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MASS COMMUNICATION

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MASS COMMUNICATION¹

by Walter Weiss

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The impression gained from a review of the literature is that, at this time, the area of mass communications lacks conceptual coherence and comprises principally a potpourri of diverse research interests. It is a borrowing area, borrowing theory and principles small and large from the social sciences generally. But then, this should not be surprising, since the research focuses on the significant role played by the instruments, contents and effects of public communication in the lives of people and the functioning of socio-political systems. Similar thoughts were expressed by Tannenbaum & Greenberg (162) in the opening of their review in the 1968 volume of the Annual Review. Since then, customary lines of inquiry have been pursued by a multitude of investigators who have made useful but discrete additions to knowledge. Despite the existence of centers for research on mass communications, mainly university-connected, systematic, coordinated and continuing endeavors by groups of investigators, so needed for substantial advances on broad fronts, are only occasionally to be found.

This review is of course selective both in regard to the topics covered and the literature cited. The principal topics omitted, although touched on here and there, comprise communication studies

¹The survey of literature pertaining to this review covers principally the three-year period beginning January 1967.

related to advertising and consumer behavior, historical, structural and organizational analyses of the media, experimental research on attitude change, methodology and the educational-instructional uses of the media. A handbook would be needed to encompass all that can be assigned to the portmanteau term of mass communication. The major dimensions and topics of the review are similar to those in a previous one by Weiss (175), and the cited literature picks up chronologically from the termination point in that coverage.

Brief mention should be made of the significance of communication satellites, for their further development and wider use promises to open a new era of potentially revolutionary changes in communications (143, 144, 169). But, realization of their full potential, when direct transmission to home receivers becomes possible in 10-20 years, is much less likely to be impeded by purely technological matters than by economic, legal and especially socio-political obstacles (23, 143, 144, 169). A preview of thorny questions of national interest and sovereignty is already evident in Canada's concern over the impact on her national culture of American media products, such as news services, television programs and movies (8). Also suggestive is Hollander's (82) examination of the changes in Soviet radio and television news reporting after the jamming of foreign broadcasts ended in 1963. Hence, the early initiation of worldwide planning and discussions on non-technological difficulties looms as a crucial need. But, as Schramm (143, 144) points out, the proper perspective concerning the allocation of limited resources to new media or media developments should be in terms of the supplementing contributions they can make to previously determined societal needs (cf. 34, 145, 168).

INFORMATION FUNCTION

Preferred sources.--Data on the public's assertions about the relative utility of different media as sources of information are of general significance for an understanding of the uses and functions of the mass media. Essentially, this comes down to the relative standing of television and newspapers, since magazines and radio usually place far behind these two as first choices. Television is chosen by the general public over the press as a source of general information (134), or for stories of greatest general interest (18), or when the visual element is an inherent quality of a story (171), or when the story has more than local significance (134). But the press is preferred to television on most of a large pool of specific stories, including science and health news (18, 171), or when the visual element is not central or the event must be interpreted (171), or when the story is of local interest (18, 29, 69, 134). But, except for very specialized topics, most persons (particularly the better educated) think of and use more than one source (18, 171). Other people are rarely cited as preferred first sources of information, although Greenberg & Darvin (69) report some evidence of an increase in mentions of such sources among low-income people. It should also be kept in mind that media actions can serve the function of communication from one part of the public to relevant others (29).

Media credibility.--The trend of research evidence in recent years is quite consistent in establishing television as the informational medium of highest credibility, given an intermedia conflict in news versions; newspapers are second and other media lag behind (16, 30, 68, 70, 84, 104, 134, 158). Roper (134) reports

that television's advantage over newspapers has been increasing steadily so that by 1968 it was chosen by twice as many people as chose newspapers. Chang & Lemert (30) report that, even for a higher than average educational sample and even for those who use only the press for news, television is considered more credible than newspapers. The general pattern of television's greater credibility appears to be transnational in significance and does not appear to be due merely to differential usage of the media (16, 158).

Reasons offered by respondents for their choices of most credible medium emphasize television's visual and live qualities and the press' thoroughness in reporting (30). But, in addition, a perception of the differential biasedness of the media comes into play (30). This seems to hit newspapers hardest, for they are viewed as less objective regardless of the medium ranked first in believability (84).

News selection.--Obviously relevant to an analysis of the information function is an examination of the factors that influence the selection of news stories for publication or broadcast. Such knowledge could preclude unwarranted criticism or reflexive defense of the news media and set trust or mistrust on a more rational basis. Since television has borne the brunt of criticism recently, an awareness by the general public of the process and problems of televised news broadcasting (105, 157) would have sharpened some criticism and modified others.

That television does not merely show reality, even in live broadcasts, has been clearly established (92, 93, 105, 177). Rather what is created as a result of an active selecting and

interweaving of images is a kind of processed reality. An informative analysis of television coverage of the Kennedy assassination weekend by Love (102) goes beyond the fact of the creative process to the factors underlying the selection of transmitted events. While news judgment was the pervasive control, it was informed by such influences as the social context of news organizations and personnel, degree of access to relevant parties in the drama, a concern not to alarm the public, and, most significantly of all, the normative dimension of situational appropriateness. In a relevant study of factors underlying television news editors' judgments, Buckalew (24) using a Q-sort procedure turns up the following five: conflict, significance, timeliness, proximity and visual availability.

In regard to the press, the role of the publisher has been the focus of some recent research. Bowers (20) finds that publisher suggestions or instructions concerning news stories were more likely to be given, the greater the paper's economic vulnerability to outside pressure and the more a particular story might produce such pressures. Donohew (44) reports that in Kentucky publisher attitudes on medicare accounted for approximately 50% of the variance relating to differences in the extent and prominence of coverage given to medicare and in the evaluative bias in medicare news stories. The publishers' perceptions of their community's views did not significantly affect the results. Nor was there any support for the assumption that community characteristics likely to be associated with interest in and attitude on the topic (e.g. percent of population over 65) would be related to the quantity and bias of coverage. Shaw (150) also found no evidence that relevant community characteristics were related to local newspaper

coverage of population and family planning stories. Rather, the emphasis given to such news by the major wire services was the major determinant.

