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February 5, 19996

Norman Miller, Editor
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Dear Dr. Miller:

We are submitting the enclosed manuscript, "A New Look at Anger on Television" by Rhoda Baruch, George Gerbner and Suzanne Stutman for your consideration for publication in the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology. The length of the manuscript is sixteen pages including seven figures. I believe our work fits into the section you oversee, Interpersonal Relations and Group Processes.

Thank you for your consideration. If you need any further information or clarification please feel free to contact me at the address listed below.

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Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads 'Suzanne Stutman'. The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name being particularly prominent.

Suzanne Stutman, MA, MSW,BCD

SS/cr

Encls.

ANGER ON TELEVISION

A New Look at Anger on Television

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Abstract

Television can play a crucial role in shaping an individual's behavior. The way in which characters on the screen exhibit emotions and mediate disputes provides a model of behavior for viewers. The present study examines how television characters express anger and aggression, as well as resolve disputes, in popular television shows during the 1993-94 television season. One-hundred twenty-one prime and 38 Saturday morning children's television programs are analyzed. Results indicate that although anger is still an integral part of television programming, there has been an improvement in the portrayal of anger management skills on time time programs.

The 1994-5 season's "Home Improvement" is advertised by ABC as the television show watched by more Americans than any other program. It would seem that most viewers know what's good for them: the show exemplifies the kind of family relations and values, the variety of emotional expression, the skills for anger management that can promote mental health and prevent violence and emotional disorders. What the Institute for Mental Health Initiatives¹ set out as its mission, is being demonstrated in a popular, and presumably profitable, media offering. So much for the good news. How is the broad panoply of television offerings measuring up to its potential? On the darker side, to what extent is television polluting our air-waves and consequently our culture?

A project undertaken by the Cultural Indicators (CI) research team and the Institute for Mental Health Initiatives (IMHI) examined one critical aspect of entertainment programs: How do they depict anger, and how are skills demonstrated to diffuse anger and to prevent violence?

Charles Spielberger (1984) defined anger as an emotional state that consists of feelings of irritation, annoyance, fury, rage and heightened activation or arousal of the nervous system. Among the many risks associated with anger and chronic hostility are coronary heart disease, hypertension, psychopathology and violence (Williams, 1993; Friedman, 1992; Johnson, 1990; McKay et al., 1990). Unresolved hostility can be a factor in failed relationships and careers (McKay et al, 1990). Moreover, suicide and homicide are sometimes the extreme expression of anger (Pierce, 1984). Suppressing anger may result in elevated blood pressure even in healthy young people (Spielberger, 1990). Unresolved anger incurs other risks as well; it deadens responsiveness, inhibits work effectiveness and productivity, and constricts creative endeavors (Kaplan, 1991; Bernardez, 1984).

¹ A not-for-profit, non governmental organization in Washington D.C., IMHI works to promote mental health by making the latest research in behavioral science accessible to the public and the media.

Anger on Television

Contrary to the general public belief that anger exchanges are uniformly negative expressions, conflict and anger can be perceived by both the angry person and the target to be beneficial under appropriate circumstances (Averill, 1982). Anger can provide an opportunity to make a grievance known, solve problems, correct an imbalance of power in a relationship and restore pride that has been reduced (Miller, 1991; Pierce, 1984; Inclan, 1984; Jackson, 1984). It contains the potential energy to effect change (Sparks, 1984). The reward for constructive expression and interchange of anger can be an improved emotional connection between people, a maintained sense of integrity and a safer feeling (Miller, 1984; Averill, 1984; Tavis, 1984). Whether the experience of anger is constructive or not depends on the use of specific skills.

The experts convened by IMHI have developed techniques designed to teach individuals positive ways to channel their anger (Baruch, Stutman, 1984). IMHI developed national campaigns on anger management that use the acronym, "RETHINK." Used in two such anger management campaigns, each letter of RETHINK stands for a specific anger management skill. When parents and children can manage their anger constructively, they become empowered with the ability to understand their own and others' feelings and to resolve conflict in a non-violent manner.

The following list represents a compilation of skills that, when used within an angry exchange, can provide for a potentially constructive outcome. Through the use of these skills, anger can be managed and relationships can be improved. Television can present its audiences with characters who model positive anger management skills within the dramatic format. By trying to calm down and RETHINK, a character can:

Recognize when he is angry. Are there signs (i.e. physical reactions) that tell the character he is getting angry?

Empathize with the other person. Does the angry character step back

Anger on Television

during the anger attack and try to see things from the other person's point of view.

Think about the situation in another way. Does the angry character try to gain a new perspective on the situation by using humor, for example?

Hear the other person's feeling and point of view.

Integrate respect and love with the anger.

Notice what works for the angry character to regain control of his anger. What can the angry character do to calm himself? What can other characters do to help an angry character to calm himself?

Keep his attention on the present problem and alternative solutions without bringing up old grudges and wounds.

Individuals can learn how to use these skills by watching television and then imitating the behaviors. Research suggests that television characters serve as models or objects of identification, and as such are able to influence behavior (Pearl 1987; Bandura, 1983; Pearl, et al., 1982; Dorr, 1982). Not only do violent and anti-social behaviors have negative effects on viewers, but prosocial behaviors can teach people constructive ways to interact with others (Huston et al, 1992). In fact, prosocial messages on television can have greater effects on behavior than antisocial messages (Friedlander, 1993). To the extent that TV characters exemplify different ways to express anger constructively, the coping capabilities of viewers may be enhanced.

The issue

Less studied and less understood are the many ideas about human interaction and human emotion that are presented to viewers every day. What models of behavior are shown on television? What can audiences learn from their television idols and mentors about every-day feelings and ways of expressing these emotions?

Recognizing the important role of the media, IMHI conducted the first content analysis of anger on prime time television in 1985 (Baruch, Stutman, 1986). The study was part of a larger campaign to educate the public about constructive ways to manage anger. A follow-up study in 1989 (Baruch, Stutman, 1989) showed changes in the portrayal of anger on television and helped to develop a standard method for scoring television programs according to their ability to show varied ways of managing anger.

