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THE EFFECTS OF TELEVISION ON CHILDREN'S COGNITIVE AND
AFFECTIVE ORIENTATIONS TOWARD THE LAW AND POLICE

by

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ABSTRACT

The Effects of Television on Children's Cognitive and Affective Orientations Toward the Law and Police

This thesis seeks to analyze the effects of television on children's affective and cognitive orientations toward the law and police. Part of the data compiled by Dan German and Marvin Hoffman for over 3,000 children in four Western North Carolina counties will be used. Specifically, the 1505 subjects in grades seven, eight, nine and eleven will be used in this analysis.

The initial chapter reviews some of the contemporary literature on political socialization and the effects of television on children. The works of David Easton, Jack Dennis, Robert Hess and Judy Torney are discussed in relation to the way children acquire their cognitive and affective orientations toward law. The Surgeon General's Report on Televised Violence along with works by Leo Bogart, Albert Bandura, and Seymour Feshbach will examine television's effects on children.

The second chapter posits several hypotheses concerning the data as well as defining applicable terms. Positive correlations with general law knowledge, efficacy toward the police and the law and police cynicism were predicted for those children who viewed police oriented programs compared to detective oriented programs. Higher correlations were also predicted for the black sample as compared to the white.

In the third chapter the data is analyzed. It examines specific program correlations for each grade level and the total sample combined as well as correlations for groups of programs (police oriented, detective oriented, black lead characters and all white casts). Program popularity is also analyzed.

The final chapter draws conclusions from the data analysis and states that televisions effects on children's cognitive and affective orientation is at the most minimal. The possible reasons for this finding are also analyzed.

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Master of Arts

by
Phillip R. Chisholm
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CHAPTER I

TELEVISION AND CHILDHOOD SOCIALIZATION

Studies dealing with the way children acquire attitudes and develop their cognitive ability are becoming more and more prevalent in the discipline of political science. How these ideas and attitudes are implanted has become known as political socialization--a relatively new area of study in political science.

Much of the current literature on political socialization examines the various agents of socialization which transmit these beliefs to children. The most frequently mentioned agents are the family, the educational institutions, and peer group pressure. Writers such as David Easton and Jack Dennis,¹ Robert Hess and Judith Torney,² Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings,³ Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt,⁴ Fred Greenstein,⁵ Herbert Hyman⁶ and others⁷ have examined the various agents and their relationship to the way children acquire their attitudes.

Attitude formation in the field of criminal justice is especially important. If advances are to be made in police-citizen relationships, in unburdening the heavy case-loads of the courts, in making corrections a rehabilitative process rather than a school for crime, then many of the attitudes prevalent in today's society need reexamining.

Margaret Conway and Frank Feigert report that political socialization begins about age three where orientations are primarily from the broad political community and are of an emotional nature.⁸ Prominent political officials, such as the President and the policeman, are recognized as being strong, benevolent and "good". The research of Robert Hess and Judy Torney support this view as their research suggests that the two political figures most prominent to the children they interviewed were the local policeman and the President.⁹

One of the most useful approaches to understanding the earliest set of attitudes toward the political system held by children is by way of the Inter-Personal Transfer model developed by Hess and Torney. In this model the child transfers the authority of one figure to that of another.¹⁰ For instance, a child might compare the local policeman's authority over the community to be similar to the father's authority over the family or the President's authority over the country.

Jack Dennis and David Easton did a study of children's attitudes toward police. They found that attitudes toward police were modified as a child progressed in school. In a pretest they found that in grade one the police function was seen as "taking care of people, getting mad at them and putting them in jail." By grade two the dominant attitude was the "police catch criminals and help people." By grade three the keeping of traffic rules is added to the list,

and by grade four the child's conceptualization was somewhat broader indicating that police enforce the laws and run the the town.¹¹

By grade eight this power of enforcement still remained paramount in the mind of the child with 61 percent still holding the view that this as opposed to helping people was the policeman's chief function.¹²

The idea of direct attachment to the policeman also changes according to Easton and Dennis. In the second grade 65 percent of the children studied said that the policeman is their favorite either of all or almost all men. By the eighth grade this attitude falls to a mere 16 percent.¹³

The attitudes that remain fairly constant in a child are the benevolence of the policeman; the policeman's willingness to help the child personally; and the dependability of the policeman, the idea that he does not give up when things are difficult to do.¹⁴ Although trust of the policeman decreases throughout the time a child spends in school, children still feel they can rely on the policeman to keep his promises more often than the pattern evoked by the term "usually".¹⁵

Many of Hess and Torney's findings confirm those of Easton and Dennis. Hess and Torney took a slightly different track and investigated children's compliance to the laws. Their findings showed that a sense of being protected by the law is important to the child's acceptance of the legal system.¹⁶ The very young child also sees laws as just and

unchanging, but as he grows older he is far less likely to agree that all laws are fair. In spite of this, as a child grows he will tend to agree with the idea that all laws should be administered fairly whether he agrees in the fairness of the law or not.

Probably one of the more surprising findings of Hess and Torney is that as children grow older they decline in the belief that punishment is an inevitable consequence of crime. Fifty-seven percent of the second graders believed that punishment would inevitably follow crime, but by the eighth grade, this percentage had declined to only 16 percent.¹⁷

Hess and Torney rationalize this situation by saying many children from their own personal experience commit acts against the rules and are not punished. From this experience they generalize to the legal system as a whole. The implications of this finding could be grave for the criminal justice system.

A criticism of Hess and Torney's study which is often leveled, is that the research studied, for the most part, only white children. Blacks were ignored, not out of racism, but apparently because there was a low population of blacks within their sample. One must remember however that black political socialization is somewhat different from whites. The father is not likely to be as dominant as in the white families. Most black families are matriarchal in nature, and where the father is present, he often times comes in direct conflict with the police. Before the efforts to integrate the schools, much of the black educational system

was inferior to that of whites. Even with integration, different schools, based on different socio-economic levels, place different emphasis on different things.¹⁸ In the lower class schools which blacks are most likely to attend, the idea of deference is typically stressed--that some people were born to rule, some to be ruled. Blacks, naturally, are the ones to be ruled.

Due to this differential in socialization it is little wonder that blacks might possess different attitudes. Harrell R. Rodgers and George Taylor conducted a study and found "black students have significantly lower attitudes toward police than their white peers."¹⁹ The two researchers also indicated that blacks were significantly more inclined to question the honesty, fairness and objectivity of the police. This negative attitude does not affect compliance with the laws however. Taylor and Rodgers found that 75 percent of the blacks are compliant compared to only 64 percent of the whites.²⁰ A layman's explanation for this might be that whites are compliant because they respect the law, while blacks are compliant because they fear the law. Taylor and Rodgers explain this by saying that more positive attitudes toward other features of the political system outweigh the negative attitudes of police and thus compliance will remain high. If this is correct, it means that the negative attitudes of blacks toward police are based on feelings toward the police and not the system they represent.

To understand better the socialization process with children, two additional studies will be examined. The first is a study conducted in Cincinnati where the attitudes that had been ingrained for the first thirteen years of a child's life were altered. The second is a study of children in four western North Carolina counties discovering not only children's attitudes toward law and government, but also their level of cognition in the same areas.

The Cincinnati study was an attempt to change early adolescent attitudes toward the law and the various law enforcement agencies by adding new curriculum materials into junior high schools in the Cincinnati area and the local police academy.²¹ Dr. Robert Portune of the University of Cincinnati perceived the problem of juvenile attitudes toward police and police attitudes toward juveniles as being a situation of mutual ignorance. Dr. Portune found that whenever police contact with juveniles occurred, the resulting attitudes were even more negative toward one another than before. Portune felt that this antagonism between the two groups was a direct effect of the lack of knowledge of each group about the other. Juveniles were ignorant of the police mission in a free society, while police officers failed to take the necessary steps required to enhance the police image in the minds of the juveniles.²² To solve this problem, Portune proposed curriculum projects for both the twelve junior high schools in Cincinnati and the police academy.

What was to be actually taught was the next problem confronting the program. At a national conference of police officials and educators, it was decided that the students should be taught the role of the policeman from a total perspective, the history and philosophy of law enforcement, the organization and operations of law enforcement agencies and the laws governing juveniles. The police image should be taught as:

... a carefully selected individual, a representative of the law, entrusted with the task of maintaining law and order. His training should be emphasized. His function should be presented as a service and assistance to citizens as they perform their daily tasks and as protection of these same citizens from these anti-social acts that interfere with the orderly process of democratic society.²³

On the other hand, policemen should treat youth according to the Police Code of Ethics and try to perform "the three F's of police and juvenile relations: Be firm, Be friendly, Be fair."²⁴ In addition the conference recommended that police become thoroughly familiar with the psychology, physiology and sociology of the juvenile.

When control groups who had not been exposed to the curriculum were compared with experimental groups who had such exposure, improvement in attitudes of the experimental group was evident in both white and black samples. The difference for the black sample did not reach statistical significance, while it did for the white sample at a one percent confidence level for both boys and girls. The control groups slightly decreased in positive attitudes

toward police, but this drop was not of a significant level.²⁵

At another conference held on the campus of the University of Cincinnati, policemen and teachers from across the country received a chance to evaluate the results. The police officers "were in unanimous agreement that the program presented ... is the most promising actual advancement in recent years."²⁶ The reactions of teachers were similar. Since that time pilot projects have been mounted in sixteen states other than Ohio.

The need for North Carolina to have such a program is apparent when examining the results of the Dan German and Marvin Hoffman study of students in four western North Carolina counties. Cognitive and affective orientations about the law were focused upon in this study.

German and Hoffman found that as grade level increases, knowledge of the law increases. They also found that whites know more about the law than blacks at every grade level. The racial difference began equaling out by the eleventh grade as measured by certain open-ended questions where the blacks could elaborate on their answers. This equaling out was not evident of the standardized questions which the authors used to measure general law knowledge.²⁷ The study also demonstrated that students had little awareness at any level of how to change a bad law.²⁸

The racial differences in knowledge of the law were less pronounced in the seventh and eighth grade, levels at which the authors suggest would be excellent

places to begin a legal education program.²⁹ Parenthetically it may be noted that the junior high level is where the Cincinnati project was started. The North Carolina research would seem to indicate the need in that state for such a project. North Carolina's approach thus far has been the publication of a handbook by former Attorney General Robert Morgan entitled Youth and the Law.

With affective orientations, Hoffman and German measured the efficacy of students toward police and the legal system in general. Generally the findings indicate that blacks are less efficacious toward police than whites, and that as grade level increases, the efficacy level decreases.³⁰ For the legal system as opposed to just the police, the students seemed to feel that they have some influence.

On the police cynicism scales, the study found blacks to be more cynical than whites toward police. This cynicism, it was discovered, increases with age for both groups.³¹

On the topic of legal dissent the research found that students feel there are times when disobedience to a law is justified. The students set limits for disobedience, but these limits were not defined within the study. The study also found that age was not a factor in attitudes toward legal dissent.³²

A fourth agent of socialization is increasingly being studied for its effect on children. Since television initially appeared on the American scene in the late 1940's

and early 1950's, its effects have become an increasing area of concern.