Besides criticisms of inadequate or biased coverage, news media are often charged with inaccuracies in their news stories. The generality and validity of such charges are not only relevant to the training and function of newsmen but also to the general trust that the public places in news reports. In an examination of three San Francisco papers, Berry (15) found that only 46% of the news stories were completely accurate. The most frequent inaccuracies were omissions, misquotations, or other errors of meaning. Although telephone interviews were often used by reporters, they yielded less accurate stories than did personal interviews. A similar finding is reported by Lawrence and Grey (97).

USES AND GRATIFICATIONS

Correlates of media use.--Educational level has been the most consistently significant correlate of media use. In regard to the print media, the relationship is generally positive (17, 18, 46, 71, 110, 128). This probably reflects the educated person's greater interest in the media as a source of serious information and 'hard' news (122), which shows up in his greater knowledge of public and world affairs (128). Since reading a newspaper is so widespread, unless the educational range sampled is extensive or unless care is taken to distinguish between different types of content, no relation may be found with a gross index of exposure (110, 140).

In regard to television, the relationship is usually negative (110, 120, 129, 140), and in contrast to a previous finding (138) need not be due to the differential availability of leisure time (129).

However Greenberg & Kumata (71) report an inverted U-shaped function with the peak at 11-12 years of schooling; and Donohew & Thorp (46), using Kentucky's counties as sampling units, find a positive relationship between median county level of education and television usage. Of interest is Bogart's (17) report of a negative relationship between education and television usage for whites but a positive one for Negroes. Perhaps, as he conjectures the Negroes in each of the two gross educational categories used in the study were much lower in both income and education than were the corresponding categories of whites. Robinson (129) finds that education is a positive correlate of television usage in Eastern Europe, where sets are not widely available and the programming is more like US educational than commercial television. Variation over studies in the likely significance of the contents of exposure, in the range of education sampled (and the use of suitable controls on other correlates), in the distribution of sets throughout the sample, in the nature of the sample, and in the indices of set usage probably account for divergences in results.

From the perspective of a functional viewpoint, research ought to focus on the psychological and motivational correlates of media usage. When such studies of uses and gratifications are carried out, the media or media content are usually viewed dichotomously as predominantly fantasy-escapist or informational-educational in significance; and the selected personality characteristics are those expected to relate more closely to one or the other kind of material. In line with this approach, Rees (127) finds that degree of achievement need is positively associated with preference for magazines categorized as deferred gratification types but is not

related to preference for television programs of the same type. Other investigators (110, 140) report that a sense of alienation from other people and from society was generally unrelated to media usage. Poverty rather than anomie was the correlate in one study (140); and in the other (110), while the alienated were less interested than the non-alienated in non-sensational headlines, they were not more attracted to sensational ones. In sum, the results of these and other studies suggest that, at best, personality factors will account for relatively little of the variance of media usage and will generally operate to produce minor perturbations in overall patterns of preferences based on other determinants. This tentative evaluation is in contrast to the suggestion of Greenberg & Kumata (71) that non-demographic attributes should be employed, since even a cluster of the usual demographic ones controls only approximately 25% of the variance.

Leisure time.--Since exposure to the mass media is discretionary, it tends to occur during times free of required or obligatory behavior, although it does seem to appear with some frequency as a secondary activity (58, 118, 129, 175). Evidently then, the amount of leisure time and the kinds of leisure activities pursued and available are significant determinants of customary media usage (112, 175). Hence, to provide the temporal-behavioral context into which the media fit, a mapping of the patterns of time allocations for obligatory and non-obligatory activities becomes necessary. The relevance of such information was noted in a limited study by Belson (11). But now, more elaborate and systematic data-gathering has begun in a number of counties (129, 141). For instance, Robinson (129) reports that in the US

leisure time is split about evenly between exposure to mass media and all other kinds of activities, with television occupying more than twice as much time as all other media combined. However, to forecast the media's future effects on leisure time also requires detailed, quantitative knowledge of the motivations and gratifications surrounding their use (58, 166).

For Dumazadier (49), leisure time is a central element in life and a need, providing opportunities for relaxation, entertainment, and personal development. Since the media are principally useful for and used for leisure, evaluations of media performance should be based on their contributions to the full variety of leisure uses and not on elite standards of 'high culture.' Stephenson's (160) emphasis on the play or pleasure element in the media experience is congruent with Dumazadier's (49) and Sato's (141) views. Of interest is Meyersohn's (112) report of a complementary relationship between extent of exposure to television and engagement in other leisure activities among the poor, but a competitive one among the well-to-do.

Television.--Recent data on the place of television in the lives of adults and children are provided mainly by Japanese researchers. Fujiwara (58) finds that, among adults, the percentage of total viewing time devoted to educational and cultural programs varies only slightly by age or occupation; in contrast, the percentages for other kinds of programs vary more widely. The primary reasons for viewing television are relaxation-entertainment, a general cultural-informational benefit, and the pleasure of family viewing. (In a Canadian study, Wand 174 finds that, despite the incentive of togetherness, family viewing of television

is not likely to occur when program interests are too diverse.) Compared to other media, television is more likely to be chosen to satisfy multiple desires.

In a summary of research on Japanese schoolchildren, Furu (59) reports further data documenting a transcultural turning-point around the beginning of the teens, for a shift from fantasy-oriented to reality-oriented media content (175). For instance, in a longitudinal study, 7th graders showed an increase in attention to serious articles in newspapers compared to their interest when they were 5th graders. In conformity with data from other countries (81, 146), Japanese researchers find no evidence of television-induced passivity among children. Furu notes the problem for such research of the varied and unclear meanings of "passivity"; perhaps Dumazadier's (49) distinction between active and passive attitudes toward the media experiences themselves could prove useful as a refinement of exposure. Research is in progress on Himmelweit's (80) proposal concerning the use of school teachers to shape the television-viewing behavior of young people. Preliminary data suggest that recommended programs were watched but that, over the relatively short time interval used, general tastes were not affected.

Furu also reports no evidence for a television effect on children's realistic or fantasy expectations about jobs. While not assessing the same type of effect, DeFleur & DeFleur (41) assert that television does contribute to children's knowledge of and regard for occupations experienced only through television.

Although not an example of research on the significance of

television in the lives of children, Taka's (161) exploratory work on a developmental approach to children's grasp of montage and visual symbolism and to their general cognitive and emotional responsiveness to motion pictures is deserving of mention. For instance, he finds that, while cognitive accuracy increased with age, apt awareness of the affective tone of scenes was not much different between third-year primary and second-year junior high school students. The research is also suggestive of ways to improve the communicative adequacy of sequential visual presentations directed to children.