The protocol IMHI developed to measure anger portrayal consisted of 50 items. The items include characteristics of the angry person and the target of anger, as well as the presence (or absence) of anger management skills utilized to resolve the conflict.

The analysis of prime time programs and daytime dramas suggests that when good anger management skills are integrated into entertainment programs, they do not hinder the programs' Nielson ratings. Moreover, viewers are often attracted to such skillful treatment of difficult situations.

Two perspectives

Part of the strength of this report came from the fusing of two perspectives. IMHI focuses on ways the mass media can enhance the public's well-being. The Cultural Indicators research team maps the "world" of prime time dramatic television and shows the problems that need to be overcome and the opportunities that can be pursued to achieve IMHI's objectives.

CI focuses on an aggregate view of the problem and on understanding the general cultural territory. It is CI's view that without such understanding, even the

most skillful intervention is likely to fail or to have short-lived success. Furthermore, when working with television professionals, only such an aggregate view can address problems that dramatic formulas pose for writers and directors. From this broad view, we can discuss how to overcome such problems as violence in the media (Gerbner, 1993 and 1994).

IMHI, on the other hand, recognizes the importance of the particulars. Each character, each interaction, and each scene within each program has the power to affect a reaction in the viewer. It is important, then, to break the programs into small units of analysis in order to understand how characters relate to each other and what kinds of social behavior they are demonstrating.

Method

The current study involves the analysis of 121 prime time and 38 Saturday morning children's programs, a total of 159 programs aired on four television networks during the 1993-94 season. A total of 1,014 "anger scenes" were found and analyzed according to the categories devised by the IMHI (figure 1).

The analysis was conducted by the Cultural Indicators (CI) research team, led by George Gerbner, Dean Emeritus of Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, conducting his ongoing CI research at the University City Science Center in Philadelphia. The CI project monitors television and relates it to viewers' conceptions of reality. While working closely with the experts at IMHI, Gerbner's research team monitored the portrayal of anger in television.

Results

Anger was observed as an overt expression affecting a character physiologically, cognitively, or behaviorally. Out of 1,926 characters analyzed, 25.9% expressed anger (figure 2). Their characteristics and ways of expressing and/or managing anger were observed and tabulated. The overall reliability of observations was 96% agreement between the coders.

In this study, anger is frequently seen on television. Almost three fourths of all prime time programs and all Saturday morning children's programs contain anger scenes. More than nine out of ten prime time action programs, nearly as many situation comedies, and over half of general drama programs contain anger scenes (figure 1). There is probably no comparable source of information about expressions of anger in our culture.

In prime time programs, about one fourth of *all* characters and half of *major* characters express anger. In Saturday morning children's programs one third of *all* characters and two thirds of *major* characters express anger. Clearly, these programs offer an extraordinary opportunity to teach about anger (figure 1).

Demography of anger

Television characters most likely to express anger are major rather than minor, male rather than female, upscale rather than lower class, whites rather than characters of color, and boys (male children and adolescents) rather than most other age and gender groups (figures 2, 3, 4).

When angry women become violent, they are more likely to be hurt than men. On a larger scale, for every 100 angry female characters who are violent, 162 angry females get hurt. Yet for every 100 angry male characters who become violent, only 82 angry males get hurt (figure 3).

Saturday morning children's programs not only feature more anger than prime time programs, but the differences in anger expression across gender, class, and age groups tends to be wider. For example, out of all the characters on Saturday morning programs, 107 males express anger while only 27 females do. Although more male characters are portrayed expressing anger, the percentage of female characters who do so is higher: 36 percent compared to 28 percent. 75 white characters express anger, while only 4 characters of color do. The majority of characters who express anger on Saturday morning programs are adults, with

relatively few children or elderly getting angry. Clearly there is a need for more variety in the kinds of people who get angry in these shows.

Violence and anger

Violence is generally defined as “an act intended to hurt or kill a character in a program.” When violence is embedded in a meaningful context, then the viewer has an opportunity to learn from the portrayals. However, when violence is extracted from a meaningful context and is sanitized so that the consequences are not depicted, the effects on the viewers may be deleterious.

Not all anger involves violence and not all violence involves anger, but six out of ten programs involve both. Anger that culminates in violence occurs in half of prime time and nine tenths of Saturday morning children’s programs. Within these shows where anger and violence are sometimes coupled, not every angry exchange results in violence. As a matter of fact, only 14.6 percent of anger scenes on prime time and 36.2 percent of anger scenes on Saturday mornings involve violence. Thus, while many shows have violence in them, the same shows portray other manifestations of anger that are handled in non-violent ways (figure 1).

Nearly half of prime time programs contain scenes of anger where the outcome is not violent and angry characters manage their anger almost 2/3 of the time. When they are not violent, female characters are more likely than male characters to use anger management skills such as listening, recognizing one’s own anger, and finding humor in the situation. Males and females also used self-talk as a way of managing anger.

Although the majority of Saturday morning children’s programs contain scenes with both anger and violence, in fact only a little more than a third of the anger scenes in Saturday morning programs culminate in violence. Characters on Saturday morning children’s programs are recognizing their anger 27 percent of the time and listening to their target of anger 30.6 percent of the time. Both of these anger management skills are part of IMHI’s RETHINK program. Characters

occasionally use skills such as self-talk and finding humor in the situation. The three most frequent ways that characters vent their anger on Saturday morning programs are all non-violent, verbal expressions of anger such as shouting, blaming, and threatening (figure 5B). Where violence is depicted, thirty seven percent of angry characters respond by hurting the target of their anger. Only 12.6 percent break or destroy something.