Critics of the violence portrayed on television can point to specific examples where television violence on the screen begets social violence of a similar nature. In Boston, six youths attacked a young woman carrying a can of gasoline and then set her afire--burning her to death. Two nights earlier, there had been a nationwide showing of the movie "FUZZ" in which there were scenes of teenagers--in Boston--burning a derelict to death "simply for kicks."³³

In the mid 1960's, NBC aired a film called "The Doomsday Flight." The movie's plot revolved around a character who had placed a bomb on an airliner and then repeatedly phoned the airline giving hints as to the whereabouts of the bomb. Even before the broadcast had ended, one airline had received a bomb threat. Within the next twenty-four hours, four more threats were made--as many as were made in the month prior to the movie in total. Over the course of the next week, four more threats were phoned in. In 1971, the movie was rebroadcast in Australia, and the results were similar except that Qantas airlines eventually had to pay some \$500,000 in ransom to protect one load of passengers.³⁴

Other examples such as these can be cited. Policemen in several major cities have indicated there is an increasing use of "Karate sticks," similar to ones shown on television, to kill people. Two adolescents attempted to extort money through bomb threats. Two other youths, eleven and seven

years of age, told police they had learned their burglary habits through techniques shown on television.³⁵

Most researchers will agree that these examples cannot be generalized to the entire population--even the entire population of children. Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle and Edwin Parker expressed the situations as follows:

For some children, under some conditions, some television is harmful. For other children under the same conditions, or for the same children under other conditions, it may be beneficial. For most children under most conditions, most television is probably neither particularly harmful nor particularly beneficial.³⁶

This statement is considered by many researchers to be a cop out to the real problem. One thing most researchers are able to agree on is the prevalence of television in the American home. Census data for 1970 indicates that ninety-six percent of the American homes have one or more television sets. The average set is on six hours a day, and the average person views about two hours daily.³⁷

The Schramm, Lyle, Parker study found that as early as the 1950's the typical child, during the first sixteen years of his life, watched television more hours than he spent in school.³⁸ More up-to-date information indicates that by the time a youngster graduates from high school he has spent some fifteen thousand hours watching television as compared with twelve thousand hours in school.³⁹

Age group breakdowns can also be informative.

Children from age three to twelve view the most television.⁴⁰ By age three, one-third of all children are already seeing television regularly and can shout out their favorite television program.⁴¹ Schramm, Lyle and Parker report that children who are more intelligent tend to watch the most television in the early stages of child development. As these children grow older they become bored with the tube and begin to seek other pursuits such as additional reading.⁴²

The frequency of viewing decreases among all children by the time they reach teen ages. Psychologists hypothesize that interest turns to other things such as cars and members of the opposite sex. After marriage, however, and middle age begins setting in, people tend to resume increased television viewing.⁴³

Television programming is extremely important in analyzing television as an agent of socialization. Most researchers can also agree that violence is a mainstay of television programming. One study showed that in 1967-1968 eight of ten dramatic programs showed some type of violence, however the amount of actual violence did decline over the two years. The study further found that crime serials, westerns and action adventure comprised two-thirds of the networks programs in both 1967 and 1968.⁴⁴

Virtually all of these programs contained some type of violence averaging nine episodes per hour. Saturday morning cartoons were found to be the most violent form of television programming with violence expressed at a

rate of twenty acts per hour.⁴⁵

The "T.V. Guide" for January 12-18, 1974, listed some one hundred and fourteen programs that contained some type of violence. These programs were listed for prime time children's television--4-10 P.M. Saturday morning cartoons were not considered. Subjective judgments had to be made in areas where capsule reports were not provided. "The Mod Squad," for instance, would be listed as containing some violence though a capsule report was not listed.

Many of these programs considered violent center around policemen, sheriffs or other law enforcement officials. Paul Klein, a veteran of ten years on the programming "front line" at NBC, provides an insight into these crime-mystery serials and their popularity with producers.⁴⁶

Klein argues that the rationale of a producer is something like "if 'All In The Family' is good, 'Sanford and Son' will be good." Carrying the logic a bit further, since "Columbo" and "Cannon" made it big in 1971 and 1972, the producers and advertisers brought on more such programs like "Toma," "Chase," "Hawkins," and "Kojak" ...; the list is almost endless. Klein's theory, which probably has some validity, is that advertisers will refuse to back anything without a track record.⁴⁷

Hence when programs such as "The Waltons," "All In The Family," and "Sanford and Son" made it big in the Nielson ratings, the stage was set for "Good Times," "Chico and the Man" and "Apple's Way." Crime serials declined somewhat

though they still are well represented on the screen today. Total elimination of this type of program will be almost impossible since, in addition to having a track record, they are cheaper to produce and provide strong possibilities for reruns.

The research on the actual effects of television on the behavior, attitudes and cognitive levels of children is still uncertain. Martin Keilhacker, a German researcher, concluded from his studies that children are not so much spectators to what they witness on the screen but co-actors.⁴⁸

The Payne Fund studies of films conducted over forty years ago reported a study by Herbert Blumer which supports this view somewhat.⁴⁹ Blumer studied 242 delinquent girls, twenty-five percent whom admitted having sexual intercourse after being aroused by movies. Forty-one percent of the girls traced their problems back to bad influences they had witnessed in movies. Blumer also found that delinquent males would frequently cite the usefulness of films in getting girls worked up to the point of intercourse.⁵⁰

Schramm, Lyle and Parker are not ready to accept Blumer's finding at face value. From interviews with psychiatrists and judges who have dealt with juvenile delinquency, the three researchers report that delinquent children who blame television for their activities typically have problems with their lives above and beyond those created by television. For the most part these are family problems, but some were found to have psychopathic personalities.⁵¹

The Payne studies also found that violence disturbed the sleep pattern of children. Watching certain types of violence was found to be more harmful to a child's sleep than staying up until midnight.⁵² Schramm, Lyle, and Parker report that most of a child's learning from television is incidental.⁵³ The learning takes place when a viewer goes to television for entertainment and stores up certain types of information without seeking them. For instance, girls say they learn something about how to walk, speak, style their hair, and choose their clothes.

Leo Bogart suggests that television advertisements especially tend to impress their ideas on children.⁵⁴ Bogart reported a study by Advertest Research Corporation in 1955 which showed that of children between the ages of 13-19, 65% had a "favorite brand" of cigarettes and 57% a "favorite brand" of beer.⁵⁵

Governmental agencies have been vocal if not influential in the realm of television and its effects. Senate committees chaired by Estes Kefauver and John McClellan have heard evidence from television executives, psychologists, journalists, and parents, but as of yet, no conclusions have been reached that would lead to significant governmental action.

The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence leveled heavy criticism on the television industry for its continued high levels of violence. The Commission found that television violence generally occurs

between young to middle-age single males who half the time do not know one another.⁵⁶

This finding would seem to correlate highly with the findings of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice which found that this is the type of crime feared most by citizens.⁵⁷

Empirical correlations, however, can not be made from the available evidence. The National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence made the observation that:

Each year advertisers spend 2.5 billion dollars in the belief that television can influence human behavior. The television industry enthusiastically agrees with them, nevertheless, contending that its programs of violence have no such influence.⁵⁸

Several of the studies conducted over the last six years have concentrated on television's effects on the aggressive impulses of children. This paper will examine in detail several of these studies.

The first group of research to be examined deals with imitation of televised behavior. The point being made by the studies is simply that children will imitate parents, grandparents, and others, and thus the likelihood of imitation of aggressive behavior seen on television is at least a possibility.

That what children experience is retained and used as a basis for their attitudes and beliefs is an idea that is far from new. Philosophers and writers as far back as the Greeks expressed this phenomenon as reasonable fact. Plato, one of the greatest of the Greek philosophers,

once wrote:

The young are not able to distinguish what is and what is not allegory, but whatever opinions are taken into the mind at that age (childhood) are wont to prove indelible and unalterable. ... Shall we just carelessly allow children to hear any casual tales which may be devised by casual persons, and receive in their minds ideas for the most part the very opposite of those we should wish them to have when they grow up?⁵⁹

Samuel Johnson, one of the great writers of the American Revolution, also realized children's ability to learn, develop attitudes, and model behavior from what they observe. Wrote Johnson in The Rambler,

Children learn by noting an obviously successful individual. They fix their eyes upon him with closer attention and hope, by observing his behavior and success to regulate their own behavior.⁶⁰

Probably one of the hallmark studies in imitation of television behavior were the studies of Albert Bandura. Bandura was a critic of the survey research method saying that only "through carefully controlled lab experiments in which children participate can accurate answers be found."⁶¹

Bandura conducted his experiments at the Stanford psychological laboratories on preschool children. He sought to test imitation of children in three situations; one live, one filmed and one cartoon. All three groups saw an adult attacking a Bobo doll in such a way that a child rarely would. He kicked it, threw it up in the air, screamed at it and threw it against the wall.

Each of the three groups of children plus a control

group were annoyed somewhat by an adult and sent to a room where there were various toys: a tea set, crayons, paper, dolls, cars, trucks, a mallet, a Bobo doll and dart guns. Each child was observed by a trained psychologist for twenty minutes through a one-way mirror.

From these observations, Bandura reached several conclusions. Having seen the adult attacking the Bobo doll reduced the inhibitions against acting in a violent, aggressive manner. The experience also shapes the form of the child's behavior--that is, the aggressive behavior of the adults was imitated by the children. The final conclusion was that whether the aggression is filmed, live or animated does not affect the child's willingness to imitate.⁶²

Bandura justifies his study by saying:

The impact of T.V. can be isolated and measured precisely only when parental influence is removed and children are given needed instruments to reproduce behavior seen on television.⁶³

This final statement is one of the criticisms of Bandura's work. Namely, that children will not be given the instruments needed to reproduce behavior seen on television. A child will not be given guns, knives, kung fu sticks, and blackjacks and put in a situation where he can exercise any aggression he desires. Therefore, the critics might argue that even though a child might imitate behavior viewed on television, if the occasion were to arise, it is also true that such a situation will not occur in the real world.

Bandura also conducted an experiment to test "the bad guy effect." He divided his sample into two groups. The first saw a boy steal a girl's candy without punishment. The second group saw a boy steal the girl's candy and then get punished for his act. Bandura discovered that children who saw punishment occur show very little imitative reaction. Those who saw him unpunished were willing to imitate the behavior they had witnessed.⁶⁴

From this Bandura claims that one can not generalize that television programs which the "bad" guy getting punished limit imitative behavior. The psychologist claims that the "bad" guy gets away with his activity several times throughout the program and only gets punished once usually immediately after the final commercial. "Immediate rewards," says Bandura, "have greater effect on a child than delayed punishment."⁶⁵

A study conducted by Richard Walters and Donna Willows found some different results than the Bandura study. The study which was conducted in 1968 used a sample of twenty-four emotionally disturbed children and twenty-four normal children. The sample was split with twelve boys from each group watching a four minute aggressive film and with the other twenty-four watching a nonaggressive film. Twelve other nondisturbed youth served as a control group for the study.

After watching the films the children were led to an experimental room where they were told they could do

what they liked. Inside the room which contained games similar to the film, they were observed by trained observers who did not know which film the children had seen.

Walters and Willows found that both the groups who watched the aggressive and nonaggressive films displayed more nonaggressive responses than the control group.⁶⁶ In respect to the disturbed as compared with the nondisturbed group, aggression was low for both groups following exposure to an aggressive model.⁶⁷ This difference from the Bandura study was explained by the two authors because the observation period was not as long. Bandura observed his subjects for twenty minutes while Walters and Willows observed for only six minutes. Another difference might be that the Bandura study dealt with preschoolers while the latter study consisted of children from seven to eleven.

Probably one of the most significant findings by Walters and Willows is that in cases where aggressive behavior was noted, the disturbed children were more likely to imitate the activity they had witnessed than were those children considered normal.⁶⁸

The final report by the Surgeon General's Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior reported that the twenty studies which that project analyzed demonstrate that children can and will imitate what they observe in television and films.⁶⁹ But, whether children actually do imitate depends on such factors as inhibition, social pressures, and socially approved role models. The report

went so far as to say,

The fact that children can mimic film-mediated aggressive behavior is perhaps the best documented finding in the research literature on the effects of the pictorial media.⁷⁰

Now that one can understand that imitation can occur and that children can learn from viewing certain behavior on television, the question which remains is under what conditions will the children carry out the behavior which is known he can imitate. In other words, under what conditions will a child instigate aggressive behavior. Three studies dealing with children's instigative ability will now be examined.