Taking the opportunity afforded by the coming of the Tokyo Olympics, Fujitake (57) examined the responsiveness of the Japanese people to this new and unusual event. His results suggest the existence of three stages spread over a period of months in the process of psychological involvement in the Olympics: (1) awareness of the forthcoming event, coupled with sketchy knowledge and a slight uplift of interest; (2) then the acquisition of more detailed knowledge, an upsurge of interest, and the arousal of a weak emotional involvement; and (3) the condensing of heightened emotional involvement around the event which now takes on more central significance. These stages reflect changes in the density and substance of media coverage over time. For the vast majority of people, the Olympics was the reality created by television in the form of a public drama that took place in television time and gave central focus to the competitive efforts of Japanese athletes.

Race as a factor.--Although opinion surveys on social and political topics customarily provide information on the views of

groups separated on race, religion or ethnic background, there has been relatively little comparable attention to such group differences in the uses of the media. On the basis of a nationwide study, Bogart (17) reports that demographic factors were related to media usage among Negroes in the same manner as among whites. However, Negroes were less exposed to all media, including television, with proportionately four times as many Negroes not exposed "yesterday" to any of the media. Undoubtedly, group differences in education and income were primary factors contributing to differential media usage (69, 71). But, as Lyle (104) avers in regard to Los Angeles newspapers, distrust of the 'white' media may also be involved.

Carey (27) reports a study of black-white differences in preferences for television programs. While the ranking of programs according to reported viewing shows a significant interracial correlation, the common cultural taste implied by this accounts for only approximately 25% of the variance and seems to relate more to agreement on non-preferred than on preferred programs. Only three of the programs in the top ten for each group are the same and sharp Negro-white differences appear for others in this set. Based on the pattern of Negro preferences, Carey puts forward cautiously the descriptive generalization that, from the available programs, blacks favored those that focused on individual action in situations of dramatic tension or conflict and avoided white family-type situation comedies. He notes the relevance of this pattern to cultural-situational factors of Negro life. More recent findings suggestive of a similar preferential pattern among Negro teenagers are provided by Greenberg & Dominick (70).

The potential utility of such data as evidence of the cultural significance of changing life experiences and circumstances of Negroes and for black-white cultural accommodations suggests the value of longitudinal studies. In fact, Carey (27) mentions that in a survey a year later the common variance in program rankings approached 50%. Current research by Greenberg and associates (69, 70) points to the significance of economic status and age as factors in such comparisons. Among low-income adults, the rank-order correlation between Negro and white preferences for 12 television programs was .72; but the correlation across income levels was near zero (6). (The results are similar in regard to preference for different sections of the daily newspaper.) However, among teenagers (70), both race and economic status were influential associates of program preferences, acceptance of television programs as accurate depictions of reality, and use of the programs as a 'school of life' and for vicarious excitement; the order for the latter two was: low-income Negro > low-income white > middle-income white.

Gerson (62) examined the differences between Negro and white adolescents in their use of the media as a source and a confirmer of ideas relating to dating behavior. He found that, among males, Negroes were more likely to acknowledge using the media for both purposes; whereas, among females, there was no racial difference. In the absence of a more probing analysis and of data on particular media used and on types of behavior learned or reinforced, the proper interpretation to be given to these and other findings is uncertain.

NEGROES AND THE MEDIA

In general, there has always been a dearth of attention to the contents and functions of media vehicles designed for specific ethnic, racial, or religious groups. Instead, research has focused almost exclusively on the media for the general public. In regard to the contemporary scene, although the Negro social revolution has been a major theme for the past decade, there has been relatively little research on the Negro press or other media directed at black audiences.

Negro press.--Some relevant data are reported by Roshco (137) and Lyle (104). Both note that the Negro press has experienced a decline in circulation in recent decades. The primary reasons are probably reduceable to the relationship between the traditional nature of the Negro press and the national newsworthiness plus the achieved though limited successes of the Negro social revolution. Before black activities became generally and continuously of interest to the general public, Negroes had to turn to the black press for such news and commentary. But, within the last decade, the general mass media have begun to devote news space, features, and analyses to racial relations and Negro protests. For instance, the demise in 1966 of the almost 50 year old Associated Negro Press news service has been attributed to the servicing of Negro papers by the major national wire services, once they began continuous coverage of Negro news (7).

In addition to the impact of reduced functional utility, the Negro press suffered from a loss of a major core of readers, when the Negro middle class began to move from the ghettos to the suburbs as their economic condition and residential options

improved (137). On the basis of the differential attentiveness of lower and middle class Negroes to the same ads in a black and a major newspaper, Petroff (123) arrives at a comparable conjecture. Some of Lyle's (104) data are also supportive of this inference.

However, the preceding should not be taken to imply the imminent demise of the Negro press. Despite the attention given to black problems and activities, the focus of the daily media is still on major news stories and not on the continuing run of events and diverse interests of Negroes nor on local community activities and personalities. The major defect from the Negro point of view is the failure of the dominant media to provide a Negro perspective on relevant news stories (66, 87, 121). This is the strength of the Negro press, embracing as it does news, editorials, columns of commentary and analysis by black journalists and spokesmen, and letters to the editor from ordinary people.

Media portrayals.--The evidence of current research on the depictions of Negroes in advertising accords with their changed and changing status in American society. Using the same magazines as Shuey, King & Griffith (151) did approximately 18 years earlier, Cox (38) finds that over this period, there was a steep increase from 6% to 71% in depictions of Negroes as skilled or white-collar workers. Kassarjian (85) also confirms this general pattern of change. Colle (35) notes that since 1960 Negroes have become more visible in movies and television and are portrayed in many different roles. Although the new media image can encourage Negro aspirations, pride and dignity, he feels that the most significant outcome will be on the greater acceptance by whites of the idea

that Negroes belong in the mainstream of American life.