Much violence on television is "cool," however, and does not involve anger at all² . Only one-third of prime time violence and one-fourth of Saturday morning violence involves expressions of anger (table 3)

While there is significantly more violence in Saturday morning children's programs than in prime time programs, there is practically no fatal violence in these programs. The amount of non-fatal violence is much higher. It has been established through research that although television violence can be harmful to young viewers, not all children are affected in the same way and not all violence has the same effect. (Murray, 1995) For the purposes of this study, however, there was no distinction made between different kinds of violence.

Venting anger

Other manifestations of anger in prime time range from shouting, blaming, insulting, saying "unfair", threatening, crying, cursing, and breaking things.

There is a substantial gender difference in the characters' expression of anger. Male characters are more likely to shout, break, threaten, hurt, and curse; female characters are more likely to blame, insult, say "unfair," and cry. Males are also more likely to run away, thereby avoiding the angry situation altogether. Every manifestation of anger is amplified in Saturday morning children's programs (figure 5).

² In "The Violence Framework," published by the Institute for Mental Health Initiatives, John Livingstone, MD discusses different categories associated with violence. In addition to anger and other emotions, a persons belief systems and learned codes of behavior can trigger violence.

Managing anger

Six out of ten prime time and four out of ten Saturday morning children's program characters use anger management skills in a conflict situation. Characters who attempt resolution do so by listening to the target of their anger, reflecting on their own anger, finding humor in the situation, or talking to themselves about it.

When controlling or managing anger is allowed to slow the action, it is more likely to be done by female characters than by male characters. More female characters listen to the target of their anger, recognize their own anger, and find humor in the situation. Saturday morning children's programs feature more anger and less anger management than prime time programs. The major, and perhaps most ironic, difference is that significantly fewer characters on Saturday morning programs are able to find humor in an anger scene.

The first step in anger management is recognition of anger and almost half of female characters on Saturday morning programs do so. In fact, these characters are more than twice as likely as their male counterparts to recognize their own anger. In prime time shows, male and female characters are equally likely to recognize their own anger. However, recognizing anger is not sufficient in itself. Other important anger management skills include "self-talk," which helps to calm the self in an angry situation, listening to the target of the anger, and finding humor in the situation (figure 6).

Before IMHI began its campaign, the stereotypical depiction of anger resulted in immediate translation to violence or running away: the "fight or flight" response. Current findings show that avoiding anger by running away is not a frequent occurrence on prime time or Saturday morning shows.

Gender issues

The inhibition of anger expression by women in our society has been noted as a problem by researchers (Miller, 1990; Bernardez, 1984). The manifestations of the

problem are seen in depression, deadening of emotions, impaired relationships, suppression of creativity and social problems (Kaplan, 1991).

Because television has the potential to model constructive portrayals of anger, IMHI began to look at anger as depicted by each gender, starting in 1985. In daytime dramas, female characters were nearly as likely as male characters to express anger. Of 591 angry characters in a 1990 study, 278 were female and 313 were male. This represents an increase in the percentage of anger events involving males, from 46 percent in 1986 to 53 percent in 1990.

Another study by IMHI looked at prime time shows in 1985. For these programs, 77 percent of angry characters were male and 23 percent were female. By 1989, in a follow-up study, the genders showed more equal expression of anger. In both prime time and day time television, there seems to be a trend toward a more equal distribution of anger expression by gender.

The current study finds that although male and female characters are equally likely to vent their anger, more female characters manage their anger while more male characters commit acts of violence (figure 7). When female characters commit violence, they are more vulnerable to getting hurt.

Discussion

Television plays a major role in our society. Approximately 98 percent of American households have television, with many of the homes having multiple sets (Huston et al.,1992). 66 percent of children live in homes with three or more television sets and 54 percent have a television set in their own room. 58 percent of children watch 2-4 or more hours of television a day (Children Now, 1995). We now know that children spend more time watching TV than they do on any other non-school activity.

The television viewer sees anger in three out of four prime time programs

and in all Saturday morning children's programs. Because anger is such an integral part of these programs, viewers have many opportunities to learn about anger expression and management. The lessons that dramatic formulas may hold for viewers convey a sense of dynamic relationships: how things may work behind the scenes of everyday life, who are the winners and the losers, who can get away with what against whom, what is the most effective way to deal with anger and frustration in everyday life. The struggle for TV writers and producers is to create entertaining characters and plots that will also serve as constructive role models for healthy relationships and anger management.

Although there is still a good deal of uncontrolled anger and violence on television, progress has been made in the depiction of anger management on television. Writers and producers appear to be incorporating some of IMHI's

RETHINK skills into their programs.

The reported amount of violence in Saturday morning children's programs is a cause for alarm. However, it is encouraging to note that in these same shows there are also many good examples of anger management. While most shows on Saturday morning programs may have violence in them, not all of the individual anger scenes will culminate in violence. Thus, violence may not be presented in these shows as the only way to deal with anger. Characters vent their anger in non-violent ways and manage their anger more often than not.

Overall, there has been an improvement in the portrayal of anger management skills on prime time programs. More than half of all characters manage their anger and less than one third become violent when angry. Percentage-wise, the gender distribution of anger is fairly equitable, yet there are still deficiencies in some of the demographics of anger expression. For example, there are few examples of anger expression by characters of color and by lower class

characters.

IMHI has been working with the creative community in an attempt to enhance the portrayal of emotional issues on television and to present many different behavioral options. Through *Dialogue: Insights into Human Emotions for Creative Professionals*, a publication that is sent to over 12,000 members of the creative community, IMHI conveys information about particular issues and ways to handle those issues in scripts.

Implications for the creative community

Good anger management skills are showing up in popular programming. How can the media continue to create exciting and popular programming and new technology while simultaneously communicating messages that will help maintain a healthy and less violent society? Is violence imperative to creating thrilling drama? By creating compelling programming that contains authentic emotional responses, the audience will be attracted because the program will resonate with the viewers' concerns and interests.

Conflict and anger can be shown constructively by showing variety in the kinds of people who get angry, portraying the different triggers of anger, and depicting various skills of anger management.³ Producers of Saturday morning children's programs might consider using more humor as a way of diffusing anger.

