened exposure. Thus, the data suggest that when exposure to violent content is massed, there may be immediate alteration of expressed attitudes. It is noteworthy that where such trend effects appeared, the items were related to the kind of violence generally presented on television.

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Principal Findings: Persuasive campaigns in the mass media can have dramatic effects on behavior when certain conditions exist. In regard to the general situation, such conditions include widely-held values which are consistent with the goals of the campaign. In regard to the mass media, such conditions include a campaign which evokes sentiment and identification, builds in intensity, and permits vicarious satisfaction in contributing to the campaign’s success. In regard to the audience, such conditions include a generally favorable predisposition toward the specific kind of action asked, or an especially favorable inclination at the time of the campaign toward the specific kind of action asked.

Design and Methodology: In 1943, singer Kate Smith raised $39 million in war bond pledges during the Third War Loan in an 18-hour radio marathon in which she made 65 appeals. In similar efforts during the First and Second War Loans, she had raised only $1 and $2 million in pledges. The result was an unusual opportunity to examine the circumstances in which mass media successfully persuade. There were three parts to the study, which attempted to cover both the content of the appeals and the character of the response patterns evoked. First, the broadcast scripts were subjected to a content analysis (transcriptions were not available, but would have been valuable in providing evidence of the role of tone, inflection, and other nonverbal elements). Second, intensive interviews of three to four hours duration were conducted with 100 persons who heard the broadcasts; 75 were bond purchasers drawn from a list at radio station WABC, New York City, and 25 were nonpurchasers sought out by interviewers in New York City. Third, a probability sample of 978 New York City residents were interviewed to determine the extent to which the “image” of Miss Smith favored by those intensively interviewed, and which apparently was a major factor shaping their response to the broadcast, was commonly held.

Theory and Discussion: The study is an inquiry into one of the more critical issues raised by the existence of mass communications: how—by what techniques, under what conditions, in what cultural context—can behavior be shaped through the mass media? The specific event studied is a radio “marathon”; the conclusions, however, have wide significance.

In regard to the structure and temporal pattern of the broad-
casts, a nonquantitative analysis suggested that a "fabric of expectation" was created through emphasizing the notion that the broadcasts were an extraordinary event; that the separate appearances of Miss Smith appeared related, thus giving the impression of moving towards a climax, and encouraging "compulsive listening"; that the stimuli produced goal-oriented behavior through identification with Miss Smith in her determination to continue broadcasting and sell more; that the event took on the character of a contest, which helped hold listener attention and appealed to both impartial observers ("Will she make it?"); and devoted fans ("I pray she makes it"); that the appeals made listeners feel responsible for the failure or success of the endeavor; that the repetition of a single phrase—"Will you buy a bond?"—in a variety of contexts had a cumulative effect; that experiencing the entire series as a single event helped overcome boredom while repetition with variation kept defense mechanisms such as irritation at a minimum; that the diversity of appeals constituted a build up of stimuli pressing for the same response; that self-assessment was demanded of listeners, and if undertaken could have led only to feelings of inadequacy as to bond buying; that there was created a situation conducive to the displacement of motives—from the bond issue to that of Miss Smith's success, with both becoming reasons for buying; and that, as the third of Miss Smith's all-day appeals, the marathon had become something of an institution.

In regard to themes, a quantitative analysis indicated that by far the predominant thematic emphasis was on "sacrifice." Fifty-one percent of the content could be so categorized; 26 percent concerned sacrifices of servicemen, 20 percent, of civilians, and 5 percent of Miss Smith. The author infers that the principal function was to arouse guilt feelings over inadequate performance, which then could be expiated by bond purchase. Another major theme was "participation" (16 percent of content). The author infers that its function was to offer in a time of war caused stress a means of quelling anxiety through action. The third major theme was "competition" (12 percent of content), involving area vs. area and Miss Smith and her listeners aligned to exceed previous bond buying records. The in-depth interviews indicated that Miss Smith was perceived as a figure of "sincerity, philanthropy, patriotism." The larger poll confirmed that this was indeed a widely held impression, and indicated that Miss Smith was considered a far more appropriate person for selling bonds than such public figures as disc jockey Martin Block, singer Frank Sinatra, screen star Betty Grable, or political leader Wendell Willkie. Thus, she was an unusually appropriate figure for discussing such a quasi-sacred subject as war bonds. Among the 75 bond buyers interviewed in depth, there were two different attitudes regarding war bonds. One was a basic, continuing orientation toward bond buying. The second was a strong inclination toward buying during the Third War Loan. Thus, buyers could be divided into four groups:

1. The "predisposed," who were oriented toward bond buying and intended to buy during the loan (about half the sample). They required only a prod to buy, were least concerned with the content of the broadcasts, were interested only in the instructions on how to buy, did not become involved in the marathon aspects, and had great devotion to Miss Smith.

2. The "susceptibles," who were oriented toward bond buying but had not intended to buy during the loan (about a third of the sample). They had been in "equilibrium" before the broadcast; they felt they had purchased their share. They paid more attention to the appeals than did the "predisposed," they were more devoted to Miss Smith, more impressed by her efforts, more interested in the unfolding drama, and heard many appeals before finally acting. One of three forces seems to have been at work: (a) their standards of adequacy were changed so that they felt guilty, and bought to assuage it; (b) they were devoted to Miss Smith, and wanted to help her; and (c) they wanted to bring "the boys" back home—and they responded because of this theme only if their "boy" was in a danger spot.

3. The "indifferent," who were not generally oriented toward bond buying, but intended to buy one during the loan (about 10 percent of the sample). These persons ranked the economic benefits of bond buying high, and bought from Miss Smith apparently because of the connection with a celebrity.

