

'Drop That Gun, Captain Video'

... We but teach
Bloody instructions, which, being
taught, return
To plague the inventor.

—William Shakespeare

In San Francisco, three teen-age girls lured two younger girls down a lonely path and sexually molested them. In Chicago, two boys attempted to extort \$500 from a firm by means of a bomb threat. In Boston, a youthful gang set a woman on fire with gasoline. In all three cases, police officials concluded that the crimes had been directly inspired by shows the adolescents had recently watched on prime-time television. "I'm afraid that Oscar Wilde was right," says ex-cop Joseph Wambaugh, whose novels inspired NBC's "Police Story." "Life does imitate art."

The debate over the link between violence on TV and violent behavior in society, which is almost as old as the industry itself, is bubbling to the boiling point these days. While the crimes cited above make for sensational headlines—and perhaps for unfairly glib conclusions—social scientists are compiling an intriguing new body of evidence that points to more subtle, yet equally pernicious, effects of video mayhem. Parents and citizen-action groups have been vehemently besieging congressmen to pacify TV programming. Congress has passed on the pressure to the Federal Communications Commission, which, in turn, recently called the network chieftains onto its Washington carpet. The upshot of all this furor is the "family hour," a new concept in TV showmanship that may well turn out to be as slick a public-relations hype as the current selling of Muhammad Ali's challenger Chuck Wepner as a reconstructed "bleeder."

Hosannas: Beginning this fall, the blood that gushes from the tube each evening will be diverted to the later hours when children presumably have tuned out. All three networks have agreed to set aside the first hour of prime time—between 8 and 9 p.m.—for programming "suitable for family viewing," with on-the-air warnings to accompany any late-evening shows that might be "disturbing to a significant portion of the adult audience." The industry's first concrete move to deal with the violence conundrum has generated ringing hosannas from its governmental monitors. Sen. John Pastore, the chary chairman of the subcommittee that oversees the broadcasting industry, applauded the family hour as a "wonderful idea."

Upon close inspection, however, the family hour offers considerably less than meets the eye. The first hitch is that no one involved has bothered to define what does or does not constitute "family"

entertainment. Accordingly, each network will be free to arrive at its own standard. Nor is there anything to deter the programmers from pursuing an anything-goes policy after 9 p.m., or simply rejiggering their schedules without reducing the over-all violence content. What's more, audience studies suggest that more children stay by the set longer into the night than generally believed. One Nielsen survey showed that 5 million kids under the age of 11 were glued to the tube between 10 and 11 o'clock on a recent week night.

Certainly TV entertainment has never been so violent. Twenty years ago, "action-adventure programming" (a cherished network euphemism for "shoot-'em-ups") accounted for less than 20 per cent of all prime-time offerings. Today that figure has soared to 60 per cent, propelled by no fewer than 24 current crime series. This year's season has introduced such tales of blood and thunder as "Harry O," "Get Christie Love!" "The Manhunter," "Caribe," "Baretta" and "S.W.A.T." It has been estimated that by the age of 15 today's average child will have witnessed more than 13,000 killings on TV.

Plot: Why have programmers turned so enthusiastically to crime? First, action-adventure shows are generally cheaper and more profitable since they can be produced on an assembly-line basis and usually do not require high-priced talent (a Carroll O'Connor or a Cher). Violence is viewed by TV writers as their most effective attention-getting device—and the easiest way to settle a complex plot conflict. It also appeals to a large and loyal audience. "Shows with life and death at the core of their meaning are the most successful," says producer Quinn Martin, who has five crime entries in the current season.

Does watching violence lead children to act more violently? For all its mixed interpretations, the 1972 Surgeon General's report on television violence clearly established some limited causal connection between TV mayhem and antisocial behavior among the young. Now the researchers are uncovering evidence of a different effect. Studies conducted by University of Utah psychologist Victor Cline and Florida psychologist Margaret Thomas, among others, suggest that heavy exposure to TV violence numbs reactions to such behavior among younger viewers: they may not become violent themselves, but they tend to accept violence more readily in others.