Implications for the public

As we encourage the industry to improve the content of programming, we can also change the way children approach and view TV. Television provides an opportunity for parents to help their children become "emotionally literate," to counteract the impact of violence, and to develop healthy and appropriate emotional responses to various situations. When children learn to identify and

³ IMHI has created guidelines for the media on how to constructively portray anger and violence in television programs.

talk about emotional responses such as anger, they have achieved the first step in managing their behavior.⁴ Also, when gratuitous violence is shown in programs, parents can make their voices heard in response to the programming.

Implications for researchers

To continue to implement a public health approach, we need to evaluate existing research and determine what further research needs to be done on the effect of various media products on viewers. Preliminary studies show that watching violent content can overwork the heart and suppress the immune system (Williams, 1995). Further studies might focus specifically on *how* individuals are effected psychologically, behaviorally, physiologically, and emotionally when viewing violent content. How can we describe the differences in the ways that different people are affected by different stimuli? When desensitization to violence occurs, do viewers, like addicts, seek greater levels of stimulation to achieve the same level of response?

While this study focused only on the portrayal of anger expression on television programs, future studies might look at other areas of social importance, such as the portrayal of sexual behavior, focusing on the conflict between impulse management and impulse expression. Also, since IMHI has been publishing *Dialogue* for writers and producers, studies might be conducted on the portrayal of some other issues presented in the *Dialogue*, such as stereotyping, fear, risk taking, and romantic relationships.

Future studies might also explore further the demography of anger expression and management. How is anger expressed differently with respect to race, social class, and age? Is there a difference in the way cartoon characters express

⁴ IMHI created the Anger Episode Checklist which allows viewers to identify different options for resolving conflict depicted in a show.

anger and are the effects on audiences different? What is the nature of the violence on television (especially on Saturday morning children's programs)? Studies might also look at popular films with similar issues in mind.

With the rising social and political consciousness of the television content, studies like these can help to assess where television stands now and what specific changes in programming need to be made in order to ensure that its viewers receive constructive messages and that the programs still get good ratings.

SUMMARY

Although anger is omnipresent in television programs, progress has been made in the portrayal of anger management. Six out of ten prime time and four out of ten Saturday morning children's program characters use anger management skills in a conflict situation. Television characters most likely to express anger are young, upscale, white males. More female characters use anger management skills, while more male characters use violence in a conflict situation. Female characters pay a higher price for becoming violent than their male counterparts.

Media professionals can improve the depiction of anger by portraying it as a tool for change. Producers of Saturday morning children's programs might consider using more humor as a way of diffusing anger. Greater variety might be shown in the kinds of people (race, class, gender) who get angry and who express their anger effectively. The public can voice their dissatisfaction with violent programming. Parents can also use television to teach their children about the impact of violence and more appropriate responses to conflict and anger. Researchers should continue to study the portrayal of anger and anger management on television programs, the demography of the characters who express anger, and the effects of such programming on viewers. It is also recommended that researchers further explore other issues, such as the portrayal of sexual behavior in television programs.

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Appendix

Titles of the programs in 1993/94 season sample
Saturday morning

Adams Family
Arnold of the Ducks
Bobbys World
Cadillacs and Dinosaurs
California Dreams
Captain Planet
City Kids
Cowboys of the Moos Mesa
CRO
Dennis the Menace
Dog City
Droopy, Master Detective (3 episodes)
Eek the Cat
Garfield and Friends (4 episodes)
Great American Music Video
Little Mermaid
Marsupilami
Ninja Turtles
Power Rangers
Running the Halls

Saved by the Bell
Shookums and Meat
Sonic the Hedgehog
Tales from the Cryptkeeper
Taz Mania
Tiny Toons (3 episodes)
US Acres (2 episodes)
X-MenPrime Time
90210
Adventures of Brisco County, Jr. (2 episodes)
Americas Most Wanted (6 episodes)
Bakersfield
Blossom
Boy Meets World
Cafe American
Coach
Commish
COPS (18 episodes)
Daddy Dearest
Daves World
Deep Space Nine
Dr. Quinn, Medicine Woman
Empty Nest
Evening Shade
Family Album
Family Matters
Frasier

Fresh Prince
Full House
Getting By
Grace Under Fire
Harts of the West
Hermans Head
Home Improvement
I Witness Video (3 episodes)
In the Heat of the Night
It Had to Be You
Joes Life
John Larroquette Show
LA Law
Law and Order
Living Single
Lois and Clark
Love and War
Mad About You
Married with Children
Martin
Matlock
Melrose Place
Missing Persons
Mommies
Moon over Miami
Movie: Conviction of Kitty Dobbs
Movie: Flood

Movie: Ghost
Movie: Man from Left Field
Movie: Moment of Truth: Child too Many
Movie: Shameful Secrets
Movie: Short Time
Movie: When Harry Met Sally
Mr. Cooper
Murder, She Wrote
Murphy Brown
Northern Exposure
Nurses
NYPD Blue
Phenom
Rescue 911 (4 episodes)
ROC
Roseanne
Saved by the Bell
Seaquest, DSV
Second Half
Secrets of Lake Success, Part II
Seinfeld
Simpsons
Sinbad
Sisters
Star Trek (5 episodes)
Step by Step
Thea

Top Cops (3 episodes)

Unsolved Mysteries (4 episodes)

Walker, Texas Ranger

Wings

Footnotes

1. A not-for-profit, non governmental organization in Washington, D.C., IMHI works to promote mental health by making the latest research in behavioral science accessible to the public and the media.

2. In "The Violence Framework," published by the Institute for Mental Health Initiatives, John Livingstone, MD, discusses categories associated with violence. In addition to anger and other emotions, a persons belief systems and learned codes of behavior can trigger violence.

3. IMHI has created guidelines for the media on how to constructively portray anger and violence in television programs.

4. IMHI created the Anger Episode Checklist which allows viewers to identify different options for resolving conflict depicted in the show.