In a comparison of content in selected general and Negro magazines, Barbus & Levin (6) analyzed the role distance between characters in short story fiction. The general patterns were quite similar in both types of magazines; essentially, the distance between people of the same race was closer than between people of different races. But, in the general magazines, black-white contacts were tangential to the main story-line and the stories ignored racial conflict and the civil rights struggle; whereas, in the Negro magazines, the fiction drew heavily on contemporary problems of black-white relations. It is quite likely that the different purposes and audiences of the magazines influenced the editors' judgments of suitable stories. A similar comment is applicable to the evidence (139) that during 1962-63 Ebony magazine featured non-violent newsphotos of civil rights conflicts, while Life magazine emphasized the violent; also a higher percentage of Ebony's photos displayed mixed racial associations.

VIOLENCE AND THE MEDIA

News media and civil disorders.--The Kerner report (87) on the 1967 ghetto disorders neither absolved nor charged the media, particularly television, with exacerbating the riots. Although the media's influence was not considered decisive, the report did criticize the coverage on several grounds. The major inadequacies were the media's failure to relate the riots to the deprivational and corrosive background of ghetto life, to provide access to a black-oriented perspective on the events, and to undercut the wide impression of a primary black-white confrontation.

Also, the media were charged with failure to give adequate attention to the representativeness and mood of the picture being transmitted. Other commentators (5, 73, 77, 121) note the proclivity of the wire services toward exaggeration, particularly in the early reports of disorders.

Television entertainment.--Based on surveys of related literature, several contributors to a governmental report on violence and the media (94) have been led to a firm endorsement of the position that televised violence in entertainment programs has demonstrably adverse effects on behavior, attitudes, and values; their certainty of the charge of guilty seems only a shade lower than Wertham's (176). However, the judgment appears to be founded primarily on most extrapolations from adduced evidence, whose conclusiveness and intimate relevance are open to reasonable question (74, 175). Also, despite some acknowledgment, the wider societal and historical context pertinent to an understanding and evaluation of current media effects is given little weight (39, 40, 42, 56, 63, 67).

A study exemplifying the difficulty of easy interpretations of media effects is briefly reported by Harper, Muro & Himmelweit (75). Based on the factor analysis of rated preferences for 34 television programs by British schoolchildren, eleven program types were found. One constituted a preference area which contained Westerns and two animal programs, but not one crime or detective program. This suggested to the authors that 10-11 year olds may react more to the outdoor life and the riding than to the violence of the Westerns. Also, pop music was

the favorite type of program, whereas ten years before an adult detective program was the favorite. According to the authors, both preferences may reflect popular fashion rather than psychological needs.

Also pertinent to the interpretive problem are Lovibond's (103) correlational data demonstrating a significant association between Australian schoolchildren's approval of statements from war and crime comic books emphasizing toughness and force and their exposure to crime and violence programs on television. But, even before the advent of television, a significant association existed between approval of such statements and exposure to the popular media of the time. The author notes that a cause-effect relationship cannot be deduced from the data; at best, only conjectures of mutual interaction and common predispositions fostered by other factors can be made.

Experimental research on media portrayals of violence.--A major theme in experimental research on the effects of vicarious aggressive experiences derives from elaborations of a frustration-aggression hypothesis. The relevant core of Berkowitz's formulation (13) holds that anger arousal increases aggressive tendencies but that the likelihood and intensity of their expression is a function of the degree of anger, the strength of past learning to be aggressive, and the presence of situational cues inhibiting or facilitating aggression against the anger arouser. In a study by Geen & Berkowitz (60), subjects were provoked by shocks delivered by the experimenter's confederate to signify a moderately poor evaluation of their solutions to a problem, watched a track or bloody fight film, and then shocked the

confederate as the required mode of evaluating his solution to a similar problem. In general, only when there was some similarity between the names of the confederate and the beaten fighter, did viewers of the boxing film give more shocks than viewers of the track film. The significance of the name linkage in connection with exposure to the justified movie beating was also found in other research (14, 61), involving shock or insult as the principal instigating condition and employing several procedural variations. The general data patterns are construed as evidence that the filmed depiction of a person who resembles even tenuously an actual aggressor lowers inhibitions against the expression of counter-aggression. It is significant that the film effect is not attributed to a heightening of aggressive tendencies and the necessary conditions are prior aggression arousal, belief in the justice of the filmed aggression, and an association between the film victim and the viewer's own aggressor.

However, despite the absence of the latter conditions, Hartmann (182), using a two-minute film the last minute of which showed a fight between two boys who had previously engaged in basketball play, obtains some evidence that even among non-insulted subjects the fight sequence can lead to higher evaluation-shock. Whether the result is due to the use of delinquents as subjects or whether aggressiveness was heightened or inhibitions reduced is unknown. Also, only among boys who had been insulted by the other participant and whose records of delinquent offenses were above the average for the sample was the movie version that focused on the victim in the fight sequence more effective than the one that focused on the attacker. Among all other subgroups, the reverse

was the trend.

Neither these nor previous findings nor their conceptualization by Berkowitz lend support to a catharsis hypothesis. However, Bramel, Taub & Blum (21) report some evidence in support of a catharsis assumption that hostile feelings toward an aggressor would be mollified by the satisfying experience of merely hearing him suffer. Goranson (65) mentions unpublished research that utilized a bloody fight film which ended with the beaten fighter either physically devastated and dying or in good shape and achieving success later on. Fewer shocks were given by the subjects to their aggressor after viewing the former film than after viewing the latter one. Similar results were obtained when the distressing ending was not an aftermath of the fight.

However, heightened concern over the possible hurtful effects of the shocks rather than a cathartic reduction in aggressive tendencies is more likely the meaning of these results.

In all of the literature relevant to media portrayals of violence, no experimental manipulations have been carried out in a reasonably naturalistic setting on the effects of a long run of exposures to the usual kinds of televised entertainment programs. Now, Feshbach (54) has completed an elaborate study of the kind needed. However, in the absence of a full report, particular caution must be exercised in considering his most unexpected findings. Nevertheless, boys from 3-18 years old assigned to a heavy diet of televised violence for six weeks showed reduced aggressiveness in their ordinary behavior toward peers and in their values, compared to boys given a diet of non-violent television entertainment. But, aggression in story-making themes was positively related to degree of exposure to television violence. Feshbach suggests that the usual aggressive content of television programs may provide cognitive support to "bind" or regulate the behavioral impulses of aggressively disposed boys. It is of interest that such an interpretation does not reflect the usual perspective of a simple catharsis hypothesis.