4. The "undisposed," who were not oriented toward bonds and did not intend to buy during the loan (about 5 percent of the sample). They listened long before finally acting; devotion to Miss Smith and fascination with the marathon apparently were responsible.

Thus, although the outcome was the same, the behavior involved different processes depending on the nature of the individual's predispositions. Cultural factors probably also played a part. The social context was one in which many people may have felt isolated and manipulated; thus, Miss Smith's demonstration of "sincerity" by performing without pay would have unusual impact. Furthermore, she combined career with domesticity, was maternal and sexless, and rose from a humble background, thus eliciting identification from a wide segment of the population; and she functioned in a monopoly situation in which she was not undercut by contrary messages.


Principal Findings: Angered subjects viewing a gratuitous violent act in a news film in which the reporter described the violence as justified rated the incident of film violence as significantly more justified than those who saw a version in which the violence was described as unjustified or a version with no description. Angered subjects seeing the news film of justified violence subsequently displayed greater aggression against the person who had angered them than subjects seeing the unjustified film violence, the film with no description, a nonviolent film, or no film.

Design and Methodology: One hundred and twenty-five students were randomly assigned to one of the following five experimental conditions: (1) justified news film violence; (2) unjustified news film violence; (3) news film violence without a description; (4) a nonviolent film; and (5) no film. Subjects were angered by electrical shocks delivered by the experimenter's confederate posing as a fellow student. They were then shown a film segment. Later, they were given the opportunity to express hostility towards the confederate by returning electrical shocks. The violent news film depicted a South Vietnamese soldier executing a helpless prisoner by stabbing him with a long knife. The same film was used for all three violent film conditions. At the end of the experiment, subjects in the three violent film conditions were asked to rate whether they perceived the violent stabbing as justified or unjustified.

Theory and Discussion: The purpose of the study was to document the effects of a television news reporter's descriptions on the viewers' perceptions of a news event, and identify differing types of overt behavior which result from the alteration of viewers' perceptions. The hypotheses which were supported were that the perception of the justice of a gratuitous violent act in a television news report would be influenced by the reporter's description, and that viewing justified news violence would increase subsequent aggression.

Principal Findings: Angered male subjects who saw a verbally violent sequence from a popular television program administered more intense electric shocks to a "learner" in a bogus experiment than did subjects who saw a neutral film or no film at all.

Design and Methodology: The subjects were 36 male undergraduates in a fundamentals of speech class. Each subject was asked to write a composition on the importance of a college education. He and a partner, in reality a confederate of the experimenter, were then to grade each other's papers by administering electric shocks to indicate dissatisfaction with the other's work and a bad grade. First, the accomplice graded the subject's paper, administering eight shocks in each case to indicate a bad grade. Then the subjects were exposed to either a sequence from a popular television show which depicted a heated argument (verbal violence), a neutral but exciting scene from a popular movie, or no film at all. After the screening, the subject was given the opportunity to grade the confederate's composition. The number of shocks administered served as the measure of aggressive behavior.

Theory and Discussion: Depictions of verbal violence, like those of physical violence, appear to elicit increased aggression in observers. This finding opens a new area of study in film and television effects. The author notes that the study dealt with angered viewers only, that the verbal violence was presented as justified, and that only male subjects were used.


Principal Findings: Angered male subjects who viewed justified film violence were found to administer significantly more shocks and more intense shocks than angered subjects who had viewed either unjustified film violence, a nonviolent film, or no film. There was no significant difference between angered subjects who viewed unjustified violence, a nonviolent film, or no film. Neither was there a difference observed between those who saw real film violence and those who saw fictional film violence.

Design and Methodology: The subjects were 200 male undergraduates at Ohio University, enrolled in introductory mass communications courses. Each subject was told that the purpose of the experiment was to see how students reacted to grading each other's work by means of electric shocks, and then given five minutes to write a composition on the importance of a college education. The subject was then "graded" by an accomplice of the experimenter, posing as a fellow student, who administered eight shocks (a bad grade) regardless of what the subject wrote. Then, the process was reversed, with the subject taking the role of grader, but first, he was shown either a film segment containing real violence, a fictional violence segment, or a nonviolent segment. Control subjects were shown no film. The real violence segment was taken from a network newcast and depicted the execution of a North Vietnamese prisoner. The fictional violence segment featured a knife fight from the film, From Here to Eternity, and the nonviolent sequence was taken from the film, Corral. In order to manipulate justified vs. unjustified violence, the explanations of violence were varied for subjects who saw the violent films, with one version describing the incident as justified and the other, as wholly unjustified. When the subject returned to his role as grader, he was given discretion in both the number and intensity of shocks to be administered. A questionnaire administered after the experiment showed the manipulations were successful.

Theory and Discussion: The author explains his results in terms of reinforcement theory, observing that justified violence is rewarded by society in that villains are often punished in a violent manner and that society often condones violence when the victim receives punishment that is deserved. Thus, only violent behavior that is rewarded increases the probability that an aggressive response will occur. Contrary to expectations, no difference was found between groups exposed to real and fictional film violence. The author observes that such a result seems reasonable in light of the realism with which fictional violence is often displayed. The results also suggest that when film violence is perceived by the angered viewer as unjustified, aggressive behavior is not affected.


Principal Findings: For the majority of elementary school children interviewed, television appears to provide socially desirable social models, particularly for females. Most children admired their favorite television characters because they were "funny" or "fun to watch." They also perceived their favorites as behaving in a socially desirable way when presented with conflict situations. However, a sizable minority of males had favorites who provided undesirable models of behavior. They perceived the violent means of conflict resolution being applied by their favorite television characters as admirable behavior, worthy of imitation. Generally, favorite characters were perceived as behaving like the child's description of his own behavior and in a way that was consistent with his value judgments and his perceptions of a best friend's behavior, and less consistent with his perception of his parents' judgments of appropriate behavior.