Figure Captions

Figure 1. Amount of anger on different networks. Percent of programs with anger scenes.

Figure 2. Anger expression by race and gender. A) Characters on prime time television. B) Characters on Saturday morning television.

Figure 3. Anger expression by class and gender. A) Characters on prime time television. B) Characters on Saturday morning television.

Figure 4. Anger expression by age and gender. A) Characters on prime time television. B) Characters on Saturday morning television.

Figure 5. Venting anger. A) On prime time television. B) On Saturday morning television.

Figure 6. Managing anger. A) On prime time television. B) On Saturday morning television.

Figure 7. Gender differences in anger expression. A) Ways in which female characters express anger. B) Ways in which male characters express anger.

Figure 1

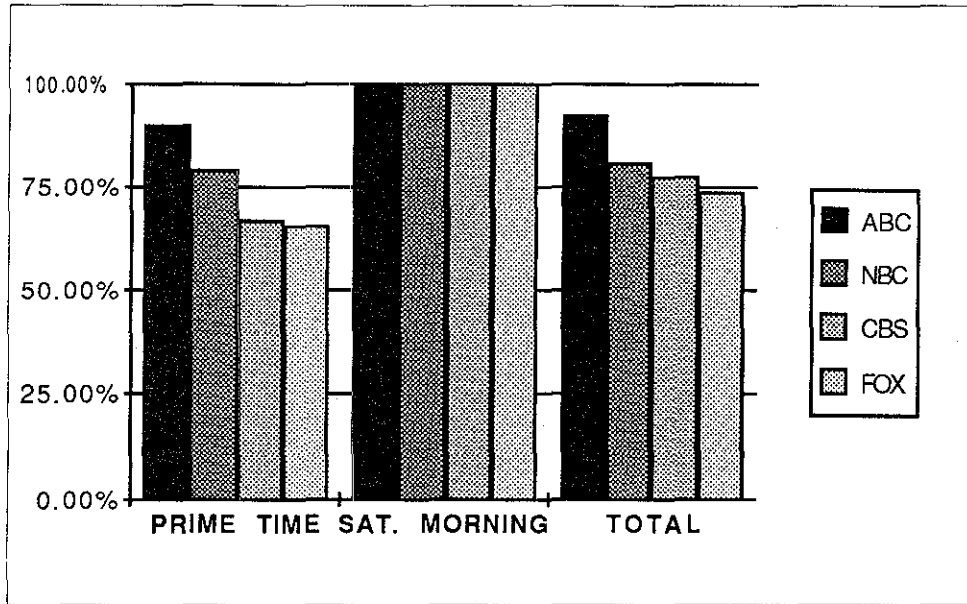


Figure 2

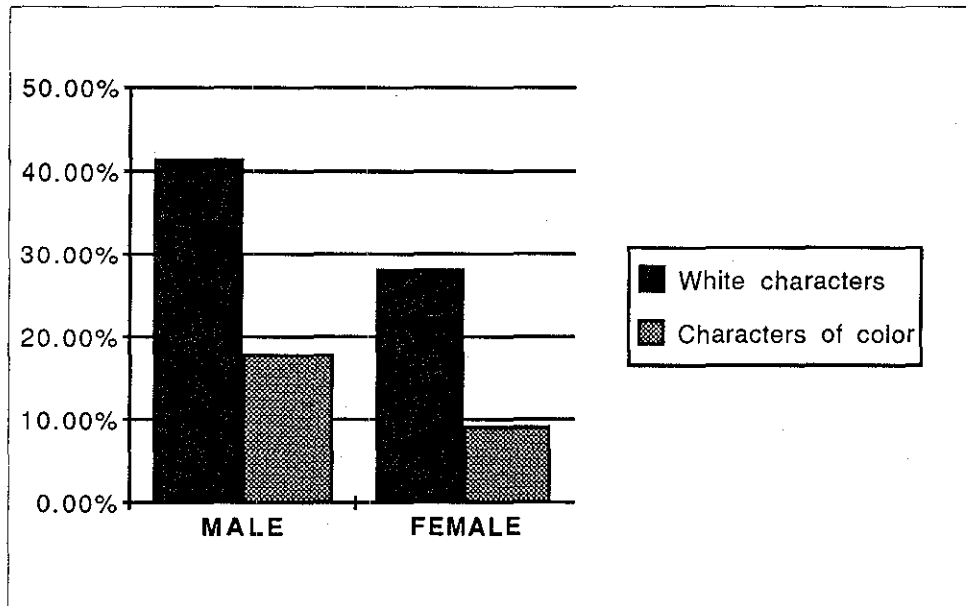
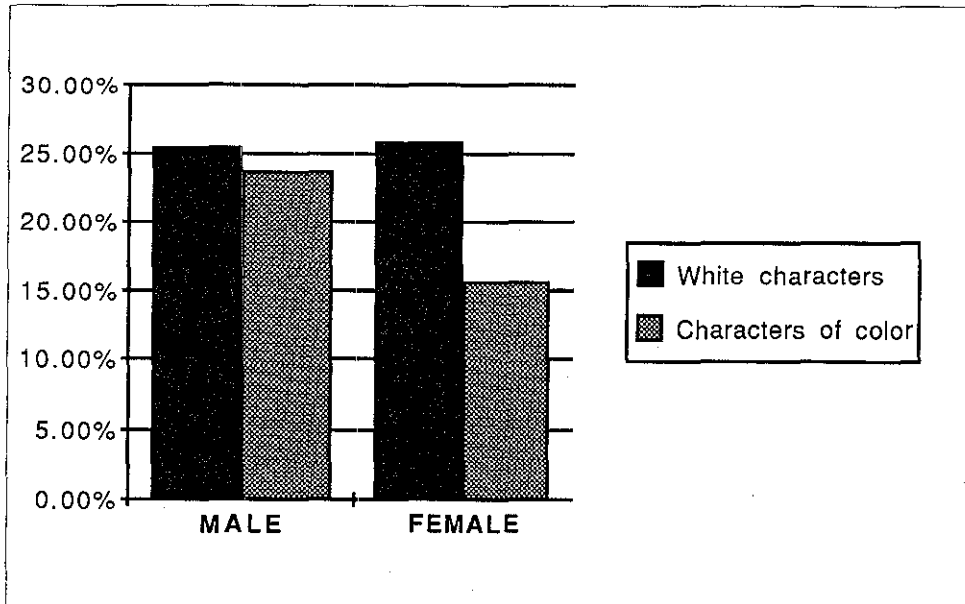