If anger is the energetic force for emotionally-based aggression, then its displacement as the dominant feeling should lower the strength of aggressive tendencies. On this ground if no other, a satisfying humorous experience is often thought of as having such an interfering effect. Research by Singer (155), Dvorkin & Efran (50), and Landy & Mittle (90) supports this inference and

provides some suggestive evidence of the particular efficacy of hostile humor. Evidence of this sort makes more pertinent and suggestive the findings that cartoons in two national magazines frequently display hostile or violent behavior (52) and that aggressive humor tends to be rated funnier than non-aggressive (64, 156), except when inhibitions against aggressive expression are aroused or the humor's aggressiveness is too salient.

In the main, the preceding research has been concerned with the effects of vicarious experiences on the expression of aggressive behavior toward a personal frustrator, with the form of the aggression being unrelated to the depicted behavior. In contrast, studies of the modeling effects of observational learning focus primarily on the imitation of specific and novel aggressive responses made by adult models toward inanimate play objects. The observational and test settings are very similar; and the subjects are primarily young children of both sexes. Since the modeled responses are most unlikely to be found in ordinary play with the test toys, the research has consistently demonstrated some increase in the children's use of the model's behavior. Hence, recent experimentation has tended to focus on the effects of induced or stable dispositions or of verbal evaluations of the model's aggressive play.

Walters & Willows (173) sought to compare the modeling effect on normal and emotionally disturbed boys of a film depicting a female adult model who behaved aggressively or non-aggressively towards a number of toys and accompanied her behavior with suitable comments. Disturbed boys showed as many aggressive responses as did the non-disturbed boys but almost significantly fewer

non-aggressive responses. Essentially, the boys drew on the film model's behavior during the six minute period they were told to "have fun" in the toy room. But the preponderance of responses were non-aggressive ones; and the aggressive model raised the baseline average from zero to only one aggressive response.

Nelson, Gelfand & Hartmann (116) found that the aggressive play behavior of a live adult male had no effect on the play behavior of boys but brought out more aggressive play in girls, presumably through a lowering of inhibitions. Although a prior induction of task failure increased aggressive play, the effect of the aggressive model was not enhanced by this frustrating experience. However, Kuhn, Madsen & Becker (89) reported an effect of prior frustration on responses to an aggressive model. But, the direction was contrary to expectation, since the frustrating experience diminished the aggressive model's effectiveness.

Using a film showing a white male adult aggressing against a bobo doll, Thelen & Soltz (164) tested a predominantly Negro sample of boys entered in a summer Head Start program. Contrary to expectation, aggressive play behavior was greater when the acts of the film model were not followed by the reinforcing, congratulatory verbalizations of a recorded male voice. A follow-up experiment with white children attending a university-related school found the verbalization version to be slightly better than the no-verbalization one. Since the two samples undoubtedly differed in a number of relevant characteristics other than race, the particular significance of a white model can only be entertained as one possible factor in the different data outcomes.

Hicks (79) examined the effectiveness of having a male adult stranger make approving or criticizing or no comments about the filmed aggressive play of another male adult. Only when the commenting adult was also present though silently in the separate test room did his earlier comments produce a differential effect on the play behavior of young children. Their imitation of the aggressive acts of the film model increased when his prior comments had been approving and decreased when they had been disapproving. Somewhat similar results are reported by Rosekrans & Hartup (136) who used a live adult model and had the experimenter make the commentary on the model's acts.

The preceding set of studies seems to suggest that, except for a simple effect of sex, dispositional variables do not function as expected, that the modeling effects are more likely due to a lowering of play inhibitions or a learning of novel ways of handling toys rather than an increase in aggressive tendencies, and that verbal commentary associated with the model's behavior can have an effect under certain conditions. Absent unfortunately is an understanding of the subjective meaning to the children of the observation experiences and their play responses.

DIFFUSION AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Diffusion of innovations.--Research on the diffusion of innovations, particularly in agricultural practices, has reached voluminous proportions, with as many studies published in the period 1962-67 as in the preceding 34 years (132). (See Rogers 131 for an extensive bibliography of references.) However, despite the considerable efforts devoted to diffusion research, a number of the significant contributors to the literature have

expressed critical concern over the state of current theory and methodology (26, 37).

Since adoption of an agricultural innovation involves risk-taking, it is not surprising that early adopters are characterized by relatively higher economic resources (130). But so should the availability of relevant psychological resources foster early adoption. In confirmation, Bohlen (19) finds evidence that early adopters more than later ones exhibit the conceptual ability to evaluate and use abstract and technical information and thereby arrive at an early decision. Also, they believe themselves "masters of their fates" and able to cope with unforeseen contingencies. In traditional areas of the world, the obverse of this confidence in one's ability to cope and, by personal effort, to change a situation appears in the form of an attitude of fatalism, which has often been considered a significant obstacle to change. For instance, in India, it is found to inhibit acceptance of new agricultural practices (31). But, in regard to Colombian villagers, Rogers (133) sees it more as a rationalization for failure to induce change than as an insurmountable barrier to modernization in farming. Examining many case studies, Niehoff & Anderson (117) concur that fatalism from whatever source is not by itself sufficient to prevent change in farming or health practices or to cause the failure of development projects, as long as the formal change agents are skillful in technique and utilize whatever positive factors and incentives exist in the situation. They are however more concerned with a "project fatalism," bred of unsatisfactory experiences following the adoption of recommended practices or the completion of a development project, which they

believe is increasing and will make future change more difficult. This concern is also expressed by Dube (48) who notes that change agents may fail in India because of villagers' poor experiences with past innovations.