Design and Methodology: Personal interviews were conducted with 180 elementary school children, ages five to eight, from a school near Amherst, Massachusetts. As part of the interview, the child was asked to respond to a number of behavioral situations with a number of possible ethical resolutions. After each situation was posed, the child was asked what he would do if he found himself in that situation, what his favorite television characters (whom he had previously identified) would do, what is the right and wrong thing to do, what his parents would want him to do, and what his best friend would do.

Theory and Discussion: Although television characters appear to provide models for behavior, the violent behavior of certain television favorites either reinforces or contributes to the selection of violent responses for a sizable minority of males. Parents of these children frequently would neither recommend nor condone a violent response, but these children see themselves as making violent responses which they judge as being right. The validity of the study may be affected by the fact that the sample consisted mainly of middle-class white children and by the use of projection techniques, which placed the children in hypothetical situations and, thus, may have elicited socially desirable responses.

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Principal Findings: Amount of television viewing was positively related to being at home, inversely related to leisure alternatives, and inversely related to education in the United States in 1960. Those who viewed most were housewives, blacks, the poor, the old, the retired, and the widowed. However, the relationship with education was not linear—the least educated did not view more than twice the next highest educational category. The amount of viewing that was thought to be "right" was inversely related to education. Education was more strongly
related to viewing standards and attitudes than to amount of viewing. Book reading and positive orientation toward books also were clearly and negatively related to attitudes favorable toward television.

Design and Methodology: Data were analyzed from a 1960 national survey of 2,591 persons 18 and older, originally conducted for The people look at television (Steiner, 353).

Theory and Discussion: Although a variety of factors are predictive of amount of television viewing, the relationships are not simple. For example, among the less-educated, those with more leisure alternatives are the most likely to be heavy viewers, while among the better-educated, those with fewer leisure alternatives are the most likely to be heavy viewers. Education is particularly important because the better-educated hold different values in regard to television. The amount of viewing they think is right is likely to be lower. Since education affects attitudes more than amount of viewing, there is more likely to be a greater discrepancy between behavior and standards. Among the better-educated, a book orientation is associated with less viewing, more stringent standards, and a greater discrepancy between standards and actual amount of viewing. Thus, television is the source of a strain in mass culture consumption, for it cannot be rejected by any group, including the better-educated. On the other hand, television is most embraced not by those with the least education, but by those who have neither the least nor the most education.

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Principal Findings: The results of this 1961 national survey do not support the idea that heavy television viewing among poor people is caused by a lack of other leisure resources. Regardless of the way in which these other leisure resources are measured, those poor people with more resources view more television. Among the relatively rich, the opposite process seems to operate; here the fewer the leisure alternatives, the greater the television viewing.

Design and Methodology: The data were collected in 1961 by Elmo Roper and the National Opinion Research Center, using a national sample. Measures were constructed by the author to determine the level of leisure interests, the rate of television viewing, and the degree of opportunity.

Theory and Discussion: The author observes: "After all, television viewing as an activity in the last analysis represents a willingness to expose oneself to an outside influence. This requires not only time and opportunity, but also interest. And within the lowest income group are a number of persons whose interest in the world, even the world of television, might well be stunted by a lack of energy. Thus participation in other leisure activities, far from distracting and diverting this group from the use of television, only encourages them; or, put more accurately, participation in leisure activities, as they here measured; really measures respondents' interest in the world of leisure."

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Principal Findings: Third-grade boys low in interpersonal aggressiveness displayed greater aggression against a classmate after viewing a film portraying aggression identical to that in which they had the opportunity to engage than third-graders who saw other films. Third-graders high in interpersonal aggressiveness were unaffected in aggression displayed by differences in the films. The highly aggressive third-graders in general tended to display greater aggression than the less aggressive third-graders. Peer ratings of aggressiveness and the measured behavioral aggression against a classmate were positively correlated.

Design and Methodology: A total of 551 males and 469 females in 43 third-grade classes in Cedar Rapids were rated on aggressiveness by peers. Based on the scores, a total of 90 males were chosen as subjects, 45 high aggressives and 45 low aggressives. Three males from the same third-grade class were tested simultaneously, and in each case the three were either all high or all low aggressives. Subjects were led to believe they were playing a team game. In reality all subjects had the same experience—15 "trials" in which they believed the group failed because of the errors of the other two members. After each trial, the subject had the opportunity to inform one of the other two subjects of his mistake by pushing one of 10 buttons, graded according to intensity of noxious sound. By pressing the buttons, the subject believed he could produce annoyingly loud sounds in the earphones of the selected teammate. Before testing, subjects were given a demonstration of the varying sound intensities. After the instructions, the experimenter told the subjects that while the game was being set up they were to watch a film.

There were three different silent films 3½ minutes in length. In the "similarity" condition, the film depicted a male model performing aggressively on the same apparatus which the subjects themselves would subsequently use. In the "non-similarity" condition, the film depicted two male models participating in a board game. In the neutral condition, the film depicted the sequences employed in the film "similarity" condition except that no aggression was depicted.

Intensity and duration of noise delivery were collected by automatic graphic recording, but only intensity was used for analysis, since previous research showed that it was the more sensitive measure.