Figure 3

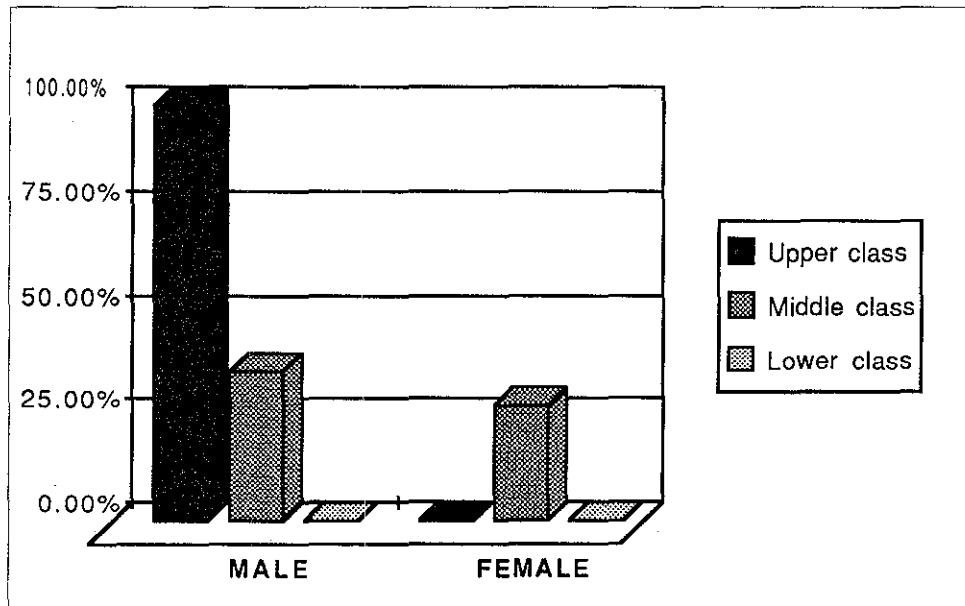
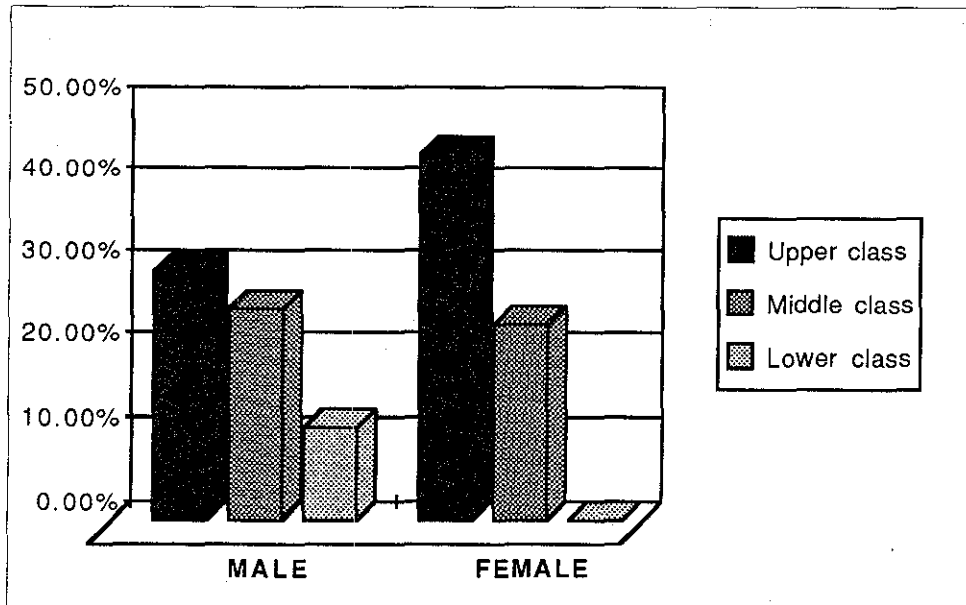
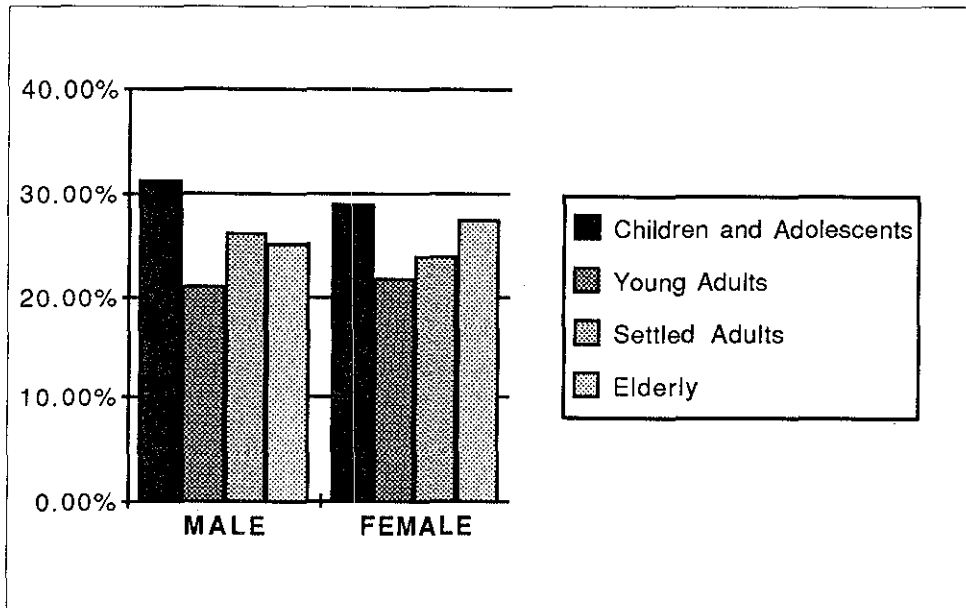