The first study to be examined is by Aletha Stein and Lynette Friedrich conducted during a nine week summer nursery school program in University Park, Pennsylvania.⁷¹ For the first three weeks the children were observed, and mothers were interviewed, and even the children were interviewed in an attempt to determine the aggression level of the children. For the next four weeks the children were divided into three groups. The first viewed ten-minute segments of "Superman" and "Batman" cartoons and became designated as the aggressive viewing audience. The second group watched the program "Misterogers Neighborhood" which stressed prosocial attitudes. The final group viewed neutral films from the children's film library at Penn State University. After this four week period of viewing, the children were observed and interviewed over the next

two weeks to measure aggression levels. Aggression was measured within the interview by asking children's reactions to different things. For example, if two children are playing ball and you wish to play also but they refuse, what do you do? If the child says he would kick the ball away or take it from them, he would be rated aggressive. If the child leaves and begins to cry, he is given an avoidance rating. If the child tells his teacher, he is given a prosocial rating.⁷²

Stein and Friedrich set their experiment up in a naturalistic setting in an effort to see whether viewing aggressive behavior would lead to instigation of aggressive behavior in children. The researchers felt two variables would influence the amount a child learned from watching any particular show: attention to the program and capacity for coding and retention.⁷³

Intelligence and socioeconomic status seemed to play a major role in the findings. From interviews with the mothers before the viewing began, it was determined that the children with the highest IQ's coming from the higher socioeconomic backgrounds tended to have fewer television favorites and, in fact, watched less television of the violent nature. There were no limits placed on the lower IQ and lower socioeconomic children by their parents at home, and thus their viewing of violence was unimpeded.⁷⁴

Stein and Friedrich state that one of their principal findings is that children who are initially high in aggression

showed greater interpersonal aggression when exposed to the aggressive model than when exposed to the neutral or prosocial situation. "Children," state the researchers, "who were initially low in aggression did not respond differentially to television conditions."⁷⁵ Stein and Friedrich are quick to point out, however, that self controlling behavior--tolerance for minor frustrations--declined for each child exposed to the aggressive programs.⁷⁶

Conversely, however, all of those children exposed to "Misterogers Neighborhood" showed higher levels of rule obedience, tolerance of delay, and persistence than children exposed to aggressive programs.⁷⁷

On the attention variable, the researchers found that even though there were different attention levels (measured by trained observers who watched the children as they watched the films), there was not a relationship between attention and behavior change or attention and the ability to understand the content of the program.⁷⁸

The conclusions of Stein and Friedrich seem to be that watching aggressive television programs will only affect those children who are already highly aggressive in the first place. But they also contend that watching prosocial behavior will tend to lessen aggression of children.

The study might be criticized because the children could only be observed for a period of three hours daily and that aggressive activity engaged in at home can not be observed or measured.

The second study of this nature to be examined is one by Robert Liebert and Robert Baron who conducted their study in two Ohio communities.⁷⁹ The researchers sought to discover whether exposure to scenes of violence taken directly from nationally telecast programs will tend to increase the willingness of children to engage in aggressive acts affecting another child.⁸⁰

The sample consisted of 136 children split evenly into girls and boys. Twenty percent of the sample was black.

The sample was split into two groups, an experimental aggressive viewing group and a control group. The experimental group, one at a time, was led to a room where a six and one-half minute television segment was viewed. The first two minutes of the segment were commercials done to gain the attention of the child. The next three and one-half minutes was a segment from "The Untouchables" which showed "a chase scene, two fist fighting scenes, two shootings and a knifing."⁸¹ The final minute was another commercial.

Following the viewing the child was led to another room where there was a box with three buttons. One button was red and was labeled hurt. The second button was green and labeled help. In the middle was a white button indicating when the game began. It was explained to each child that there was another child in the next room playing a game involving the turning of a handle.

Whenever the white light came on the child was told to push either the red button to hurt the child trying to turn the handle or the green light to help the child turn the handle. It was emphasized that the longer the red button was pushed, the more it would hurt the child and the longer the green button was pushed, the more it would help the child turn the handle. The children's responses were recorded.

Following this the child was led to another room where there were three nonaggressive toys, a knife, a gun, and a Bobo doll. The child was told he could play anything he wanted to. His activity was observed through a two-way mirror and measured in terms of aggressiveness. One point was given each time the children played with the knife and gun, and two points were given if they attacked the Bobo doll with it.

Although 83 percent of the sample demonstrated aggression at least once, children who had viewed the aggressive diet of programs showed reliably more willingness to engage in interpersonal aggression than those who had observed the neutral program.⁸²

The authors also tested to see if this higher level of aggression was an affect of pure arousal in which case, the help score would also be high. They found that this was not the case.⁸³

Using the finding of higher level aggression of those groups who viewed aggressive programs coupled with

the discovery that hurt responses were 75 percent longer for the experimental group led Liebert and Baron to conclude that:

the primary effect of exposure to the aggressive program was that of reducing subject's restraints against inflicting severe discomfort on the obnoxious peer victim ...⁸⁴

The criticism of this study might be simply that it was not known how aggressive the children were initially, and the resulting level of high aggression may have been a factor of this. Also, the setting was not naturalistic. How often in real life will a child view an aggressive program and then be given the opportunity to hurt another child he does not know without fear of punishment?

The final study to be examined on the instigation of children's aggressive behavior after watching televised violence was done by Aimee Dorr Leifer and Donald Roberts of the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University.⁸⁵ Leifer and Roberts conducted four experiments with children and each will be examined briefly.

The first experiment had as a sample a nearly even division of third, sixth and ninth graders with slightly fewer kindergarten students and slightly more twelfth grade students. The experiment sought to test what role understanding the motivations for and the consequences of violent acts affected children and the variance which might occur across grade levels.⁸⁶ The researchers set up six different programs and split them into grade levels. For instance, kindergarten students were shown a film that it

was felt they would understand.

It was found that the very youngest children could answer only about one third of the questions about motives and consequences. Third graders could answer about half, with twelfth graders being able to answer correctly 95 percent of the questions posed to them on what activities motivated the violence and what were its consequences.⁸⁷ Leifer and Roberts also found that kindergarten children were more likely to be confused about a character's nature than were the other groups tested. One third of the kindergarten ratings of a "good" character would be considered "bad" by most of contemporary society. This percentage decreased with age.⁸⁸

After subjecting students to a choice of behaviors which were rated as prosocial or aggressive, the two researchers concluded that when one is angered and annoyed, the amount of television violence one has been exposed to rather than the motivations for or consequences of affects how aggressive one is.⁸⁹

The second experiment reported by Leifer and Roberts suggest that where motivations and consequences of aggression are "good" and are understood, greater subsequent aggression on the part of the viewer may be the result.⁹⁰ The authors state this is more likely with younger than older children.

The results of this experiment, warns the authors, must be viewed with caution. Interviews and viewing of the programs were viewed one day, and the respondents were asked

to return fourteen days later. The attrition rate was extremely high in each class, but especially in the twelfth grade sample where not enough respondents returned to even report valid results.

In conjunction with the Leifer-Roberts research grant, M. J. Nolan conducted the third experiment which sought to test if children who view justified aggression subsequently do demonstrate greater aggression. An experiment in 1963 by Berkowitz and Rawlings on college age males found this to be the case. The Nolan experiment sought to see if the finding was applicable to children.⁹¹ The subjects were divided among fourth, seventh and tenth graders who were then divided into two other groups. One group witnessed a nine-minute film of a prize fight where the loser was beaten severely with justification. The second group witnessed the same beating but where it was not really what the loser deserved.

The findings of the Nolan data coincide with what Berkowitz and Rawlings found. Those within the sample who witnessed a deserved beating were more likely to choose aggression to resolve their own conflicts. These results are strongest with the youngest members of the sample and less evident with the older ones.⁹² The author suggests a possible reason for this finding as being because younger children fail to discount television programs as fantasy.

The final experiment conducted by W. A. Collins sought to test the temporal separations of motivations and

consequences of the violence effect on subsequent aggressive responses. Collins used the program "Silent Force." The first group, split between third, sixth and tenth graders, known as the "high separation condition," witnessed a commercial between motivations and aggression and another commercial between aggression and consequences. The "low separation group" saw motivations and consequences without interruptions.⁹³

Collins' findings were somewhat interesting. Understanding of motivations and consequences was no greater when these events were contiguous in time than when they were separated in time.⁹⁴ In fact, for third and sixth graders, the results were just opposite. Watching all the commercials grouped at the beginning caused the younger children to lose interest and their attention returned only when the aggressive sequence of the film began. "This," according to Collins, "would mediate against learning of characters' names and against learning about motivations which occurred prior to the aggressive sequence."⁹⁵

Even where commercials were inserted between motivations, aggression and consequences, the younger children found it difficult to understand the relationship. The children could not understand motivations either with commercials all at the beginning or interspersed in such a manner as to divide motivations and consequences. As the child grows older such effects are considerably less pronounced or altogether absent.⁹⁶

Leifer and Roberts conclude that there is only minimal evidence that motivations and consequences, as they are commonly depicted in television programs, limit the effects of exposure to aggressive content within these programs.⁹⁷ The researchers suggest two explanations for this. One, children do not understand the motivations and consequences presented; and secondly, if they do understand, they do not apply what they have observed to their own behavior.⁹⁸

The bulk of the evidence presented thus far indicates that television violence affects some children in a manner making them more aggressive in their daily interactions. The next piece of research to be examined disputes this view somewhat. This study, by Seymour Feshbach and Robert Singer,⁹⁹ suggests that televised violence has a catharsis effect. That is, children who view a great deal of violence are able to release their aggression and their frustrations by viewing such violence--by seeing someone else perform violent, aggressive acts.

Seven institutions participated in the project. Three of the schools were private, two were boys' homes, and two were Catholic homes for boys. The three private schools were all college preparatory, and the children came from upper middle class backgrounds. One of the private schools was an Army and Navy boys' academy. The other schools maintained a population of underprivileged children without parents or with unfit parents.¹⁰⁰

There were originally 625 participants, but, because compliance was made optional, a high rate of dropouts occurred, and the final sample was down to 395.

The boys were divided into two groups. The first had an aggressive television diet as determined by three trained raters who decided whether a program was aggressive or not. The second had a nonaggressive diet. Those on the aggressive diet were usually grouped in one house while those on the nonaggressive were grouped in another. All were told they could watch as much T.V. as they liked as long as they watched the programs on their schedule. A minimum of six hours of viewing a week for six weeks was established. The nonaggressive grouping complained heavily because they wanted to see "Batman," so "Batman" was included in their diet.

The counselors, supervisors, teachers or house parents were given a behavior sheet for each boy under their supervision. Each aggressive act was to be rated as "provoked," "unprovoked," "mild," or "moderate-strong." A corresponding number of points was awarded each condition.¹⁰¹ The empirical validity of this action is obvious. The counselors were not trained for their activity and what one might consider provoked, another may not. Imagine the difference between what an instructor at the Army-Navy Academy might consider to be provoked and a priest at one of the Catholic schools.

Feshbach and Singer found that in nineteen measures

of frequency of aggressive behavior toward peers,¹⁰² the control group had greater numbers of aggressive acts than the group who was viewing aggressive television programs in seventeen of the measures. The only areas where the aggressive group was higher was in "cursing" and "pounding his fist and hurting himself." Conversely, the aggressive group was considered more helpful toward peers by the observers than were the control groups.¹⁰³ This finding held true for aggression toward authority also.

Feshbach and Singer found differences in the schools. In the private schools, exposure to either group of programs showed little effect on aggressive tendencies. In the boys' homes, however, those who viewed the control diet of programs (the nonaggressive ones) showed an increase in aggressive tendencies, while those who viewed the aggressive programs actually decreased in aggressiveness over the testing period.¹⁰⁴

Feshbach and Singer conclude the catharsis hypothesis to be correct saying that aggressive content in television does not lead to an increase of aggressive behavior and that exposure to aggressive content reduces or at least controls the expression of aggressive acts by boys from relatively low socioeconomic backgrounds.¹⁰⁵

Criticisms can be levied at the Feshbach-Singer study from a number of directions. Not only were the raters of aggressive behavior scientifically untrained to do so, but post interviews of the subjects revealed that a number

of the students (not a majority) felt that the study was being made for some other reason than they were told. Some students guessed exactly what the experiment was for. All of these factors might have biased Feshbach and Singer's findings. Also, the two authors failed to give any indication whether boys' homes and private schools were typical of the male, youth population as a whole. Finally, the high attrition rate would seem to indicate a prevalence of dissatisfaction with the study and, in fact, the higher incidences of aggression by the control group may be little more than reactions to their watching nonaggressive television for six weeks.