In a federally funded experiment with 8- to 11-year-olds, Thomas showed one group an episode of CBS's "Mannix" and

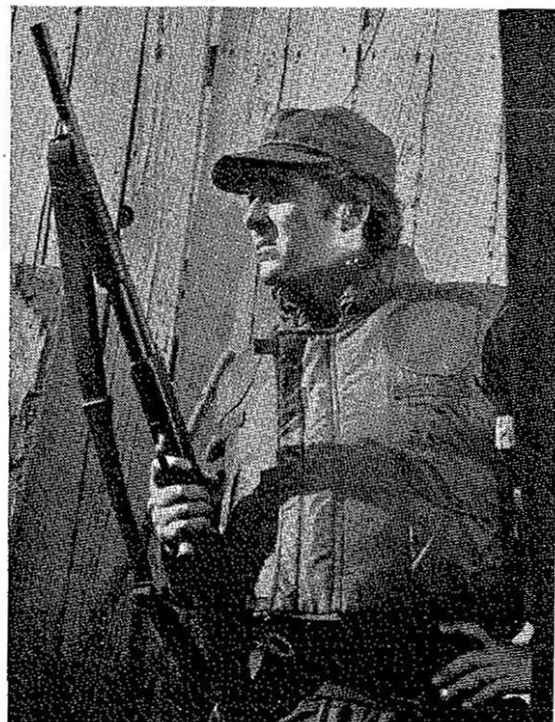


Robert Full

Partners in crime: 'Lizzie Borden'...



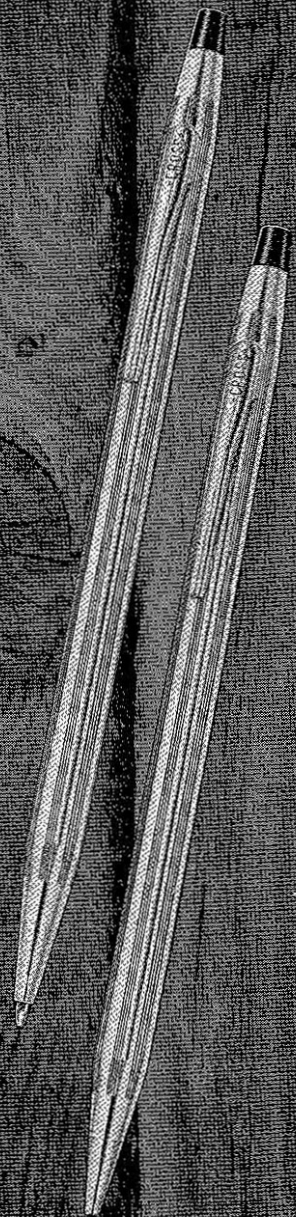
... 'Harry O' drawing a bead ...



NBC

... and Wambaugh in 'Police Story'

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ENTERTAINMENT

a second group an excerpt from a pro-baseball telecast. Then both groups were exposed to a staged fistfight between two pre-schoolers. The children who had just watched "Mannix" were markedly slower than the baseball viewers in trying to break up the squabble. "Violent TV programs," concludes Thomas, "may not only increase a kid's aggressive behavior, but may also teach him to tolerate it in others." Utah's Cline puts it more strongly: "We are bringing up a generation not of ugly Americans but of hard Americans."

Fear: Adults, too, can suffer subtle emotional damage. A recent study by the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications discovered that regular TV watchers tend to dramatically overestimate the danger of violence in everyday life. Such paranoia was found to be especially acute among prime time's most frequent vic-

able determinants" of antisocial behavior.