Figure 4



B) Characters on Saturday morning television:

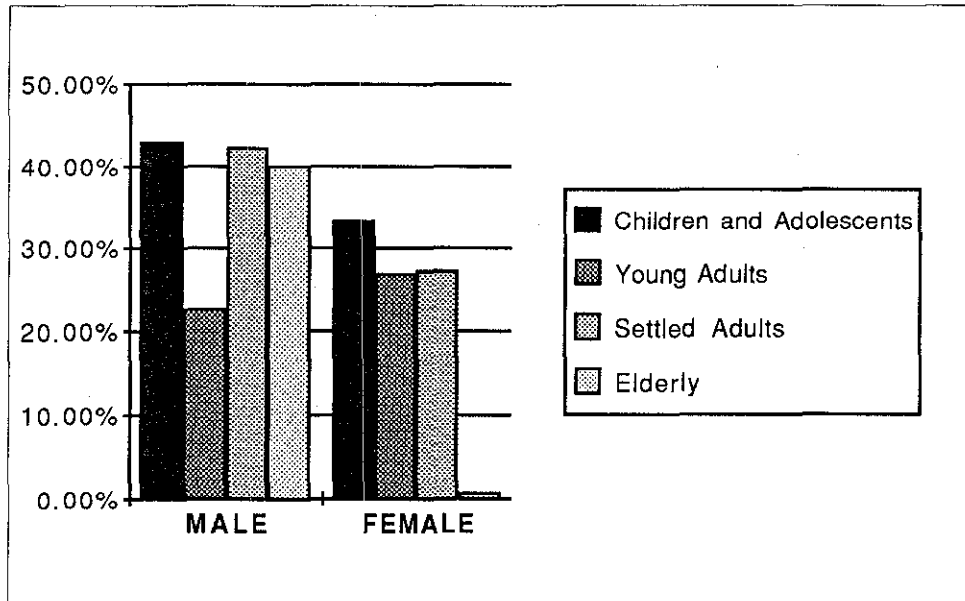


Figure 5

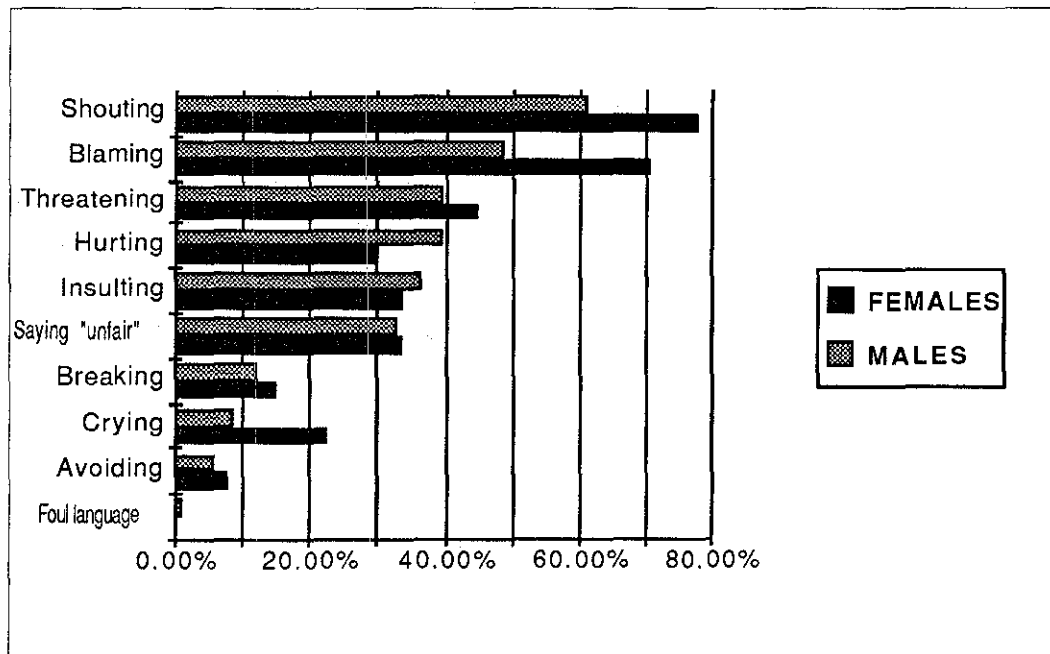
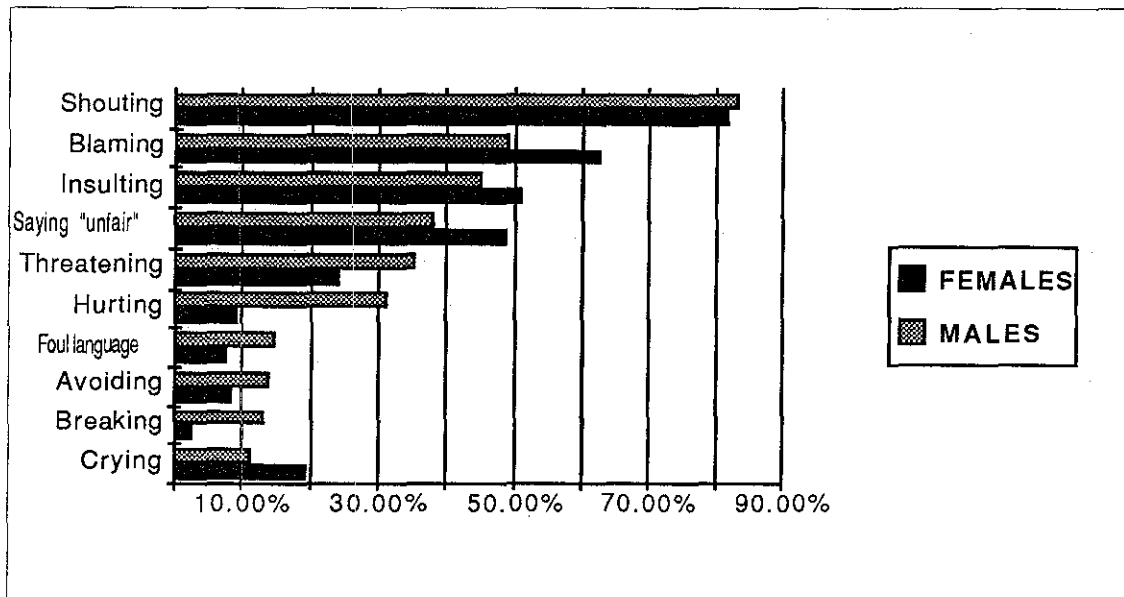