Feshbach exhibited additional support for the catharsis hypothesis on a later study.¹⁰⁶ Here, forty boys and girls between nine and eleven watched films of a campus demonstration. Half the group were told of the reality of the film, and half were told the film was made in a Hollywood studio.

Those who were told the film was real exhibited increased aggressive tendencies as measured by an apparatus which allowed a child to exert loud noises in the ear of an adult as he desired. These noises were significantly greater than in the group told that the activity was make-believe ($p < .01$).

Lending credence to the catharsis hypothesis was information indicating that the group who was told that the film was make-believe showed significantly less

aggression ($p < .05$) than a control group who had watched no film at all.

Countless other studies on television violence and instigation of childhood aggression have been made. One group of researchers found that facial expressions on a child's face could predict the amount of aggression he would instigate on the basis of pushing "help" or "hurt" buttons.¹⁰⁷ "Faces which showed happiness, pleasantness and not sadness tended to use the 'hurt' button more than boys whose facial expressions showed unpleasantness, sadness or not happiness" while watching shooting or fighting episodes on television.¹⁰⁸

In this area of instigation of aggressive behavior after viewing televised violence, the final report to the Surgeon General makes several conclusions. Probably the most important conclusion is that under certain circumstances, television violence can instigate an increase in aggressive acts. The report makes the following statement.

The accumulated evidence does not warrant the conclusion that televised violence has a uniformly adverse effect nor the conclusion that it has an adverse effect on the majority of the children.¹⁰⁹

Those most responsive to televised violence, according to the report, are those children highly aggressive to begin with.

The interesting fact in this statement is that previous studies indicate that those children "highly aggressive to begin with"¹¹⁰ are the ones who have viewed a high degree of violent television at home prior to the

testing. While those who are less aggressive to begin with have their television viewing regulated at home in such a manner as to restrict viewing of entirely violent programs. A tautology would appear to be present.

CHAPTER II

HYPOTHESES AND METHODOLOGY

This paper will examine a somewhat different aspect of television's effect on children; our focus is the relationship of television viewing and the cognitive and affective orientations of children toward the law and police. The research will be conducted through secondary analysis of the data used by Dan German and Marvin Hoffman in their study of over three thousand youths from Alexander, Burke, Catawba and Caldwell Counties and the cities of Hickory, Newton and Lenoir.

Four of the grades tested by German and Hoffman will be examined: the seventh grade with a sample of 437, the eighth grade with a sample of 426, the ninth grade with a sample of 389, and the eleventh grade with a sample of 253 students. The tests were conducted in late 1972 and early 1973, and the comprehensive results were presented by German and Hoffman at the 1973 Southern Political Science Association convention in Atlanta, Georgia.

The sex breakdown for the four grades selected in this research shows slightly more males (52%). Females are in the majority only in the ninth grade. Approximately only 12 percent of the total sample is black with the eighth

grade having the highest percentage (17.9) of non-whites.

Television viewing will be measured by a series of questions on which the children could indicate whether they watched a particular program "Never," "Sometimes," or "Almost Always." Twenty-one programs were listed. Twelve of the programs--"Ironside," "Columbo," "Police Surgeon," "McMillan and Wife," "The Felony Squad," "Hawaii Five O," "McCloud," "Adam-12," "Dragnet," "The Rookies," "The Mod Squad" and "NYPD"--are featured around a police officer or a team of police officers.

Four programs--"Mannix," "Banacek," "Madigan," and "Cannon"--feature private detectives as the leading character. Two programs "Owen Marshall, Counselor at Law" and "Perry Mason" feature lawyers in the lead role. The other three programs listed were the "News," "Saturday Morning Cartoons" and "The Advocates."

If a child indicated he "Never" watched a program, he was given one point. If he reported "Sometimes" watching, two points were accorded. Those students who watched a particular program "Almost Always" were credited with three points. The highest possible number of points for any one student would thus be sixty-six (66). The lowest number possible would be twenty-one (21).

The police-detective dichotomy is important in testing the initial hypothesis. Private detectives such as "Mannix" and "Cannon," though they sometimes work with police very closely, usually stay one step ahead in solving

the crime. The police function at most is seen as an accessory to the private detective. In cases where the private detective is forced to leave the city he is based in and work in smaller urban areas, he usually encounters antagonism from the local police. When the detective solves the mystery, he is typically seen as the hero who was able to succeed despite opposition of the local police.

From this, it can be hypothesized that those children who viewed predominantly private detective programs will have higher levels of police cynicism and lower levels of police and legal efficacy than those children whose viewing diet consisted of police oriented programs.

Private detectives are also not always limited by the letter of the law in their activities. Policemen, however, have many of their operating procedures controlled by a series of Supreme Court decisions. Private detectives, for instance, are not bound to the Supreme Court's Miranda requirements. Evidence acquired by a private detective in illegal searches is not scrutinized in the same manner as if it were obtained by a policeman.

Therefore, the second hypothesis to be tested will be that children who view primarily detective shows will have lower scores on the general law knowledge index than those children who view predominantly police oriented programs.

Several terms need defining before additional hypotheses are posited. Police efficacy is measured by responses to three questions (see Table 1) in the testing instrument. German and Hoffman state that a person is "efficacious" when "he feels that his actions will influence someone or something."¹¹¹ If an individual feels that his actions will have some effect on a policeman, he would be considered to be highly "efficacious" toward police.

In the questionnaire a child who "strongly agrees" with the statement, "I don't think policemen care much about what people like me think," would be given one point. If he merely "agrees" he would be given two points; three points if the response was "I don't know;" four points if the child "disagrees;" and five points if the child "strongly disagrees." A child who scored fifteen points on these three questions would be considered highly efficacious toward police. Legal efficacy (Table 2) was measured in a similar manner.

Police cynicism (Table 3) and general law knowledge (Table 4) were also measured by a battery of questions. A person is considered cynical toward police if he does not trust them to treat him fairly.¹¹² Police cynicism, like both efficacy variables, was measured by the Lickert scale. The general law knowledge index score was tallied by giving one point if the student chose the correct answer and no points if he selected any of the other three choices.

TABLE 1
DETERMINANTS OF POLICE EFFICACY

Questions:

- (1) I don't think policemen care much what people like me think.
- (2) The police do what they want no matter what people like me think.
- (3) The police can be a law unto themselves with nobody to tell them what to do.

Responses Available:

- | | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Strongly Agree | (1) |
| Agree | (2) |
| Do Not Know | (3) |
| Disagree | (4) |
| Strongly Disagree | (5) |
-

TABLE 2
DETERMINANTS OF LEGAL EFFICACY

Questions:

- (1) People like me don't have any say about what law is.
- (2) The best thing to do is learn to obey the law.

Responses Available:

- | | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Strongly Agree | (1) |
| Agree | (2) |
| Do Not Know | (3) |
| Disagree | (4) |
| Strongly Disagree | (5) |

TABLE 3

DETERMINANTS OF POLICE CYNICISM

Questions:

- (1) If you ever go near the police, then its like asking for trouble.
- (2) Policemen are as fair to poor people as they are to rich people.
- (3) The police work for rich people.
- (4) The police, and people like that, the sheriff, are out to get people like me.
- (5) Policemen treat all people alike.
- (6) You have to watch what you are doing and where you are going or the police will pick you up.

Responses Available:

- | | |
|-------------------|-----|
| Strongly Agree | (1) |
| Agree | (2) |
| Do Not Know | (3) |
| Disagree | (4) |
| Strongly Disagree | (5) |
-

TABLE 4

DETERMINANTS OF LEGAL KNOWLEDGE

<u>Questions:</u>	<u>Responses:</u>
(1) Which of the following decides whether or not a law is constitutional?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. The U.S. Senate b. The President c. The United States Supreme Court d. The House of Representatives
(2) The judicial branch of the American government has	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. the power to make laws. b. the power to interpret laws. c. little or no power. d. the power to impeach the President.
(3) The Bill of Rights guarantees	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. that you will be absolutely free. b. that the Senate will be elected by direct vote of the people. c. the government's protection if someone tries to injure you. d. certain rights and freedoms to the people.
(4) Serious crimes like robbery or murder are known as	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. misdemeanors. b. felonies. c. torts. d. civil suits.
(5) An accessory before the fact is a person who might be convicted of a crime because they	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. assist a person in committing a crime. b. were near the scene of a crime. c. has knowledge of a crime being committed. d. are related to the criminal.
(6) A man's house may be searched by the police if	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. the search is reasonable. b. they are careful. c. they have a warrant. d. the search is ordered by the mayor.
(7) A man accused of a crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. must hire his own lawyer. b. can be held indefinitely. c. has the right to a public trial. d. must be placed on trial immediately.

TABLE 4--ContinuedQuestions:Responses:

- | | |
|---|---|
| (8) Law is | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. rules set by our government and enforced by the police. b. punishment for those who do wrong. c. what protects us from bad people. d. made by the police. |
| (9) In a democracy | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. the President makes the laws. b. the police make most laws. c. laws are made by the people through elected representatives. d. laws are usually voted on by everyone and enforced by each person. |
| (10) Civil Law | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. concerns our rights and duties with other people. b. makes us do what we are told. c. punishes people who are bad. d. is the opposite of military law. |
| (11) Crimes are | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. those actions forbidden by law. b. punishment for criminals. c. punished by the police. d. actions committed by bad men. |
| (12) Everyone who has been convicted of a crime | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. has a criminal record. b. is proven to be a bad person. c. goes to prison. d. pleads guilty to the charges. |
| (13) A criminal is usually considered to be | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. a person convicted of a crime. b. a bad person. c. someone who has been jailed by police. d. a poor, uneducated person. |
| (14) Someone on probation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. is simply released from custody. b. has posted bond and is awaiting trial. c. has been released on bail, pending his trial. d. is a convicted offender released under supervision for a certain period of time. |

TABLE 4--Continued

<u>Questions:</u>	<u>Responses:</u>
(15) An accessory to a crime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. is when a minor crime is committed while a felony is committed. b. is additional evidence in a criminal case. c. is a person indirectly involved in the crime. d. are methods used by the defendant.
(16) Someone who commits a crime is arrested, then	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. sent to prison for a few years b. taken before a judicial officer for a hearing. c. brought before a court for a trial d. discharged from custody.
(17) To be convicted of receiving stolen goods a person must	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. be accused of stealing them. b. be accused of larceny. c. know that they are stolen. d. be caught trying to sell them to someone else.
(18) A victim is	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. another word for a criminal. b. a person against whom a crime has been committed. c. a person found guilty of a crime. d. a criminal that is not in jail.
(19) A misdemeanor is	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. a crime that is not to be considered very serious. b. a very serious crime. c. a light punishment. d. a short prison sentence that is often suspended by police.
(20) Auto theft	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a. is considered a misdemeanor when committed by someone under 16 years of age. b. is considered petty theft. c. is a felony. d. must involve the taking of an automobile with the intent of permanently retaining it.

TABLE 4--Continued

<u>Questions:</u>	<u>Responses:</u>
(21) A burglary is committed during the	a. theft of property from another's person. b. breaking and entering into a home at night with the intent to commit a felony. c. holdup of a man in daylight. d. stealing of an automobile from a parking lot.
(22) Shoplifting is	a. willfully concealing goods which have not been purchased. b. the breaking and entering into a store after the business hours. c. willfully destroying goods while having no intention of purchasing them. d. attempting to alter prices of merchandise before it is purchased.

Because of the black socialization process discussed earlier, one might expect television's effects to be greater on the black sample than the white. Specifically, one might hypothesize that television's effect will be greater on blacks general law knowledge, efficacy toward police, efficacy toward the law and police cynicism than whites. The direction of the correlations should be similar to those relationships hypothesized earlier. That is, viewing police oriented programs will lead to positive correlations with general law knowledge, efficacy toward police, efficacy toward law and negative correlations with police cynicism. Viewing detective oriented programs should produce negative correlations with the first three variables and positive correlations with police cynicism among the black sample.

German and Hoffman, in their original study, found that black students showed lower efficacy and cognition levels than did the whites tested. Most of the crime oriented programs that have come and gone since the advent of television have featured whites in the lead roles. Blacks were portrayed as either the victim of the perpetrator of the crime. The late sixties and early seventies brought a change in this, and blacks, for the first time, were able to become integral parts of police and private detective teams on the tube.