Theory and Discussion: The author suggests that increased aggression following observation of film violence may be dependent upon the learning of specific responses, and thus upon similarity between the film and post-film setting. Probably, there were no effects for the highly aggressive third-graders because their aggressive behavior already was at a peak, regardless of film condition. It was expected that the film in which the aggressive situation but no aggressive behavior was portrayed might induce anxiety over aggression among the low-aggressives, and thus depress their aggression against a classmate. No such tendency occurred, thus giving no support for a catharsis interpretation.

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Principal Findings: The three main findings of the study were: (1) Respondents with more education expressed less favorable attitudes on separate measures toward television in general than did respondents with less education. (2) Respondents at all educational levels attributed greater favorability toward television to less-educated persons. (3) Although agreeing in the direction of attributions of favorability toward television, respondents in the four levels of education differed systematically in the intensity of their attributions of favorability toward television in general—i.e., the higher the respondents' own level of education, the greater was the television favorability attributed to persons with below-average education and the less was the television favorability attributed to persons with above-average education.

Design and Methodology: A questionnaire was group-administered to 12 groups of adult respondents during June and
July 1964, yielding 215 usable questionnaires. All levels of education, age, and income were represented, although respondents did not form a probability sample. The data were collected as part of a larger study. Respondents were asked to estimate attitudes for various kinds of individuals. Attitudes toward television were measured by conventional scales and by a projective test in which television and other activities were evaluated.

Theory and Discussion: The relationship between educational level and respondents' image of those audience segments favorable and unfavorable to television was investigated. As expected, attribution of favorability towards television increased with decreasing perceived educational level of the party being judged. The negative relationship held for all four levels of respondent education, except for slight curvilinearity within the lowest educational stratum of respondents. A significant interaction between level of respondent education and level of education of the party being judged showed that more-educated respondents attributed more extreme ranges of television favorability to high- and low-education types than did respondents with less education. The finding of previous studies that education level is correlated to respondents' attitudes toward television in general was replicated.

Previous investigators had hypothesized that social class norms for middle-class persons dictate a lack of enthusiasm for television. The author interprets the fact that all four levels of respondents attributed less television favorability to the top education group as inconsistent with the view that normative influences are more operative in the middle class than in the working class. However, the significant interaction found in the study is interpreted as compatible with the view that television norms are more operative in higher social strata. Consequently, it is argued that, "If the image of the audience does serve the function of tapping relevant normative pressures, psychologically self-imposed, then level of education, as a self-reference category, may be elevated from the status of a descriptive correlate of TV attitudes to that of an explanatory variable."


Principal Findings: Data representing four waves of measurement in one year in a panel study indicate that both aggressiveness and the viewing of violent television fluctuated considerably over the one-year period among boys aged seven to 12. Boys high in violence viewing and aggressiveness differed from other boys in a number of ways. At any one of the four times of measurement over the year, aggressiveness and violence viewing were modestly but positively correlated. In relating aggressiveness at the time of "later" measurements to violence viewing in previous waves, there were, for the subsample of boys highly reliable in reporting television behavior, in one of three such tests, a statistically significant positive relationship between earlier viewing and later aggressiveness among boys relatively high initially in aggression, and one statistically significant positive relationship for boys relatively low in initial aggression. This latter effect occurred because boys high in aggression in an earlier wave who were high in violence viewing were more likely than those low in violence viewing to return to their initial higher level of aggression.

Design and Methodology: Data were analyzed from a panel study of boys in two cities for which measures at four different times over a year were available. The boys were seven to 12 years old at the time of the first measurement, in the spring of 1970. The sample in this initial wave for whom both aggression and television viewing data are available numbered 734. Measures were obtained again in October 1970, February 1971, and spring 1971. A fifth measurement obtained in spring 1972, and a sixth measurement obtained in spring 1973, have not been analyzed. By the fourth wave, the sample for which complete television and behavioral data were available was 680 boys, some of whom had been present in all previous waves. Exposure to television violence was measured by self-reports about programs viewed, with individual violence exposure scores constructed using a composite of different judges' ratings of the degree of violence in the programs cited as viewed. Aggressiveness was measured by ratings by classroom peers. In addition, data were collected on respondents' popularity, friendship, some kinds of prosocial behavior, and exposure to comic books and movies. Background data were obtained from school records, and interviews with 377 mothers and 196 fathers.

In the very early analyses reported here, data for boys relatively high and relatively low in aggression at the time of the first wave are in some instances analyzed separately. Analyses of data over time are confined to boys present in all waves who could be classified as reliable reporters of television behavior (with nonreliability defined as reporting the viewing of nonexistent programs). For the aggression comparisons, the median in the first wave was used to divide the sample equally into subsamples higher and lower in subaggression. The highly reliable always-measured subsample consisted of 233 boys.

Theory and Discussion: This is a status report, and "conclusions must be considered tentative," the authors emphasize. The panel design with more than two waves of measurement has the merit of permitting examination of the "ebb and flow" of behavior over time, and thus allows analysis of variables as a "system in process." This is the primary strength of a panel design, "not its ability to substitute for an experimental design in making causal inferences." In the first wave, for the entire sample—including both "reliable" and "unreliable" reporters—violence viewing and aggression were modestly but positively correlated (r = .22), and a similar relationship was found in the subsequent three waves. Aggressiveness and heavy viewing of television violence both were correlated with lower intellectual ability, with being younger, with living in families with less income, with having fathers with middle-range occupations, with having either no or many siblings under 18, with having a less well-educated mother, with doing less well in school, with being tardy at school more often, and with being more unreliable in reporting television programs viewed. Many of these factors also were intercorrelated. When these mutual correlates of aggression and violence viewing were controlled, only the unreliability of reporting reduced the correlation between violence viewing and aggression (from about .20 to about .10).