In regard to the adoption of new farming practices in India, Sawhney (142) finds that for all stages of the adoption process, personal nonlocal sources (essentially extension agents) are named far more frequently than personal local sources (friends and neighbors); and both types of personal sources are named more frequently than the media which reach a high point of mentions of approximately 12% as a source of first knowledge or a source for additional information during the interest stage. Personal sources, particularly nonlocal ones, were of greatest importance during the evaluation, trial and adoption stages. Sawhney suggests that the discrepancy with Rogers' generalization (130) that cosmopolite sources are most important at the awareness stage and localite sources at the evaluation stage may be due to the relatively low technical competence of Indian farmers and their limited experience with new practices. In his own research in Colombia, Rogers (133) finds that personal local sources (farmers) are mentioned more frequently than personal nonlocal ones (extension agents and farm store personnel) at all stages of the adoption process for a new farm practice, except at the trial stage where they are equivalent. He suggests that local sources affect attitude toward and use of the innovation; whereas nonlocal ones make their contribution by providing technical information. Sawhney's suggestion about relative competence of local farmers may account for the difference between his and Rogers' current

data, and implies the need to assess and take into account the relative credibility of different sources in the adoption process, a factor considered by Wolpert (178) in his computer simulation of agricultural diffusion in Sweden and proposed by others (101, 132). Also, despite the reverse order of significance of types of personal sources, both studies support Rogers' proposal that the personal local/nonlocal (or cosmopolite) classification of sources may be more useful in less modern regions than the personal/impersonal (or media) differentiation derived from research in highly industrialized countries. The data of Parker & Paisley (122) on adult information seeking in the US would be consistent with this suggestion, since the mass media are the dominant sources for diverse kinds of information. It is principally when the information is to be applied concretely or on matters of high personal involvement that interpersonal sources challenge the primacy of the media.

Opinion leadership.--There is continued interest in the role of opinion leadership in the diffusion of information, ideas and practices. Using the customary conception, Rogers (133) and Rao (126) provide data essentially confirming past findings on leader attributes and on the significance of social context and modernization influences on leadership. However others have begun to use a more differentiated view of the giving-receiving activities involved in informational and influence transactions in more modern regions, by explicitly utilizing the perspective that people can function as both givers and receivers (152, 153).

Wright & Cantor (179) separated graduate students into "opinion seekers" and "opinion avoiders," based essentially on

self-reported frequency of participation in discussions on four topics, one being foreign affairs. Also, by self-designation, the students were separated into opinion leaders and non-leaders on each topic. While there was overlap between the two categorizations, it was not complete. (However, a similar self-report question does link the two categorizations.) Interest in foreign affairs and relevant print media usage was greater for opinion seekers than for avoiders; but opinion seekers, whether or not they were categorized as opinion leaders, were comparable in interest and in print media usage; whereas, leaders who were not also seekers were somewhat less interested and exposed to relevant communications. On these data, the authors propose that past research showing heavier communication exposure of opinion leaders may have reflected the active opinion-seeking characteristic associated with leadership rather than leadership per se. Consistent is the finding of Troidahl & Van Dam (167) that both members of discussion dyads were comparable in media usage and information level, whether they were seekers or givers of information; whereas those not participating in discussions on the topic were lower in these characteristics. Hence, designated opinion leaders may not pass on information as much as compare views and share knowledge with others of comparable knowledge and involvement in the topic. A similar possibility is expressed by other researchers in regard to agricultural diffusion (19, 101) and the initial purchase of a new consumer product (4).

National development.—In the modernization of nations, the media of mass communication play a central role. But for successful

national development, they must not only seek to contribute with other societal institutions to the channeling of aroused wants and increased economic resources into a pattern of deferred gratification but also to provide a realistic assessment of what is possible now (47, 99, 126). Another not well-realized function is to link knowledge resources to policy makers and planners and not just to the general populace (48, 96). While social scientists have accepted this perspective of the centrality of mass communication in the modernization process, developing countries under non-Communist rule have usually failed to view the media's fundamental significance as a 'power' resource and to secure its growth in the overall planning for national development (47, 51, 125).

Although the preceding remarks apply a broad brush to the general significance of the media, they do not reveal how the means of mass communication fit specifically into an analytic model of national development. While no single model is agreed upon by researchers, the following abbreviated and gross one would probably be found acceptable as a starting point (99, 107, 147): urbanization, taken as an index of industrial development and economic adequacy → the development of educational resources, and thereby literacy and significant cognitive and attitudinal effects of education → the development, extension, and use of mass communication → a variety of modernization outcomes. This part-model should be understood not merely as a description but also as a plan of action; for not only does urbanization not lead directly to modernization, instead requiring the mediating contributions of the educational

system and the media, but also the potential contributions of the media presuppose the establishment of a functioning and effective educational system. Furthermore, while the arrows indicate the main directional effects, the system is actually looped embracing mutual interactions between the parts. Although Lerner (98) had proposed certain quantitative values for earlier elements of the sequence as take-off points for the rapid expansion of following ones, it is unlikely that these posits will survive changing world conditions or the likelihood of regional differences within the overall pattern set out by the model (147). (A significant report by Guthrie 181 underscores the constraining influence on innovational behavior in a developing country of existing social norms and reinforcement contingencies, despite the acceptance of modern-oriented attitudes.)

In confirmation of the model's general pattern, Chu (33) found that newspaper readership was an important attribute of opinion leaders, but primarily among the better educated who are high in economic and social status. A similar but weaker pattern was observed for leadership to be more common among listeners to radio information than among entertainment listeners or non-listeners, with the latter two subgroups being comparable. In another study, Chu (32) found that only among those of high economic standing was deferred gratification behavior more likely to be exhibited by respondents who read business news rather than local or domestic or crime news, or who listened to information programs on radio rather than to entertainment programs or to no programs at all. Also, in conformity with the general model, when relevant newspaper reading was statistically controlled,

neither education nor economic standing was significantly related to deferred gratification behavior. But newspaper reading remained correlated with deferred gratification, when the other factors were held constant.

In a study of a Southern Appalachian community, Donohew (43) found that, although general radio and television exposure was not related to an index of receptiveness to change, scores on the index were higher for those exposed to news and public affairs programs than for those exposed to radio or television. However, in further research on the same population, Donohew & Singh (45) reported that those more in contact with the wider environment, directly through trips or vicariously through the media, were lower in the adoption of practices recommended by local poverty agencies than were those more isolated from the outside world. Perhaps the practices were more congruent with a local, traditional orientation or with minimal change in style of living than with an outward looking, change-aspiring orientation.

Rogers (133) finds that media exposure was not as critical as other attributes, including political knowledge, innovativeness, and social status, as a predictor of agricultural opinion leadership in Colombia. Perhaps this is due to the inadequacy of too gross a measure of exposure, particularly since political knowledge is so strong a predictor. Also implying confirmation of the model are the results of Waisanen & Durlak (172) that, in Costa Rica, the use of various print media or of television bears a stronger relation to a modern view of the world, even with education and income controlled, than does radio listening.