Five programs in this study have at least one featured black--"Ironside," "McCloud," "Mannix," "The Rookies," and "The Mod Squad." It might be then hypothesized that black students who watched these programs frequently

will have higher police efficacy, legal efficacy and general law knowledge scores and lower police cynicism scores than the black students who did not view these programs. The corollary effect should not be evidenced with white students since there are no shows in this study that feature black actors completely in the lead roles.

Now each of these hypotheses that have been presented will be analyzed. Analysis will be conducted through research facilities at Appalachian State University. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences will be utilized in the following analysis.

CHAPTER III

THE DATA

Before testing the hypotheses proposed in the previous chapter, a brief overview of the data can prove informative. Because of the restrictions in the administration of the testing instrument, several students were unable to complete the full questionnaire which posed 187 questions and was 43 pages long. The sample, in most cases, had set periods varying from 42 to 60 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

Consequently, nearly thirty-four percent of the 1505 subjects tested failed to answer the questions concerning their television viewing habits. This varied, as might be expected, with the grade level of the child. Over forty percent (40.7) of the seventh graders tested failed to reach the question, "Do you have a television?" This question was posited immediately prior to the questions which determined whether a child watched a particular program "Never," "Sometimes," or "Almost Always."

Over thirty-seven percent (37.1) of the eighth grade sample failed to reach the television questions. This figure decreased to 25.1 percent of the ninth graders and 19 percent of the eleventh graders sampled.

This information is extremely important in

examining program popularity. The means initially calculated for program popularity coded those persons who did not answer as if they had answered they "Never" watched a particular program. Therefore, the mean would be artificially low. Another measure considered to determine program popularity was to use the number of cases counted in calculating the correlations. This exempted everyone who had failed to answer or answered they had "Never" watched the particular program. This measure was rejected also because there was no differentiating according to whether a program was watched "Sometimes" or "Almost Always."

For instance, one hundred subjects may have reported watching "Columbo" "Sometimes" and one hundred may have reported watching this program "Almost Always," for a total of 200. But, fifty subjects may have reported watching "Ironside" "Sometimes" while 150 viewed "Almost Always," also for a total of 200. Is "Columbo" equal to "Ironside" in popularity?

Even though 200 subjects would be considered in calculating correlations for both "Ironside" and "Columbo," the intensity of popularity is much greater for "Ironside." Therefore, to consider this intensity, program popularity was calculated as follows.

For each grade level, the total number of subjects who answered they watched a program "Sometimes" was multiplied by two. Those subjects who viewed a program "Almost Always" were multiplied by three. For example,

92 eleventh grade subjects watched "McCloud" "Sometimes," and 52 watched "Almost Always." The program popularity would be calculated for "McCloud" thusly:

$$2(92) + 3(53) = 343$$

Using this as a measure of program popularity, "Hawaii Five-0" was the most popular program in every grade. Contrasting with this police oriented program, "Mannix," a private detective program, was second most popular at each grade level. Other programs popular in every grade include "Cannon," a private detective program, "Adam-12," a police oriented program, and "McCloud," also a police oriented program. A complete rundown of program popularity is available in Table 5.

Detective shows were more popular in every grade, except the ninth, than were the police oriented programs. Shows with black lead characters were more popular as a group in every grade than were the programs with all white casts. Group popularity (Table 6) was tabulated as the mean of all the programs in a particular group.

Before analyzing the hypotheses posited, one might examine the relationship age has with the pattern of viewing, general law knowledge, efficacy toward police and the law and police cynicism. As has been found by other researchers, television viewing tends to decrease with age. This decrease is not high among the seventh, eighth and ninth graders, but a marked decrease can be noted in the eleventh grade sample (Figure 1).

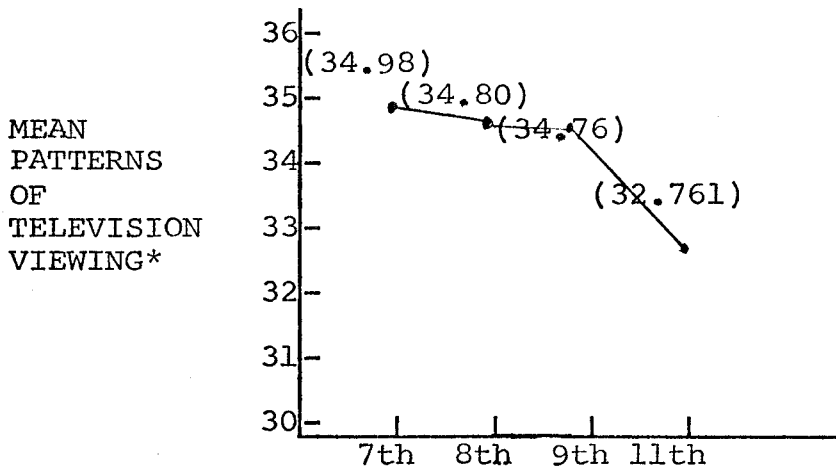
TABLE 5
PROGRAM POPULARITY BY GRADE

Rank	7th		8th		9th		11th	
	Program	Score	Program	Score	Program	Score	Program	Score
1.	Hawaii		Hawaii		Hawaii		Hawaii	
	Five-0	664	Five-0	704	Five-0	772	Five-0	475
2.	Mannix	628	Mannix	674	Mannix	737	Mannix	455
3.	Adam-12	591	Adam-12	602	Cannon	652	Cannon	417
4.	Cannon	537	Cannon	582	McCloud	542	Adam-12	385
5.	McCloud	454	Mod Squad	513	Adam-12	536	McCloud	343
6.	Mod Squad	451	McCloud	481	Mod Squad	517	Mod Squad	322
7.	McMillan and Wife	421	Rookies	453	Dragnet	476	Dragnet	292
8.	Rookies	398	Dragnet	412	McMillan and Wife	467	Rookies	275
9.	Dragnet	375	McMillan and Wife	393	Rookies	465	Columbo	261
10.	Ironside	370	Columbo	367	Columbo	433	McMillan and Wife	259
11.	Columbo	365	Ironside	327	Ironside	400	Ironside	258
12.	Perry Mason	290	Owen		Owen		Owen	
			Marshall	254	Marshall	309	Marshall	217
13.	Owen		Banacek	221	Perry Mason	289	Perry Mason	196
	Marshall	240						
14.	Banacek	210	Perry Mason	167	Banacek	264	Banacek	180
15.	Police		Felony		Felony		Felony	
	Surgeon	150	Squad	167	Squad	180	Squad	113
16.	Madigan	121	Police		Police		Madigan	89
			Surgeon	167	Surgeon	177		
17.	Felony		Madigan	122	NYPD	129	NYPD	88
	Squad	101						
18.	NYPD	86	NYPD	121	Madigan	128	Police	
							Surgeon	86
19.	Advocates	80	Advocates	108	Advocates	101	Advocates	80

TABLE 6
MEAN PROGRAM POPULARITY BY GROUPS

	GRADE			
	7th	8th	9th	11th
Police Programs	363.42	391.41	430.33	263.75
Detective Programs	376.50	399.75	414.25	285.25
Black Character	577.75	489.60	513.20	330.60
White Cast	311.85	336.08	373.30	229.07

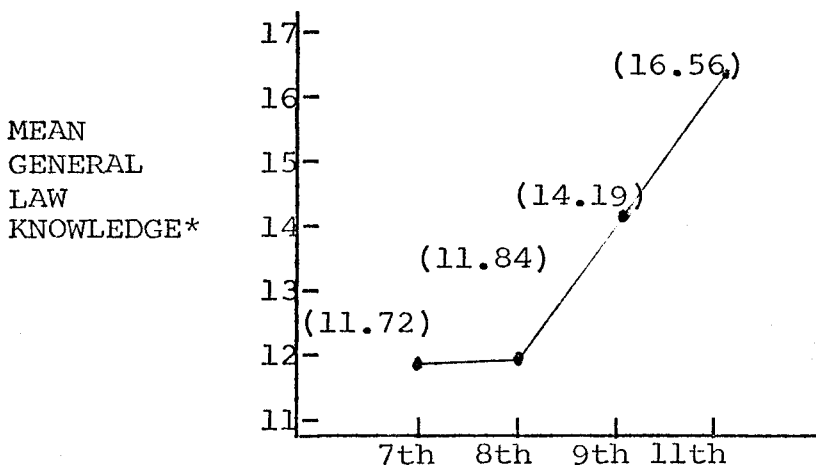
FIGURE 1



* Highest possible score is 57.

As can be determined by Figure 2, general law knowledge increases with age. Even though television viewing decreases, the youth is subjected increasingly to other sources of information such as newspapers and magazines and in some cases direct contact with the law. Advancements in school also bring about increased knowledge of the law. When the Bill of Rights is discussed in a U.S. History course, for example, the student should gain increased knowledge about the law.

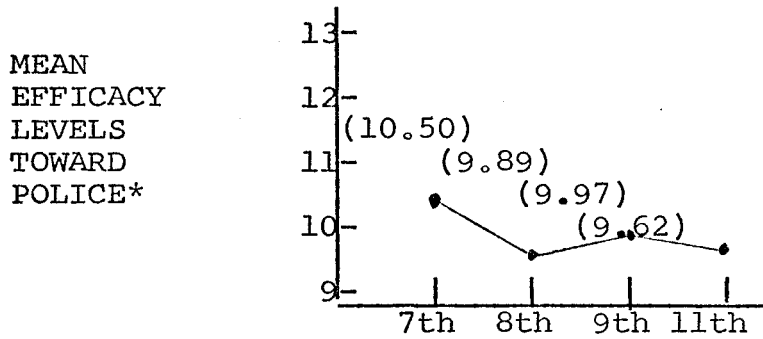
FIGURE 2



* Highest possible score is 22.

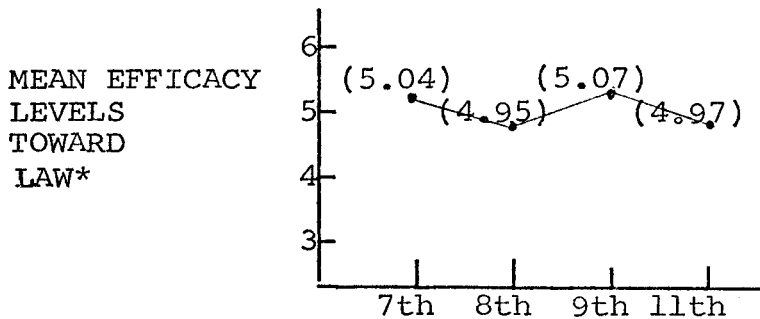
Efficacy toward police (Figure 3) and efficacy toward law (Figure 4) follow the same patterns. There is little difference across grade levels. Police cynicism (Figure 5), however, increases slightly as age increases.

FIGURE 3



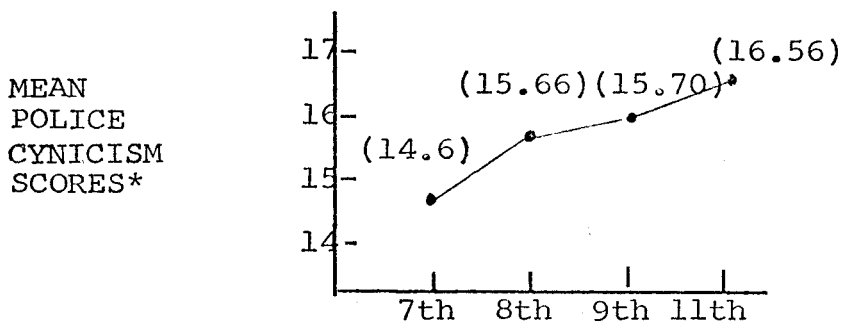
* Highest possible score is 15.

FIGURE 4



* Highest possible scores is 10.

FIGURE 5



* Highest possible score is 30.

Analyzing program by program effects at each grade level on general law knowledge, efficacy toward police, efficacy toward laws, and cynicism toward police provides some interesting findings. Very few correlations were high enough to demonstrate a strong relationship between television viewing and these variables. None of the correlations were above .340 and most were less than .200.