In the time series analysis confined to the 233 reliable reporters, there were three separate comparisons between violence viewing in earlier waves and later aggressiveness, and in each case the data were analyzed separately for the halves of the sample higher and lower in aggression in the first wave. In one, high and low viewers of violence were compared over each of the four waves. Among the more highly aggressive boys only, there was some tendency for the boys who had reported viewing more violence to be as aggressive by the time of the fourth measurement as they had been earlier while those low in violence viewing dropped in aggression from prior levels, although the difference between high and low violence viewers was not significant. In two others, high and low viewers of violence in the second and third waves were compared in terms of their aggressiveness in the fourth wave. In one instance, for the more highly aggressive boys and in one instance for the less aggressive boys, there was a statistically significant relationship between prior violence viewing and subsequent aggressiveness.

In the case of the less aggressive boys, those among the high violence viewers who became more aggressive between the two waves tended to be boys who had previously been higher in aggression, and could be said to be returning to an earlier level of aggression after temporary quiescence. It is too early to reach any conclusions from these data about
television's role. However, the data illustrate clearly some advantages of a longitudinal design with measurement at more than two points in time. "Irrespective of television's role," the authors write, "the data show that for boys anti-social aggression is not constant over time: aggression is a dynamic, not a static concept. Television may play a role in the course of this ebb and flow, but, if it does, such a role is clearly contingent upon a boy's previous history of aggression. Its effects, if any appear to be limited to boys who are already aggressive, are only temporarily quiescent. One could not come upon such results if all that were available were the results of cross-sectional surveys or experiments, or even of two-wave panel studies...."

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Rubens, W. S. Camouflage can be made to do double work. Journal of Marketing, 1975, 39, 81-92.

Principal Findings: Teenagers' exposure to television advertising of proprietary drugs was positively correlated with proprietary drug use, but was negatively correlated with use of illicit drugs.

Design and Methodology: Data on exposure to television drug commercials and drug use were obtained from a panel of 300 low- and middle-income black and white teenage boys initially 15-15 years old, at six points over a period of three-and-a-half years ending in spring 1973. Exposure to television programs and drug use were measured in each of the five waves. The measure of exposure to television drug advertising was constructed by obtaining data on the commercial content of the specific programs the boys reported viewing. When total television exposure was controlled, this measure was related to knowledge of drugs, but when exposure to drug advertising was controlled, total television exposure was not related to knowledge. This indicates that the measure of exposure to drug advertising is a more valid and precise measure of such exposure than total amount of exposure to television.

The study itself is a fortuitous use of "camouflage" items. The drug questions were included along with others on a variety of topics to hide the real purpose of the study, which was concerned with television viewing and aggression. However, by the time the data had been collected, the drug items had become important in themselves. As it turned out, the camouflage worked because so low in the sample thought the study was concerned with aggression, and the specific camouflage drug items also remained useful, since similarly few respondents concluded the study was about drugs. Of the total sample, 36 boys thought the study had something to do with drugs, and 14 thought it had something to do with aggression.

Theory and Discussion: There has been a great deal of speculation about the effects on illicit drug use of drug advertising on television. The present data permit some examination of this question because 12 to 15 is the age when drug experimentation begins. The data show an increase in illicit drug use as the children grow older, with marijuana having by far the sharpest increase. Cumulative exposure to drug advertising at the time of the second and fifth (and final) interviews was positively correlated with proprietary drug use. Cumulative exposure at the time of the final interview was negatively related to illicit drug use. In addition, at three points in time new drug users were examined, and the same negative relationship was found with cumulative exposure up to this point at which illicit drug use began.

No subgroups based on age, race, relations with parents, attitudes about drug use, and/or friends' use of drugs were found in which exposure was positively correlated with illicit drug use. An attitude of readiness to take drugs was related to both proprietary drug use and illicit drug use, but such readiness to take drugs was not related to exposure to television drug advertising. No factor was found that set illicit drug users apart from nonusers that would lead to an explanation of the negative relationship between exposure to drug advertising and drug use. The data are not consistent with the hypothesis that television drug advertising directly increases illicit drug use by promoting drugs or does so indirectly by creating an attitude of readiness to take drugs.

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Principal Findings: Portrayal of a specific antisocial act—stealing from charity donation boxes—in a primetime television drama did not lead to imitation by viewers a week or so later. However, a frustrating experience increased immediately subsequent thievery. Portraying of another specific antisocial act—making an abusive telephone call in response to a televised charity solicitation—in the same primetime television drama did not lead to imitation by viewers immediately.

Design and Methodology: There were seven experiments, all concerned with antisocial behavior towards a medical charity. At the heart was the preparation of a Medical Center story with several alternative endings.

The Medical Center episode concerns a young father, Tom Desmond, under severe emotional and financial pressure. His wife is ill, unable to work, and facing an operation; he is behind on the payments and faces the loss of the small boat which he hires out; and he has lost his job as an orderly at the hospital. This personal crisis occurs at the same time that the hospital is conducting a charity drive, and Dr. Joe Gannon, whom Tom blames for his job problems, is visibly prominent on television and elsewhere in connection with the drive. The charity drive becomes the focus of Tom's frustration and anger.

Three versions of the episode were prepared. In two (antisocial), he smashes and steals the money from several of the hospital's charity-drive collection boxes, in one case being punished (jail) and the other not (escape to Mexico). In the third (prosocial) version, he hovers over a box with a club but eventually decides to drop in a coin. An entirely different episode, described as "sentiment," created a fourth control condition for the three experimental variations: (a) antisocial behavior with punishment, (b) antisocial behavior without punishment, and (c) prosocial behavior.