They suggest that this result may have occurred because radio listening is more consummatory and is available to poorer and more rural people. Support for their conjecture is found in a study by Edwards (53) who observed that influentials in Costa Rica were more likely than others to use television and print media, particularly cosmopolitan publications. Also consistent are the findings of McLeod, Rush & Friederich (109) that in Ecuador total media exposure was only weakly related to general knowledge of political and public affairs; whereas reading 'hard' news in the print media was more strongly related to such knowledge. The latter relationship held even when socio-economic status was statistically controlled. Similarly, in a US study (111), usage of cosmopolitan print media and knowledge of international affairs were correlated even when education was controlled; however, in this modern urban setting, the relationship was stronger among those who had not attended college than among those who had.

Assertions that broadcast or print media have little impact in a country because there are few radio or television sets or because the literacy rate is low do not usually take into account multiple or out-loud reading of individual copies. For example, in India, it is common for one paper to be read by several people in the villages and also read aloud to many more who are illiterate (51, 114, 126). In fact, Espen (51) reports that about 40% of the illiterates in his sample had received news of the India-Pakistan conflict in this way. Hence, circulation per some amount of population is an inadequate index of the reach of newspapers or their importance in a press-poor country.

In regard to broadcast media, the significance of audience figures as distinct from sets is well known in industrialized countries. The same should apply to less modern areas since group listening or watching is usual, as in West Bengal (22), even when the multiplying effect of organized group exposure as in radio or television forums (55, 170, 175) is not a factor. Hence, the social impact of the media, particularly in the less modernized nations, is not adequately assessed by a ratio of physical units to population.

The significance of the personal element in the diffusion of news and innovations is evident in modern nations as well as in developing countries. But it is in the latter with their strong traditions of oral communication that face-to-face contacts become dominant in the mass communication process. Even in the more modern village of the two studied by Rao in India (126), all of the respondents referred to other people as sources of various items of general information, with less than half referring to newspapers and much fewer naming radio. In the West Bengal region, while word-of-mouth was the principal channel of news for illiterates, it was a significant source even for those with a primary school education (22). Dube (48) found that 83% of the people in 198 villages in India were aware of the Chinese-Indian border conflict shortly after the Chinese attacks occurred. Even in Indian states distant from the Himalayan region, awareness was almost as high as in nearby states. The primary first channel of news of the conflict named by over 40% of the sample was personal transmission, particularly by friends and neighbors; radio and television were slightly behind. In regard to sources

for more ordinary matters of public affairs, 88% in another survey named some personal source and only 12% designated the mass media. However, it is likely that many of the personal sources obtained their information from the radio or newspapers. It is on the basis of such evidence of the wide and rapid diffusion of news by personal channels that Dube (48) considers the purported informational isolation of India's villages to be more a myth than a reality.

While the essence of topical news can spread rapidly and widely by word-of-mouth, knowledge of the national interpretation and evaluation of information requires contact with the mass media. Lane's (91) study in rural northeast Brazil points to the significance of this normative function of the media. The isolation of the peasantry from national communications through the media and not simply rural unrest or contacts with political organizers was the significant influence on their favorable regard for radical political leaders.

For fuller comprehension and more refined analysis of the role of personal channels in the mass communication process, research is needed on the normal pattern of conversational links between people and on the normal frequency and substance of such conversations. That is, information should be obtained on who generally speaks to whom, how often, and about what (101). Despite the multitude of diffusion studies and the key significance assigned to personal contact, there is a dearth of normative knowledge on such matters. Research on opinion leadership is strangely deficient in this regard, with only the most limited data gathered through the self-report responses used to identify those who

function as opinion or information resources for others. A mapping of normal conversational contacts would be of particular relevance for less modern countries, in view of their greater dependence on personal channels for the diffusion of news and ideas. For instance, in a modernizing village in India, Rao (126) finds that the patterns of social intercourse are diffuse, permitting a vertical flow of information; whereas in a more traditional village, personal relations are more restricted to socially-separated segments of the populace, making vertical diffusion less likely to occur and impeding the spread of modernizing ideas from the elite who are likely to be the ones in contact with the outside world (cf. 47, 48). Nakajima (115) notes that, while conversation is a significant channel for the spread of information in Pakistan, diffusion occurs horizontally within restricted social strata. Hence, it is important that at least some members of the lower strata come into contact with the media, in order that nation-building information be spread throughout the general populace.

Diffusion of news in the US.--The following are the major questions addressed in recent American research on the diffusion of significant news events: (1) what are the sources that provide first awareness of an event; and (2) what are the characteristics of people who are aware? Essentially, the mass media are the predominant first sources; excepting President Kennedy's assassination, personal channels provide first awareness for relatively few people (1, 3, 25, 100, 111, 119). Although personal channels increase in importance as first sources with an increase in the importance of the event (25, 100), the magnitude of the

effect is not large nor does it raise personal channels to a major source of first awareness. As might be expected, knowledge of an event is positively related to educational level (1, 3, 25, 100, 111) and, to some extent, to the event's purported relevance to personal interests (1, 100). Also influential are normal media preferences (119).

However, time of day and day of the week (e.g. Sunday) when news of the event first broke affect source of first awareness (25, 119), since certain media may not be available or may be unduly favored because of what people are doing or where they are. These uncontrollable factors may account for much of the reported variation within the general pattern of results.

POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Effects on voting.--Despite the beliefs and assumptions of people in and out of politics, past evidence does not establish the power of the media to persuade or convert significant numbers of people to new political preferences during the period of an election campaign (175). The primary outcomes of campaigning appear to be the reinforcement of existent voting intentions, the strengthening of weakened preferences, the solidification of pre-campaign shifts that resulted from the effects of inter-election events, and only modest effects on knowledge or perception of candidate or party positions. Evidence from British research on the 1964 general election (16) confirms in broad outline these general conclusions (cf. 10). The formal five-week campaign produced a slight improvement in knowledge of party positions, left unchanged general appraisals of the most important issues facing the country, and had no significant effect

on the vote for the dominant Labour and Conservative parties. However, the campaign did increase the vote for the small and much less well-known Liberal Party. Free television time, particularly for party broadcasts, was the key to the gain by the inveterately underpublicized Liberal Party; for television was almost its sole nationwide communication resource (135).