However, there were several correlations that were statistically significant and the direction of these correlations indicates that the stated hypotheses may be in jeopardy. Tables 7, 8, 9, and 10 provide program correlation breakdowns by grade.

Ironically, those programs with the highest popularity among the samples showed no more significant correlations than many of the less popular programs. "Hawaii Five-0" had a significant correlation with general law knowledge only in the seventh grade (+.1822). As evidenced by the tables, however, the police oriented Honolulu based program, did have significant correlations with efficacy toward police in both the ninth (+.1134) and eleventh (+.1483) grades, and cynicism toward police in the seventh (-.1185) and the eleventh (-.1707). Surprisingly, "Hawaii Five-0" produced a negative correlation (-.1627) in efficacy toward the law in the seventh grade. "Mannix," the second most popular program, produced no significant correlations at any grade.

"Police Surgeon," a program centered around a police

TABLE 7

7th GRADE CORRELATIONS WITH SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

Title	GLKI1		EFFCOP2		EFFLAW3		CYNCOPI4	
	N	COFF	N	COFF	N	COFF	N	COFF
Ironside (167)	237	----	237	----	237	----	237	-.1506**
Columbo (168)	231	----	231	----	231	----	231	----
Police Surgeon (169)	225	-.1757**	225	-.1175*	225	----	225	----
McMillan and Wife (170)	235	+.1374*	235	----	235	----	235	----
Felony Squad (171)	220	----	220	----	220	----	220	+.1298*
Perry Mason (172)	225	----	225	----	225	----	225	----
Hawaii Five-O (173)	246	+.1822**	246	----	246	-.1627**	246	-.1185*
Owen Marshall (174)	224	----	224	-.1153*	225	----	225	----
McCloud (175)	231	----	231	----	231	----	231	-.1088*
Mannix (176)	243	+.1060*	243	----	243	----	243	----
Madigan (177)	219	----	219	-.1138*	219	----	219	----
Dragnet (178)	225	----	225	----	225	----	225	----
Adam-12 (179)	238	----	238	----	238	----	238	----
Rookies (180)	228	----	228	----	228	----	228	----
Banacek (181)	218	----	218	-.1714**	218	----	218	+.1571**
Cannon (182)	234	+.1114*	234	----	234	----	234	----
Mod Squad (183)	226	-.1665**	226	-.1113*	226	----	226	----
Advocates (184)	214	+.1314*	214	----	214	----	214	----
NYPD (185)	213	----	213	----	213	+.1363*	213	----

* Significant at a level .05 or less
 ** Significant at a level .01 or less

1 - GLKI = General Law Knowledge Index
 2 - EFFCOP = Efficacy Toward Police
 3 - EFFLAW = Efficacy Toward the Law
 4 - CYNCOPI = Police Cynicism

TABLE 8

8th GRADE CORRELATIONS WITH SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

Title	GLKI1		EFFCOP2		EFFLAW3		CYNCOPI4	
	N	Corr	N	Corr	N	Corr	N	Corr
Ironside (167)	255	-----	255	-----	255	-----	255	-----
Columbo (168)	254	-----	254	-----	254	+ .1771**	254	-----
Police Surgeon (169)	252	-.1980**	252	+ .1128*	252	-----	252	-----
McMillan and Wife (170)	250	+ .2183**	250	-.1128*	250	+ .1457*	250	-.1075*
Felony Squad (171)	247	-.1719**	247	-----	247	-----	247	-----
Perry Mason (172)	249	-.1155*	249	-----	249	-----	249	-----
Hawaii Five-O (173)	263	-----	263	-----	263	-----	263	-----
Owen Marshall (174)	244	-----	244	-----	244	-----	244	-----
McCloud (175)	249	-----	249	+ .1602**	249	-----	249	-.1599**
Mannix (176)	260	-----	260	-----	260	-----	260	-----
Madigan (177)	244	-.1623**	244	-.1874**	244	-----	244	-----
Dragnet (178)	249	-----	249	-----	249	-----	249	-----
Adam-12 (179)	256	-----	256	-----	256	-----	256	-----
Rookies (180)	255	-----	255	-----	255	-----	255	-----
Banacek (181)	242	-----	242	-----	242	-----	242	-----
Cannon (182)	255	-----	255	-.1094*	255	-----	255	-----
Mod Squad (183)	256	-.2252**	256	-----	256	-----	256	-----
Advocates (184)	236	-.1501*	236	-----	236	-----	236	-----
NYPD (185)	237	-----	237	-----	237	-----	237	-----

* Significant at a level .05 or less

** Significant at a level .01 or less

1 - GLKI = General Law Knowledge Index

2 - EFFCOP = Efficacy Toward Police

3 - EFFLAW = Efficacy Toward the Law

4 - CYNCOPI = Police Cynicism

TABLE 9
9th GRADE CORRELATIONS WITH SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

Title	GLKI1		EFFCOP2		EFFLAW3		CYN COP4	
	N	COFF	N	COFF	N	COFF	N	COFF
Ironside (167)	280	-----	280	-----	280	-----	280	-----
Columbo (168)	278	-----	278	-----	278	-----	278	-----
Police Surgeon (169)	270	-.3333**	270	+.1095*	270	-----	270	+.1113*
McMillan and Wife (170)	283	-----	283	-----	283	-----	283	-----
Felony Squad (171)	270	-.1684**	270	-----	270	-----	270	-----
Perry Mason (172)	271	-----	271	-----	271	-----	271	-----
Hawaii Five-O (173)	293	-----	293	+.1134*	293	-----	293	-----
Owen Marshall (174)	266	-----	266	-----	266	-----	266	-----
McCloud (175)	278	-----	278	-----	278	-----	278	-----
Mannix (176)	286	-----	286	-----	286	-----	286	-----
Madigan (177)	266	-.1261*	266	-----	266	-----	266	-----
Dragnet (178)	276	-----	276	-----	276	-----	276	-----
Adam-12 (179)	287	-----	287	-----	287	-----	287	-----
Rookies (180)	278	-.1477**	278	-----	278	-----	278	-----
Banacek (181)	270	-----	270	-----	270	-----	270	-----
Cannon (182)	282	-.1171*	282	-----	282	-----	282	-----
Mod Squad (183)	277	-.2076**	277	-----	277	-----	277	-----
Advocates (184)	259	-.2879**	259	-.1415*	259	-----	259	-.1194*
NYPD (185)	264	-----	264	-----	264	-----	264	-----

* Significant at a level .05 or less

** Significant at a level .01 or less

1 - GLKI = General Law Knowledge Index

2 - EFFCOP = Efficacy Toward Police

3 - EFFLAW = Efficacy Toward the Law

4 - CYN COP = Police Cynicism

TABLE 10
11th GRADE CORRELATIONS WITH SPECIFIC PROGRAMS

Title	GLKI1		EFFCOP2		EFFLAW3		CYN COP4	
	N	<u>CORR</u>	N	<u>CORR</u>	N	<u>CORR</u>	N	<u>CORR</u>
Ironsides (167)	197	-----	197	-----	197	-----	197	-----
Columbo (168)	198	-----	198	-----	198	-----	198	-----
Police Surgeon (169)	196	-.1467*	196	-----	196	-----	196	-----
McMillan and Wife (170)	200	-----	200	-----	200	-----	200	-----
Felony Squad (171)	197	-.2408**	197	-----	197	-----	197	-----
Perry Mason (172)	198	-----	198	-----	198	-----	198	-----
Hawaii Five-O (173)	204	-----	204	+.1483*	204	-----	204	-.1707**
Owen Marshall (174)	196	-----	196	-----	196	-----	196	-----
McCloud (175)	198	-----	198	-----	198	-----	198	-----
Mannix (176)	199	-----	199	-----	199	-----	199	-----
Madigan (177)	193	-----	193	-.1492*	193	+.1325*	193	+.1233*
Dragnet (178)	200	-----	200	-----	200	-----	200	-----
Adam-12 (179)	199	-----	199	+.1370*	199	-----	199	-.1237*
Rookies (180)	194	-----	194	-----	194	-----	194	-----
Banacek (181)	195	-----	195	-----	195	-----	195	-----
Cannon (182)	200	-----	200	-----	200	-----	200	-----
Mod Squad (183)	195	-----	195	-----	195	-----	195	-----
Advocates (184)	191	-.1632*	191	-----	191	-----	191	-----
NYPD (185)	193	-----	193	-----	193	+.1735**	193	-----

* Significant at a level .05 or less
** Significant at a level .01 or less

1 - GLKI = General Law Knowledge Index
2 - EFFCOP = Efficacy Toward Police
3 - EFFLAW = Efficacy Toward the Law
4 - CYN COP = Police Cynicism

medic who also helps solve crimes, though in the bottom fourth in program popularity, showed some unexpected relationships with general law knowledge. In every grade, "Police Surgeon" correlated negatively with general law knowledge. The highest correlation was in the ninth grade at $-.3333$ with a significance at the $.001$ confidence level. This means that less than one time in a thousand was this correlation due to chance.

This pattern of "as viewing increases, general law knowledge decreases" is elicited by another police oriented program which is also low in popularity. "The Felony Squad" correlated negatively with knowledge of the law in eighth, ninth and eleventh grade samples. Another police centered program, which was high in popularity, also correlates negatively with law knowledge. Watching "The Mod Squad" in the seventh, eighth and ninth grades would seem to account for a small percentage decrease in law knowledge. "The Advocates," an educational program set in court room trappings where various social issues are debated from week to week, demonstrated the same pattern. The eleventh ($-.1632$), the ninth ($-.2879$), the eighth ($-.1501$) and the seventh grade ($-.1314$) samples all reached significant negative correlations with general law knowledge.

The program eliciting the highest positive significant correlation with general law knowledge was "McMillan and Wife." Both the seventh and eighth grade samples were significant with the latter being highest ($+.2183$).

No single program showed consistency across grade levels for significant correlations with efficacy toward law or cynicism toward police. "Madigan," however, demonstrated negative correlations with efficacy toward the police in the eleventh ($-.1492$), eighth ($-.1874$) and seventh grades ($-.1138$).

A great number of significant correlations were also not found when programs were examined in the various groupings according to grade level. As Table 11 indicates, only in the ninth grade is any pattern established between detective programs, police programs, programs with black lead characters, programs with all white cast and the variables tested. The ninth grade sample finds negative correlations for general law knowledge for all four groupings. The correlations are not high but their directions indicate that something other than what was hypothesized might be the case. The only other significant correlation at any grade level was in the eighth where those programs with black lead characters correlated negatively with general law knowledge ($-.1242$) at a significance of .027.

Now the hypotheses posited will be tested for the entire sample. The central hypothesis that as television viewing increases, general law knowledge increases is not confirmed by the data. The trend, in fact, occurs in the opposite direction. The 824 children remaining in the sample after those who did not answer every question concerning television viewing were discarded, displayed a negative correlation between television viewing and

TABLE 11
NINTH GRADE PROGRAM GROUP CORRELATION

	GENERAL LAW KNOWLEDGE $\frac{N}{\text{CORR}}$	POLICE EFFICACY $\frac{N}{\text{CORR}}$	LAW EFFICACY $\frac{N}{\text{CORR}}$	POLICE CYNICISM $\frac{N}{\text{CORR}}$
Black Characters	265 -.1260*	265 -----	265 -----	265 -----
White Characters	243 -.1153*	243 -----	243 -----	243 -----
Detective Shows	261 -.1584**	261 -----	261 -----	261 -----
Police Shows	251 -.1056*	251 -----	251 -----	251 -----

*Significant at the .05 level or less

** Significant at the .01 level or less

general law knowledge. Although the correlation ($-.1090$) is not high enough to consider television as crucial in the development of legal knowledge in children, the direction of the correlation might momentarily lay to rest those arguments which proclaim television as an important agent in improving a child's knowledge about the law.

As evidenced by Table 12, each of the various groups of programs resulted in negative correlations with general law knowledge. Again, these correlations are not high enough to indicate trends such that children watching programs with black lead characters have higher general law knowledge than programs with all white casts; or as hypothesized, watching police oriented programs have higher correlations with general law knowledge than detective programs. As can also be seen in Table 12, there were no significant correlations for either the programs with black characters, all white casts, police programs or detective programs with any of the variables tested other than law knowledge.