Figure 6

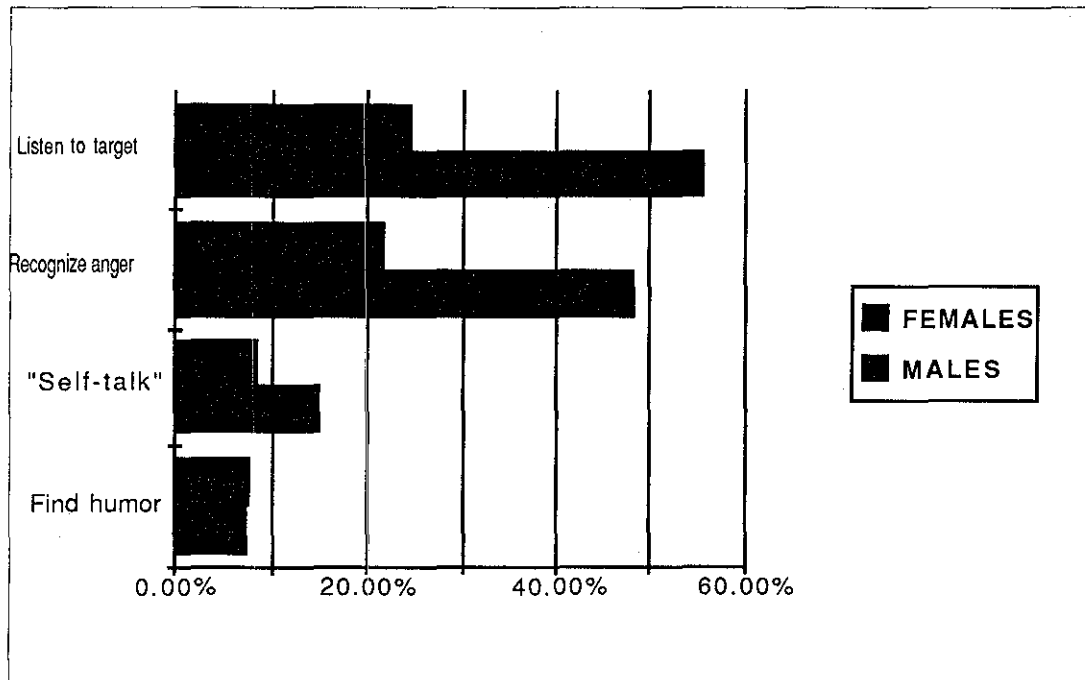
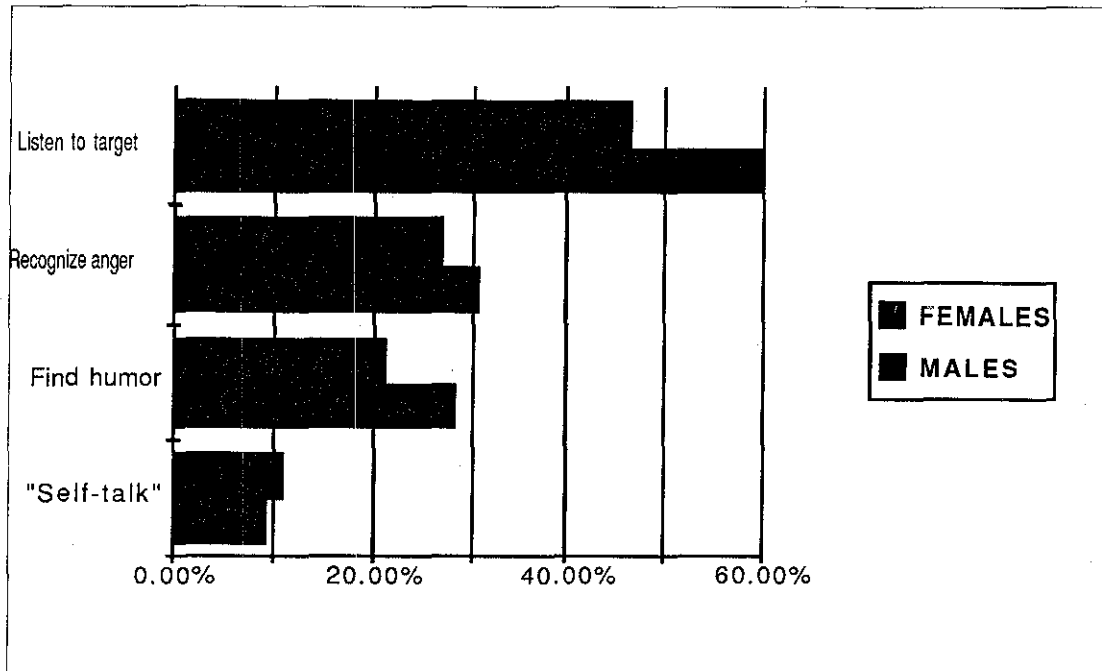


Figure 7