In three experiments, various versions were shown to audiences at a theater. A week or so later, those who chose to pick up a free radio at a downtown "distribution center" found themselves unwitting subjects when they entered an office, and discovered (1) a sign that there were no more radios, and (2) a Project Hope plastic collection box containing coins, a $10 bill, and four $1 bills, including one slightly sticking out.

Subsequent behavior was coded using concealed television cameras. When the subject left, he found a sign directing him to another office, where he received the promised radio.

The results:

Experiment 1: The four programs were shown, to create four experimental conditions. Subjects: 942 males and females recruited by newspaper ad and handmade. Low level of antisocial behavior (stole all money, 5.2 percent; stole protruding dollar, 3.5 percent; unsuccessfully tried to break into box, 6.9 percent; and stole other items, 10.7 percent). Almost no prosocial behavior (four donations in all). No significant differences in effects among versions, although the neutral program was followed by the lowest box-breaking rate.
Experiment 2: The prosocial version was dropped because of the absence of any evidence of effects. Within each of the remaining three conditions (neutral, and antisocial with and without punishment), frustration was manipulated by presenting half the subjects with directions to a second office in the same building for radio pickup (low frustration), making the original treatment the high frustration condition. Subjects: 488 males and females recruited by mail from lists of high school seniors and lists of persons making installment plan purchases of some sort. Frustration proved to be strongly related to antisocial behavior; there were no significant differences in effects among versions.

Experiment 3: The neutral and antisocial with punishment versions only were used, with a "modeling condition" added: a broken Project Hope box, surrounded by scattered coins, was included in the office furnishings. Subjects: 238 males and females recruited by mail from a list of installment plan buyers. The experimenters informed the experimenters in effect that the subject was in effect being placed in the three conditions (each television version with and without the model).

The other four experiments involved somewhat different circumstances, including viewing at home and the imitative influence of the portrayal of an abusive telephone call on metropolitan television.

Experiment 4: 188 subjects were recruited off the streets around Times Square to watch either the antisocial with punishment or neutral control versions in an empty office where there was also the partially filled Project Hope Box. No significant differences were found.

Experiment 5: Next, the authors manipulated exposure at home by televising an antisocial version and using the previous week's irrelevant program as a control. Subjects were recruited by advance mailings which drew attention to the program, asked them to watch and evaluate it, and invited them to the gift center. In New York, the antisocial with punishment version was used, and there were no effects (320 subjects). In St. Louis, the antisocial without punishment version was used and there were no effects (690 subjects).

Experiment 6: Opportunity to imitate an abusive telephone call was manipulated. The dependent measure was response to a 30-second Project Hope pitch seeking telephone pledges which followed the Medical Center episode. In the antisocial versions, the frustrated young father twice harangues a telephone solicitor for the hospital; in the prosocial version, there was no telephone sequence although the protagonist did finally contribute to the medical charity. In Chicago, it was prosocial vs. neutral; in Detroit, antisocial with punishment vs. neutral; and in both cases there were too few calls for analysis. In New York, the Detroit test was repeated and response was stimulated by increasing the length of display for the telephone number and by repeating the spot; there were more calls but no significant differences.

Experiment 7: The final "evening news" study involved the recruitment of 619 high school seniors to evaluate a newscast and some commercials on closed-circuit television in a specially-equipped room at New York's Statler-Hilton, whose furnishings included the usual Project Hope box. In one condition, the newscast contained a report of the breaking and pillaging of Project Hope boxes, including the display of a smashed box and a hidden-camera filming of the prying loose of a single dollar from another. In a control condition, this sequence was omitted. Results said to be "conflicting" are reported: significantly more "all the money" thefts in the neutral conditions, but more single dollars stolen in the antisocial version.

Theory and Discussion: The data on television's antisocial influence is not compelling; the correlational data does not permit causal inference, and the experimental findings do not permit generalization outside the laboratory. The criteria for this study were to use television commercials and measurement of actual antisocial behavior. It is concluded: "First, the evidence ... generated must be taken seriously, and serve as a constraint on discussion of television's effects. For the results of the present experiment are not that we obtained no findings, but rather that we obtained no differences in those exposed to our different stimulus programs. . . . If television is on trial, the judgment of this investigation must be the Scottish verdict: Not proven."

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Principal Findings: In one experiment, first- and second-grade females who witnessed video portrayal of a peer being punished for refusing to share shared more than girls who did not see selfishness punished. Sharing was similarly heightened in a group who witnessed the video portrayal of punishment to the peer which was not contingent upon any specific behavior. In a second experiment, girls who viewed the video portrayal of the noncontingent punishment of a peer subsequently helped the experimenter more than did girls who viewed punishment contingent on nonsharing behavior.

Design and Methodology: In the first experiment, subjects were 112 first- and second-grade girls. There were four experimental video conditions, with each video condition replicated with two different performances, leading to eight groups of 14 subjects each. In all conditions, the first part of the videotape was identical. It showed a 7-year-old girl sitting on the floor playing with toys. An adult female enters the room and asks the girl, defined as the "model," for her name and how she likes playing with the toys. In the control condition, the model continues to play with the toys while the adult, defined as the "socializing agent," sits at a desk and reads a book. In the other conditions, the adult offers the model a big bag of candy. In the "non-sharing-no outcome" condition, the model is told that she may keep the candy for herself or share it with another girl who does not have any candy. The model announces that she will keep the candy. The film then ends. In the "non-sharing-punished" condition, the adult disapproves of the model's selfish behavior, announces that she will not let the model play with the toys anymore, and asks her to leave the room. In the punishment only condition, the videotape fades out after the model receives the candy. Shortly after this the tape fades again to show the socializing agent sitting at a table. She gets up, leaves the room, and returns with the model. At this point the agent administers the identical punishment as in the "nonsharing-punished" condition. Two parallel sets of tapes were made, with different socializing agents. The dependent variable was the amount of candy given as a reward for participation which each subject left for later subjects when told that there was not enough for everyone.