A program by program breakdown for the total sample (Table 13) finds no significant positive correlations for any program and general law knowledge. "Police Surgeon" had the highest significant negative correlation ($-.2323$) of any of the nineteen programs listed.

Only "Hawaii Five-0" and "Adam-12" demonstrated significant positive correlations with efficacy toward police; "NYPD," the second least popular program, elicited

TABLE 12

TOTAL SAMPLE CORRELATIONS FOR PROGRAM GROUPS

	GENERAL LAW KNOWLEDGE N	COEFF	POLICE EFFICACY N	COEFF	LAW EFFICACY N	COEFF	POLICE CYNICISM N	COEFF
Black Characters	902	-.1286**	901	-----	901	-----	901	-----
White Characters	833	-.0839**	833	-----	833	-----	833	-----
Detective Shows	893	-.0954**	893	-----	893	-----	893	-----
Police Shows	851	-.0951**	851	-----	851	-----	851	-----

* Significant at the .05 level or less

** Significant at the .01 level or less

TABLE 13

PROGRAM BY PROGRAM CORRELATIONS FOR ENTIRE SAMPLE

Title	GLKI ₁		EFFCOP ₂		EFFLAW ₃		CYNCOPI ₄	
	N	COFF	N	COFF	N	COFF	N	COFF
Ironside (167)	969	-----	969	-----	969	-----	969	-.0751**
Columbo (168)	961	-----	961	-----	961	-----	961	-----
Police Surgeon (169)	943	-.2323**	943	-.0730*	943	-----	943	-----
McMillan and Wife (170)	968	-----	968	+.0603*	968	-----	968	-.0891**
Felony Squad (171)	934	-.1475**	934	-.0549*	934	-----	934	+.0786**
Perry Mason (172)	943	-.0964**	943	-----	943	-----	943	-----
Hawaii Five-0 (173)	1006	-----	1006	+.0841**	1006	-.0838**	1006	-.1266**
Owen Marshall (174)	930	-----	930	-----	930	-----	930	-----
McCloud (175)	956	-----	956	-----	956	-----	956	-.0792**
Mannix (176)	988	-.0787**	988	-----	988	-----	988	-----
Madigan (177)	922	-.1166**	922	-.1142**	922	-----	922	-----
Dragnet (178)	950	-----	950	-----	950	-----	950	-----
Adam-12 (179)	980	-.1074**	980	+.0573*	980	-.0539*	980	-.0858**
Rookies (180)	955	-.0830**	955	-----	955	-----	955	-----
Banacek (181)	925	-----	925	-----	925	-----	925	+.0565*
Cannon (182)	971	-.0542*	971	-----	971	-----	971	-----
Mod Squad (183)	954	-.02143**	954	-----	954	-----	954	-----
Advocates (184)	900	-.1728**	900	-.0818**	900	-----	900	+.0724*
NYPD (185)	907	-.0700**	907	-----	907	+.0813**	907	-----

*Significant at the .05 level or less
 **Significant at the .01 level or less

1 - GLKI = General Law Knowledge Index
 2 - EFFCOP = Efficacy Toward Police
 3 - EFFLAW = Efficacy Toward the Law
 4 - CYNCOPI = Police Cynicism

the only significant positive correlation with efficacy toward the law; and "The Felony Squad" and "Banacek" were the only programs which exhibited significant positive correlations with police cynicism. Once again, it must be cautioned that most of these correlations, though statistically significant, are not high enough to merit saying increased television viewing leads to decreased general law knowledge, decreased law efficacy, decreased police efficacy and increased police cynicism.

The racial breakdowns disproved most of the relevant hypotheses posited, but the analysis of the black-white dichotomy does provide some interesting findings. From the data, it appears that television affects black students' police cynicism more than whites. Only two of the nineteen programs listed demonstrated positive correlations between television viewing and police cynicism among black students. Neither of these correlations were significant.

On five programs--"Ironside," "Columbo," "Police Surgeon," "Perry Mason," and "The Advocates"--high negative correlations were attained with police cynicism. No correlations for the white sample approached the correlation coefficient for these five programs. Table 14 provides black-white comparisons.

The white sample attained more significant correlations between specific programs and general law knowledge than did the black. The only two programs

TABLE 14A

RACIAL COMPARISONS OF INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS FOR TOTAL SAMPLE

BLACK

Title	GLKI ₁		EFFCOP ₂		EFFLAW ₃		CYN COP ₄	
	N	Corr	N	Corr	N	Corr	N	Corr
Ironside (167)	77	-----	77	-----	77	-----	77	-.2401*
Columbo (168)	71	-----	71	-----	71	-----	71	-.2279*
Police Surgeon (169)	77	-----	77	-----	77	-----	77	-.3208**
McMillan and Wife (170)	75	-----	75	-----	75	-----	75	-----
Felony Squad (171)	75	-----	75	-----	75	-----	75	-----
Perry Mason (172)	76	-----	76	-----	76	-----	76	-.1999*
Hawaii Five-O (173)	86	-----	86	-.1898*	86	-----	86	-----
Owen Marshall (174)	75	-----	75	-----	75	-----	75	-----
McCloud (175)	76	-----	76	-----	76	-----	76	-----
Mannix (176)	84	-----	84	-----	84	-----	84	-----
Madigan (177)	71	-----	71	-----	71	-----	71	-----
Dragnet (178)	74	-----	74	-----	74	-----	74	-----
Adam-12 (179)	79	-----	79	-----	79	-----	79	-----
Rookies (180)	82	-.1865*	82	-----	82	-----	82	-----
Banacek (181)	71	-----	71	-----	71	-----	71	-----
Cannon (182)	82	+.2351*	82	-----	82	-----	82	-----
Mod Squad (183)	82	-----	82	-----	82	-----	82	-----
Advocates (184)	72	-----	72	-----	72	-----	72	-.2114*
NYPD (185)	70	-----	70	-----	70	-----	70	-----

* Significant at a level .05 or less
 ** Significant at a level .01 or less

1 - GLKI = General Law Knowledge Index
 2 - EFFCOP = Efficacy Toward Police
 3 - EFFLAW = Efficacy Toward the Law
 4 - CYN COP = Police Cynicism

TABLE 14B

RACIAL COMPARISONS OF INDIVIDUAL PROGRAMS FOR TOTAL SAMPLE

WHITE

Title	GLKI ₁		EFFCOP ₂		EFFLAW ₃		CYN COP ₄	
	N	Corr	N	Corr	N	Corr	N	Corr
Ironside (167)	888	-----	888	-----	888	-----	888	+ .0809**
Columbo (168)	887	-----	887	-----	887	+ .0563*	887	-----
Police Surgeon (169)	863	- .2294**	863	- .0791**	863	-----	863	-----
McMillan and Wife (170)	889	+ .0574*	889	+ .0601*	889	-----	889	- .0831**
Felony Squad (171)	856	- .1403**	856	- .0634*	856	-----	856	+ .0756*
Perry Mason (172)	863	- .0790**	863	-----	863	-----	863	-----
Hawaii Five-O (173)	916	-----	916	+ .1128**	916	- .0872**	916	- .1515**
Owen Marshall (174)	852	-----	852	-----	852	-----	852	-----
McCloud (175)	876	-----	876	-----	876	-----	876	- .0800**
Mannix (176)	900	- .0695*	900	-----	900	-----	900	- .0575*
Madigan (177)	847	- .0876**	847	- .1249**	847	-----	847	-----
Dragnet (178)	873	-----	873	-----	873	-----	873	-----
Adam-12 (179)	897	- .0943**	897	+ .0592*	897	-----	897	- .0877**
Rookies (180)	870	-----	870	-----	870	-----	870	-----
Banacek (181)	850	-----	850	-----	850	-----	850	+ .0669*
Cannon (182)	885	- .0569*	885	-----	885	-----	885	-----
Mod Squad (183)	868	- .1543**	868	-----	868	-----	868	-----
Advocates (184)	825	- .1543**	825	- .0786*	825	+ .0688*	825	+ .0858**
NYPD (185)	834	-----	834	-----	834	+ .0868	834	-----

* Significant at a level .05 or less

** Significant at a level .01 or less

1 - GLKI = General Law Knowledge Index

2 - EFFCOP = Efficacy Toward Police

3 - EFFLAW = Efficacy Toward the Law

4 - CYN COP = Police Cynicism

related significantly to law knowledge in the black sample were "Cannon," which has no regular black character, and "The Rookies," which has a black in one of the lead roles. Ironically though, the correlation was positive (.2351) for "Cannon" and negative (-.1865) for "The Rookies."

Ten programs in the white sample reached significant correlations though only four--"Police Surgeon"(-.2294), "The Felony Squad"(-.1403), "The Mod Squad"(-.1925) and "The Advocates"(-.1543), reached a correlation coefficient greater than .1000. Although the white sample had more significant correlations for both efficacy toward police and efficacy toward the law on a program by program basis, there were no high correlation coefficients to merit further discussion. The only interesting finding is that blacks had negative correlations with efficacy toward police in only five programs, one of which was "Hawaii Five-0" which had a coefficient of -.1898 at the .04 confidence level.

Racial breakdowns (Table 15) in the program groups follow the same patterns as the individual programs. Blacks have high negative correlations with police cynicism on all nineteen programs combined, the police oriented programs and the programs with all white casts. Whites demonstrate significant negative correlations for all five program groupings and general law knowledge.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS AND SUMMARY

When analyzing data of the type presented in this paper, it would be very easy to become mired in the correlations of individual programs. It would indeed be interesting to attempt to understand why certain programs reach higher significant correlations than others. Why, for example, does the program "Police Surgeon" exhibit a higher (-.3333) significant correlation with general law knowledge than any other program in any other grade? Why does "Cannon" correlate positively with blacks general law knowledge while the "Rookies," which features a black lead character, correlate negatively?

Admittedly, these questions might be worthy of continued study. But the research presented here can in no way elaborate on why these correlations are as they are. To explain these phenomena one would have to research such things as program content, the level of legal information elicited, and even scheduling on the local stations.

It behooves this research to examine the programs in groups and to explain the findings on this basis. Only a small part of one of the four hypotheses was confirmed. Lower levels of legal knowledge, efficacy

toward police and efficacy toward the law are not evident among detective shows as related to police shows or programs with an all white cast as opposed to those programs with a black lead character. The only hypothesis showing any measure of support was that television will affect blacks' police cynicism more than whites'.

The research seems to clearly indicate that television viewing as measured by all the programs combined, the police oriented programs and the programs with all white casts correlate negatively with police cynicism. It should be noted here, the importance of this finding. Blacks have been found to have higher levels of police cynicism compared to whites as reported in the German-Hoffman study. The findings of this study indicate, however, that television affects blacks in such a way as to decrease police cynicism. This is probably the most significant finding of the entire research. The correlations as indicated by Table 15 are higher for the black-television viewing relationship than for any other in the entire sample. Although these correlations are not high in terms of contemporary social research, one must remember that many things affect a child's socialization process.

The family, the educational institutions and peer group pressure are only a few of the agents which affect what a child learns and what attitudes he acquires. It would seem unreasonable to expect any single agent to attain a high enough correlation to say that it accounts for the majority of a child's affective and cognitive orientations toward

law, police or almost anything else.

One might certainly expect, however, stronger correlations than evidenced by much of the research presented here. The correlations indicate that television's effect, specifically on law knowledge, is at the most minimal. Where significant correlations are found between law knowledge and television viewing, their direction is negative. This in itself is an extremely interesting finding. Though the correlations are not high, their direction indicates that the effect television might have is detrimental to the child's law knowledge.