In view of the absence of campaign effects on the overall votes achieved by the Labour and Conservative parties, Blumler & McQuail (16) attribute Labour's victory to the impact of events occurring between election day 1959 and the formal opening of the 1964 campaign. However, both major parties had begun their propaganda efforts in mid-May 1963, approximately a year before the then expected date for the election (135). Hence, what changes in vote intentions were produced or what latent shifts were crystallized by the year-long effort by both parties were neither assessed nor taken into account.

Nevertheless, in view of the dominant role of television in the enormous and increasing costs of US election campaigns, it is of interest that the Liberal Party gains were achieved with only three-fifths as much party broadcast time and much less general publicity on television than that provided the other two parties. Hence, caution is needed against accepting any simple assumption about the significance of gross broadcast time for campaign effectiveness or against confusing the campaign itself with all its complexities with its reflection in the media (76, 135). In confirmation are data reported by Alexander (2) revealing the absence of a relationship between the total amount of money spent on radio and television programs of five minutes or more and

either election outcomes in Us senatorial or gubernatorial elections in 1960 and 1962 or the state-by-state popular or electoral vote in the 1960 presidential election.

In regard to the purported influence on voting of editorial endorsements by the press, the few recent studies available are based on gross and limited correlational analyses. The evidence suggests at best a minor impact limited to voting situations of little general interest and importance and where there are few other informational influences operating (72, 83, 106).

Candidate images.--By its very nature, television brings the candidate face-to-face with a vast at-home public and fixes the viewer's attention on the candidate's appearance, manner and style of personal presentation. Hence, there is concern that a manipulated reality will be produced by media consultants who are paid to manufacture an "image candidate" (180).

A summary of the limited past research on the effects of television on candidate images would permit the following inferences:

- (1) the less well known the candidate, the more television can modify viewers' perceptions of his characteristics (36, 88);
- (2) television and radio broadcasts of the same address by a candidate can yield differing perceptions of his characteristics (124, 180);
- (3) viewers of differing political attitudes take away similar perceptions of some personal attributes of the candidate and differing perceptions of others (28, 108, 154); and
- (4) changes in candidate image are not clearly related nor central to voting decisions (175). Unfortunately research has not been frequent and systematic enough to determine what clusters of characteristics are more likely to be affected and under what

conditions, and what characteristics are most central for voting decisions and under what conditions.

The research by Blumler & McQuail (16) provides confirmation of some of the preceding inferences and extends our knowledge of television's effects on perceptions of candidates. Their respondents not only ranked attributes such as "straightforward," "sincere," and "confident" high among traits desirable for someone who is to run the country but also judged them to be traits that television is most able to reveal. However, other important attributes, such as "strong" and "hardworking," were considered unlikely to be revealed by television election broadcasts. But, in regard to actual changes in perceptions of the leaders of the major parties, the campaign was found to have influenced ratings primarily on a cluster of characteristics connoting personal strength or toughness (cf. 28). Supporters of different parties changed their judgments in the same way and to the same extent, even though two of the leaders improved in this quality and one declined. Hence, changes in leader images were unrelated to voting.

Of particular significance is the authors' assertion that the most difficult of television's effects to assess was its effects on leader images. This was due to the difficulty of finding a means to extract from gross exposure that part relevant to the leaders per se. Nevertheless, extent of exposure was not consistently related to changes in leader images. Although changes in attitude to a party and to its leaders covaried, consistent party supporters were more favorable to their party than to its leader. In general, the authors note that perception of the leader's qualities are no more amenable to change than is attitude

to the party and that there is little support for the presumption of the image-building power of the media.

Also contrary to any gross presumption of remarkable-media effectiveness in image-building in political campaigns is Rose's (135) report that, despite more than six months of advertising emphasis on the leaders of the Labour and Conservative parties before the 1964 election, popular approval of both declined and to a greater extent than did approval of their respective parties. A comparable decline in personal popularity for Johnson and Goldwater during the 1964 presidential campaign has also been reported (12). Probably such effects result from the arousal of increasingly partisan associations by the usual intensive political advertising and party propaganda during an election campaign.

Selective exposure.--In studies of political behavior, selective exposure refers to differential attentiveness to political communications as a result of congruency between the source (candidate or party) or between the anticipated attitudinal significance of the message and the attitudes of potential receivers toward the source or the communication content. The general form of the relationship can be stated as: the greater the congruency, the greater the likelihood of exposure, whether by active seeking out or by usual attentiveness to customary channels of communication. The sum of past evidence from voting studies suggests that the selectivity which occurs is unimpressive in magnitude and insufficient to keep people uninformed of the major arguments and positions of opposing candidates and parties (148, 149, 175; cf. 86, 113). Also, despite a slightly favorable bias in some

aspects of the news treatment of editorially endorsed candidates, the general press tends currently toward equitable and ample treatment of the major contending candidates (9, 159).

In confirmation of research on the 1959 election in Britain (165), Blumler & McQuail found modest selectivity in their study of the 1964 general election. While supporters of one of the three major parties watched more broadcasts by their preferred party than by either of the others, they nevertheless did watch more of the others combined than of their own. Similar results are reported for the 1966 general election by Harrison (76) who also noted that the political composition of the audiences did not vary over the broadcasts by the different parties. However, simultaneous transmission on all channels, hence eliminating viewing options, may account from some part of audience comparability over party broadcasts.

The rich data of Blumler & McQuail (16) reveal that only about one-half of the people watching party broadcasts on television do so for politically relevant reasons. In fact, extent of ordinary exposure to television is the strongest determinant of exposure to political television; degree of interest in the campaign plays a significant role in exposure to political material on television, primarily when customary set usage is moderate or light. Significant selective exposure was found mainly among the roughly one out of four people in the total sample who stated that their principal motive for watching political television was a desire for reinforcement of their views and "ammunition" to support their views in discussions with others. These respondents were more stable in their vote decisions, more partisan in their

attitudes toward their party, and also more likely than others to assert that, when they avoided political broadcasts, it was because their minds were already made up. Hence, it was those least likely to be changed by exposure who tended to avoid party broadcasts. Interestingly, they were also more likely to be categorized by the authors as opinion leaders.

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13. ABSTRACT This report surveys the significant literature on the mass media from January 1967 - December 1969. It picks up at the chronological point at which the extensive survey contained in Technical Report #8 ended. Hence, the two together provide an organization, collation and analysis of the literature on the effects of the mass media covering the 40 year period from 1930 - 1970.
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