In the second experiment, subjects were 78 first-, second-, and third-grade girls selected from a different school. In this experiment, the video conditions were the same except for the elimination of the "non-sharing-no outcome" condition. Two parallel sets of tapes were made, with different socializing agents. The dependent variable was the amount of candy given as a reward for participation which each subject left for later subjects when told that there was not enough for everyone.

Theory and Discussion: The first experiment supports the hypothesis that sharing behavior, as indexed by the amount of candy shared, is higher for children who observe a selfish model being punished than for children who do not see selfishness punished. The result from the punishment only condition, in which the punishment was not contingent on any sharing or
nonsharing behavior, indicate a significant increase in sharing behavior when compared to the control subjects.

This latter finding led to the testing of a specific hypothesis in the second experiment—that noncontingent punishment, as opposed to contingent punishment, has more general effects in terms of making more likely a whole range of behaviors, namely those behaviors that the child regards as socially appropriate or, more simply, the behaviors for which the child has received social approval in the past. There are several possible interpretations for the finding that confirmed this hypothesis. First, the fact that the adult punished the model could perhaps be enough to suggest that the entire situation was potentially dangerous, and thus the subjects would try especially hard to behave in acceptable ways. Second, the socializing agent who punishes or reprimands a child even before a deviant act actually occurs would be viewed as considerably more forbidding and punitive, and that this difference accounts for the results in the second experiment. A reasonable strategy on the part of the child would be to perform excessively those responses which he has previously learned lead to no punishment. In most children's learning history, the class of behaviors termed "prosocial" is likely to have such a property.

Principal Findings: When shown two pornographic films portraying face-to-face intercourse and oral-genital sex, males were more sexually aroused than females by the depiction of oral-genital sex. Females, high-sex-guilt subjects, and the less sexually experienced subjects rated the films as more pornographic, disgusting, and offensive. Subjects who had scored high on a guilt inventory saw oral-genital sex as abnormal. Men reported more affective arousal after viewing the films, while women reported greater negative affect.

Design and Methodology: One hundred and ninety-four single undergraduate males and 183 single undergraduate females participated in same-sex groups of approximately 30 students. After completing a number of questionnaires probing sexual attitudes and behavior, sex guilt, and sex experience, subject groups were alternately assigned to view either a film featuring face-to-face intercourse or oral-genital relations. Immediately after viewing, subjects completed forms assessing their physiological and affective reactions to the film. They also completed follow-up questionnaires after 24 hours and two weeks.

Theory and Discussion: The author concludes that the explicit films had little or no negative effect upon the participants, and there was no evidence of changes in sexual attitudes or activity because of the experiment. The data indicate that women can be aroused by sexual stimuli but are more disgusted than men by oral-genital sex. Research regarding the nature of this disgust and its relation to female personality, sex experience, and sex guilt is recommended.

Principal Findings: Males sexually aroused by pornography did not engage in increased verbal aggression toward women. However, the data supported the proposition that aggression toward women increases when that aggression is instrumental in securing sexual stimulation (in this case, an opportunity to view a pornographic film). Men who scored high on a sexual guilt inventory were generally more aggressive than low scorers, and they increased their aggressiveness when the aggression was instrumental in securing a pornographic reward. However, if these high-sex-guilt men had just seen a previous pornographic film, they were less interested in seeing another similar film and were less aggressive than were the low-sex-guilt men, who seemed to enjoy the films without disgust.

Design and Methodology: The subjects were 120 males enrolled in an introductory psychology class at the University of Connecticut. Subjects were asked to complete a guilt inventory, then were taken individually to a laboratory room where they were asked to agress verbally against a female assistant. The experimenter scored the aggressive behavior and reported the score to the subject. The subjects were then shown either a travelogue on Paris or a pornographic film depicting petting activities. The subjects were then given a description of either a travelogue of Rome or a film depicting coitus. Half were told, after hearing the film described, that in order to see the second film they would have to equal or exceed the total aggression score which was written on an index card in front of them. The other half were simply asked to aggress toward the female assistant once again. The second sample of verbal aggression was tape recorded and simultaneously scored by the experimenter. Films were seen by 25 of the 60 subjects in the contingency conditions who reached the required total aggression score. These subjects and the 60 in the noncontingency conditions completed a film reaction questionnaire.

Theory and Discussion: One common argument against pornography is that it may trigger sex aggression against women. This study indicates that pornographically inspired sexual arousal per se does not stimulate such aggression. However, aggression does increase when it is instrumental to further stimulation. It is important to note that the verbal aggression used as the dependent variable in the laboratory experiment is not like assault and that the reward of seeing the second film is not like having coitus.


Principal Findings: Among five- and six-year-old inner city black males, heavy television viewing was positively correlated with observers' ratings of interpersonal passivity and physical activity. The heavy viewers' social behavior was similarly rated three years earlier, suggesting that interpersonally passive children are more likely to become heavy viewers, rather than that heavy viewing causes passivity.

Design and Methodology: Twenty-seven five- and six-year-old black males were selected from a sample of urban poor families in Washington, D.C., who were participating in a longitudinal study which provided background data. New data were obtained in 1970-71 through teacher ratings, interviews with the mother and child, in-home observation, and completion of a week-long viewing diary.