How can this finding be explained? A study reported earlier in this paper by Schramm, Lyle, and Parker indicated that much of what children learn from television is incidental. Children view television for entertainment rather than as an educational experience. While being entertained, however, these children acquire much incidental information about their society.¹¹³ Melvin L. DeFleur and Lois B. DeFleur found that this "incidental learning" process provided a child a great deal of information in identifying occupational roles of adults.¹¹⁴ A child watches "Hawaii Five-O," "Mannix," "Cannon," "Ironside" or any of the other fifteen programs considered for entertainment. Any law knowledge acquired may come in fragments and may be reinforcement for what has already been learned from parents, teachers or friends. Occasionally, a scene may be portrayed where a law enforcement official or private detective performs an act that might be contrary to the law.

Even though the incident will be explained later, the child may miss the explanation or else retain in his memory only the act in question.

Another reason low correlations might have been obtained between television viewing and law knowledge is in the way general law knowledge was defined. Many of the questions which made up the law knowledge index were of a technical nature which television programs probably would depict only in passing. Providing information on which branch of government declares a law unconstitutional, and the nature of civil law, would not be a common feature of most of the programs listed.

It would seem logical to expect television to have less impact on a child's cognitive levels than on his affective orientations. But again, the evidence fails to indicate any high correlations between television viewing and efficacy toward the law and police. The correlation coefficients were not consistently higher for efficacy toward the law and police as compared to general knowledge. This phenomenon is a little more difficult to explain.

As reported earlier, many students (34%) did not complete the questions concerning television viewing. One might speculate that those who did finish, as a group, were more intelligent and thus able to complete their task quicker. Much of the research indicates children who are more intelligent watch less television and rely more on other sources for their knowledge and attitudes than do those children less intelligent.

Children higher in intelligence have been found to rely more on newspapers, magazines and books than on television.¹¹⁵ Even though these same children may have been voracious viewers in earlier stages of development, as adolescence approaches they become bored with the same basic program plot and depend less and less on television viewing as an information source. Children lower in intelligence, who in many cases come from lower socioeconomic backgrounds, do not have the access to the newspapers, magazines and books and are thus more dependent on television.

Post research comparisons of the general law knowledge scores for two grades (seven, eleven) revealed that the children who completed the questionnaire had higher means than for the sample as a whole. As measured by the "T" test, the difference was significant at a .01 confidence level for the seventh grade sample and not significant for the eleventh graders. Significant differences were also found in the seventh grade sample with the mean scores on efficacy toward the law and police cynicism. None of the differences in the eleventh grade were significant. The reason the seventh grade sample reached significance while the eleventh did not may be explained by the difference in the percentage of students who completed the questionnaire at each grade level. Over forty percent failed to finish in the seventh grade while only approximately nineteen percent did not complete the task in the eleventh. Before concrete conclusions can be stated on this matter, the other two grades would have to

be tested as well as the sample as a whole.

Even though the research presented in this paper indicates television's effects on the cognitive and affective orientations of children to be minimal, one should not begin to ignore television as an agent of socialization. Much of the research conducted on the relationship of television and childhood aggression is continuing.

Another possible reason for the lack of support for the hypotheses is that the programs studied do not accurately depict the role of laws and law enforcement officials in today's society. Contemporary policemen interviewed by various researchers state this to be the case.¹¹⁶ Perhaps children, a group that society tends to underestimate, sense that this is not the way it really is and thus view these programs as merely a sophisticated game of cops and robbers.

Possibly, other types of programs may show higher cognitive and affective orientations toward other facets of society. It seems ridiculous, however, to think that an activity can occupy as much of a person's lifetime as television does and have absolutely no effect.

NOTES

¹David Easton and Jack Dennis, Children In the Political System (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969).

²Robert Hess and Judith Torney, The Development of Political Attitudes in Children (Chicago: Adline Publishing, 1967).

³Kenneth Langton and M. Kent Jennings, "Political Socialization and the High School Civics Curriculum In the United States," American Political Science Review, Vol. LXII, No. 3, (September, 1968), pp. 852-867.

⁴Richard Dawson and Kenneth Prewitt, Political Socialization: An Analytic Study (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1968).

⁵Fred Greenstein, Children and Politics (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).

⁶Herbert Hyman, Political Socialization (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1959).

⁷Other authors prominent in political socialization include: Robert Cleary, Political Education in the American Democracy (Scranton: Intext Educational Publishers, 1971).; Edward Greenberg, ed., Political Socialization (New York: Atherton Press, 1970).; Herbert Hirsch, Poverty and Politicization (New York: Free Press, 1971).; Dean Jaros, Socialization In Politics (New York: Praeger, 1973).; Byron G. Massialas, ed., Political Youth, Traditional Schools (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, 1972).; Roberta Sigel, Learning About Politics (New York: Random House, 1970).

⁸Frank Feigert and Margaret Conway, Political Analysis: An Introduction (Boston: Allyn Bacon Co., 1972), p. 99.

⁹Hess and Torney, p. 11.

¹⁰Ibid., p. 20.

¹¹Easton and Dennis, p. 215.

¹²Ibid., p. 222.

¹³Ibid., p. 233.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 236.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 238.

¹⁶Hess and Torney, p. 51.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 57.

¹⁸Edgar Litt, "Civic Education, Community Norms and Political Indoctrination," The Learning of Political Behavior, eds. Norman Adler and Charles Harrington (Scott Foresman and Company, 1970).

¹⁹George Taylor and Harrell Rodgers, "The Policeman as an Agent of Regime Legitimation," Black Political Attitudes, eds. Charles S. Bullock and Harrell R. Rodgers (Chicago: Markham Publishing Company, 1972), p. 25.

²⁰Ibid., p. 25.

²¹"The Cincinnati Police-Juvenile Attitude Project," Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Project Report (Washington, D.C.: Office of Law Enforcement Assistance, 1968), p. 9.

²²Ibid., p. 10.

²³Ibid., p. 31.

²⁴Ibid., p. 32.

²⁵Ibid., p. 82.

²⁶Ibid., p. 103.

²⁷Dan B. German and Marvin K. Hoffman, "North Carolina Youth and the Legal System," Law Enforcement Assistance Administration Project Report (Boone, N.C.: 1973), p. 9.

²⁸Ibid., p. 15.

²⁹Ibid., p. 32.

³⁰Ibid., p. 50.

³¹Ibid., p. 56.

³²Ibid., p. 62.

³³"Violence on T.V.: Why People are Upset," U.S. News and World Report, Vol. LXXV, (October 29, 1973), p. 33.

³⁴Report to the Surgeon General from the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, Television and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence (National Institute of Mental Health, 1971), p. 48. The Surgeon General's report has been criticized heavily by some persons including Leo Bogart

who published an article in Public Opinion Quarterly (Vol. 36, Winter 1972-73, pp. 491-521) entitled "Warning: The Surgeon Has Determined That T.V. Violence Is Moderately Dangerous to Your Child's Health." Bogart specifically criticizes the Surgeon General's report for its method of choosing researchers. Executives at ABC, NBC and CBS has the power to omit names from the list of researchers who they felt would be biased. Bogart, who was one of the persons eliminated, felt this created a bias in the opposite direction.

³⁵"Violence on T.V. . . .," U.S. News and World Report, p. 33.

³⁶Wilbur Schramm, Jack Lyle and Edwin Parker, Television In the Lives of Our Children (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1961), p. 1.

³⁷Television and Growing Up, p. 2.

³⁸Schramm, Lyle and Parker, p. 10.

³⁹"Violence on T.V. . . .," U.S. News and World Report, p. 34.

⁴⁰Television and Growing Up, p. 52.

⁴¹Schramm, Lyle and Parker, p. 5.

⁴²Ibid., p. 5.

⁴³Television and Growing Up, p. 52.

⁴⁴"To Establish Justice and to Insure Domestic Tranquility," Final Report of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, (December, 1969), p. 192.

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 192.

⁴⁶Paul Klein, "What's Behind T.V.'s Crime Wave?" T.V. Guide, Vol. 22, (January 12, 1974), p. 29.

⁴⁷Ibid., p. 29.

⁴⁸Harry Skornia, Television and Society (New York: McGraw-Hill Company, 1965), p. 149.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 155.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 155.

⁵¹Schramm, Lyle and Parker, p. 165.

⁵²Skornia, p. 164.

⁵³Schramm, Lyle and Parker, p. 75.

⁵⁴Leo Bogart, The Age of Television (New York: F. Ungar Publishing Co., 1972, 3rd.), p. 250.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 250.

⁵⁶"To Establish Justice and To Insure Domestic Tranquility," p. 193.

⁵⁷The Challenge To Crime In a Free Society, President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 50.

⁵⁸"To Establish Justice and To Insure Domestic Tranquility," p. 195.

⁵⁹Gerald Looney, "The Ecology of Childhood," Action For Children's Television, National Symposium on Children's Television, (1971), p. 57.

⁶⁰Skornia, p. 160.

⁶¹Albert Bandura, "What T.V. Violence Can Do To Your Child," Violence and the Mass Media, ed. Otto Larsen (New York: J.J. Harper, 1968), 124.

⁶²Ibid., p. 126.

⁶³Ibid., p. 127.

⁶⁴Ibid., p. 128.

⁶⁵Ibid., p. 128.

⁶⁶Richard H. Walters and Donna Walters, "Imitative Behavior of Disturbed and Nondisturbed Children Following Exposure to Aggressive and Nonaggressive Models," Child Development, Vol. 39, (1968), p. 84.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 87.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 87.

⁶⁹Television and Growing Up ..., p. 63.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 63.

⁷¹Aletha Stein and Lynette Friedrich, "Television Content and Young Children's Behavior," Television and Social Behavior (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Mental Health, 1971).

⁷²Ibid., p. 225.

⁷³Ibid., p. 204.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 241.

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 243.

⁷⁶Ibid., p. 275.

⁷⁷Ibid., p. 273.

⁷⁸Ibid., p. 274.

⁷⁹Robert Liebert and Robert Baron, "Short Term Effects of Televised Aggression on Children's Aggressive Behavior," Television and Social Behavior, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Mental Health, 1971).

⁸⁰Ibid., p. 184.

⁸¹Ibid., p. 185.

⁸²Ibid., p. 188.

⁸³Ibid., p. 189.

⁸⁴Ibid., p. 192.

⁸⁵Aimee Leifer and Donald Roberts, "Children's Responses to Television Violence," Television and Social Behavior, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Mental Health, 1971).

⁸⁶Ibid., p. 61.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 67.

⁸⁸Ibid., p. 78.

⁸⁹Ibid., p. 90.

⁹⁰Ibid., p. 100.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 100.

⁹²Ibid., p. 106.

⁹³Ibid., p. 107.

⁹⁴Ibid., p. 109.

⁹⁵Ibid., p. 111.

⁹⁶Ibid., p. 119.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 119.

⁹⁸Ibid., p. 120.

⁹⁹Seymour Feshbach and Robert Singer, Television and Aggression (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1971).

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 51-52.

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 56.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 70-71.

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 73.

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 80.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 145.

¹⁰⁶Seymour Feshbach, "Reality and Fantasy In Filmed Violence," Television and Social Behavior, Vol. II (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Mental Health, 1971), p. 333-336.

¹⁰⁷Paul Ekman, Robert Liebert, Wallace V. Friesen, Randall Harrison, Carl Alzchin, Edward J. Malmstrom and Robert A. Baron, "Facial Expressions of Emotion While Watching Televised Violence as Predictors of Subsequent Aggression," Television and Social Behavior, Vol. V (Washington, D.C.: National Institute of Mental Health, 1971), p. 22.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 38.

¹⁰⁹Television and Growing Up . . ., p. 75.

¹¹⁰Stein and Friedrich, p. 241.

¹¹¹German and Hoffman, p. 47.

¹¹²Ibid., p. 55.

¹¹³Schramm, Lyle, and Parker, p. 75.

¹¹⁴Melvin L. DeFleur and Lois B. DeFleur, "The Relative Contribution of Television as a Learning Source For Children's Occupational Knowledge," American Sociological Review, Volume XXXII (October, 1967), p. 782.

¹¹⁵Schramm, Lyle and Parker, p. 5.

¹¹⁶This is a study published by Professor Alan Arcuri of Pomona State College in New Jersey after interviewing some 800 policemen. A brief analysis of this study appeared in The Charlotte Observer, Sunday, February 2, 1975 (p. 7a) and was entitled "Police Say TV Cops are Too Cool to Be Real."

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