Theory and Discussion: The focus of the study is "how" as well as "what" children view. "It attempts to map the behavior setting and describe the spontaneous reactions of the child while viewing standard commercial television programming in his own home, and to relate these factors to other aspects of the child's total television experience like program preferences, extent and duration of viewing, and cognitive/socialization variables," explains the author. It is primarily descriptive; the small, nonrandom sample precludes generalization to a larger population. Nevertheless, the data are not consistent with the
hypothesis that heavy viewing causes passivity (although it may help to maintain it), and are consistent with the hypothesis that children learn from television, since observers reported considerable immediate imitation of what was viewed. As to total viewing, the children as a whole watched two to four hours a day and about 21 hours a week, had definite program preferences, and 70 percent reported no parental supervision of choices. When the sample was evenly divided into those heavier and lighter in total viewing, no significant differences appeared on psychological scales of "extraversion-introversion," "hostility-considerateness," or "distractability-task orientation." However, the overall pattern suggested that the heavy viewer was interpersonally more passive but physically more active. This cannot be attributed to television's influence, since the heavier viewers had displayed the same traits three years earlier.


**Principal Findings:** Teenagers' definitions of violence fell into three categories—physical, mental, and verbal—and violence was generally described as a "senseless phenomenon." Alienated teenagers tended to be older, male, to watch black-and-white television sets, to have lived most of their lives in rural areas, and to have mothers and fathers with low education. The strongest relationship was between rural backgrounds and alienation. Only sex was related to exposure to violent programs, with males reporting higher violence viewing than females. Finally, telephone interviews seemed to indicate that relatively few teenagers in the sample spent large amounts of time viewing television. About 60 percent said they did not watch television on the previous night. Of those who had, 46 percent recalled at least one violent incident. Only sex was a predictor of violence recall, with males recalling more violence.

**Design and Methodology:** The study was conducted in the fall of 1969 in a Minneapolis high school. There were three phases. In the first, a panel of 41 student judges (68 percent of the sample drawn) were given 15 minutes to define what violence meant to them personally, then given a list of television programs to rate. The individual definitions were content analyzed to obtain an overall definition of violence. Only prime-time programs (150 of them) were rated, since polls show that teenagers are more apt to watch television during the evening. In the second phase, data on violence viewing, alienation, and other variables were obtained from a sample of 370 (63 percent of the sample drawn). Students were asked to rate how often they watched each of the previously rated 150 programs. A violence score was computed, based on the product of frequency of viewing and the students' violence ratings of programs divided by total programs watched. In the third phase, telephone interviews were conducted with 137 students (70 percent of the sample drawn) having the highest or lowest violence viewing scores, with a portion of the sample interviewed on each day of the week. Each student was asked to name a program he watched the previous evening and to tell what he remembered from it. Respondents' answers were content analyzed using the peer-group definition as a standard to determine whether students recalled violent or nonviolent incidents. If violence was recalled, the number of incidents was counted.

**Theory and Discussion:** When multiple regression was used to predict both alienation and violence viewing, all variables accounted for 23 percent of the variance of alienation and 11 percent of the variance of violence viewing. The correlation between alienation and violence viewing was .03. It is argued that alienation is not an intervening variable between demographic/family variables and violence viewing. The use of variables other than anomie are suggested to account for more of the variance in teenage viewing of violent television programming.


**Principal Findings:** First-graders who saw an aggressive cartoon subsequently more often urged that a balloon be popped than did first-graders who saw a nonaggressive cartoon or no cartoon at all. No sex differences were observed, and frustration did not affect the giving of the aggressive verbal response.

**Design and Methodology:** The subjects, 36 lower-middle-class first-graders, were randomly assigned to one of six groups, each group consisting of three boys and three girls. The three "frustration" groups were told to copy numbers repeatedly while a teacher criticized their work. Then the subjects viewed either an aggressive cartoon, a nonaggressive cartoon, or no cartoon. The dependent measure of aggression was the verbal expression of desire to pop a balloon. However, subjects were not given the opportunity to pop the balloon, and the aggression score was simply the number of times the child recommended popping the balloon.

**Theory and Discussion:** The authors interpret the result as supporting the hypothesis that exposure to aggressive fantasy in an animated cartoon stimulates aggressive play behavior in a permissive situation. The authors discussed this finding in terms of the possibility that the children identified with the aggressive cartoon characters and the possibility that the relaxed context of the film led to a reduction of inhibitions. The authors note the possibility that the frustration manipulation may not have been effective, and no empirical check on its effectiveness is reported.


**Principal Conclusions:** Up to 1967, the news media had been derelict in not communicating to their predominately white audiences the "degradation, misery and hopelessness" of ghetto life, and had failed to adequately convey the causes and consequences of urban rioting, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders concluded. Certain elements of the news media exaggerated the 1967 summer rioting. However, despite some "sensationalism, inaccuracy, and distortion," the media attempted to give "balanced and factual" coverage of the rioting.

**Theory and Discussion:** The Commission conducted interviews with a wide range of government officials, law enforcement persons, media persons, and various other citizens, including residents of the ghetto; made a quantitative analysis of riot coverage; and held a special conference with media representatives. Both television news and newspapers emphasized elements of calm and fact over emotion and rumor. However, television gave emphasis to acts of law enforcement and to clashes between whites and blacks that required armed intervention; and newspapers emphasized various potential measures for riot control in addition to riot events, and tended to give more play to distant than local riots. The effect in both cases was to draw attention away from underlying causes.

In general, people in the ghetto distrust the mass media. Of them, they rely most for news on television. However, radio often is very powerful because it is constantly in use and has a format open to the quick dissemination of inflammatory or calming information. In order to correct circumstances judged unsatisfactory, the Commission recommended expanded coverage of the black community; integration of blacks into all as-