To their credit, the networks began running cautionary notices with their goriest shows well before the FCC formally took them to task. Such alerts have preceded made-for-TV movies like NBC's "Born Innocent" (in which a teen-age girl is raped with a broom handle) as well as ABC's "The Legend of Lizzie Borden," which affiliate stations in Birmingham and Philadelphia chose not to run because of its depiction of ax murders. To date, however, there are no signs that the networks have sent clear signals to their West Coast programming suppliers to tone down their shows. Indeed, several imitations of ABC's "S.W.A.T."—a mindlessly brutal new series about a police paramilitary team—are in the pilot stage.

Hardly anyone suggests that television should be purged of all violence. The portrayal of violence is as ancient as the



Drawing by J. Mirachi; © 1969 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

'But first this message. Any and all acts of violence in the following program are not to be construed as an advocacy of violence by this station.'

tims—single women, the elderly and poor blacks. "Television's prevailing message is not aggression, but fear," observes Annenberg Dean George Gerbner. The study also reported that the locale for most TV bloodletting has shifted closer to home ("The Streets of San Francisco" instead of "The Man from U.N.C.L.E."), a change that only further heightens viewers' sense of vulnerability. The leading causes of real-life death, notes Gerbner, are accidents and illness, and homicides usually involve people who know each other well. On TV, the killer is more likely to be a stranger on the street.

For years, the networks' scientific apologists have steadfastly maintained that any significant connection between society's and TV's crime rate has never been proven, although they concede that television may give ideas to those already predisposed to aggression. But now no less influential a figure than CBS president Arthur Taylor, who first proposed the family hour concept, allows that "TV is increasingly one of the prob-

Bible and as essential a component of drama as scenes of love. In addition, government censorship of any communications medium raises delicate First Amendment concerns, and it would be tragic to sterilize TV fare to the point where the tube was little more than an electronic baby-sitter.

What has aroused the current furor, however, is the networks' exploitation of violence for its own sake, without regard for the subliminal consequences. For all its obvious loopholes, the family hour is both a tacit acknowledgment of past wrongdoing and a pledge to reform. "Nobody is saying we're going to do 'Chitty Chitty Bang Bang' all across the board," says Thomas Swafford, CBS's vice president for program practices. "But there will be a definable difference. I can see it in my mind's eye but I can't describe it." The court stands in recess. The final verdict will be delayed until the jury tunes in this fall.

—HARRY F. WATERS with PHYLLIS MALAMUD in New York

Newsweek, March 10, 1975

Television

"Richard Nixon knew just enough about the way television works to hurt him." (Robert Mead)

TV VIEW

JOHN J. O'CONNOR

Blue, Blue Monday

After all the reviews have been written, all the voluminous reports filed, all the Government hearings concluded, there is nothing quite like simply sitting down to watch an interrupted three hours of average prime-time television. There it is, the chain of weekly series representing an awesome investment of time, money, research, sweat and dreams of lifetime annuities. As the products are smoothly fed into millions of homes across the country, excuses and apologies are beside the point. The cats are out of the electronic bag.

On a recent Monday evening, I chose to force full attention on the output of a single network. Despite growing indications that the television audience is getting more selective, broadcasters still generally assume that the majority is too lazy to get up and switch channels. If you can grab them early, the theory goes, you've got them for the whole evening.

The network in this case was ABC. The evening's "lineup," much like creatures in a rogue's gallery, consisted of "The Rookies," "S.W.A.T.," and "Caribe." The daily advertisements did indeed warn the public to "get ready for action."

"The Rookies," which has been posting higher ratings than most other offerings in the generally dismal ABC schedule, is now in its third season. The network's information mill explains that the series continues to "approach the subject of law and order from the viewpoints of three young, sometimes idealistic police officers with widely contrasting backgrounds." Actually "The Rookies," in the grand cookie-cutter tradition of "Mod Squad," features three attractive people, a tough boss with a heart of gold and a

seemingly endless supply of dumb scripts.

On this particular evening, the tough boss developed a tender spot for a young girl trapped by a police detective on a prostitution charge. The boss had a daughter once, who was put up for adoption after his wife died. The girl was only "doing it" for her boyfriend, who was seen injecting something into his arm. By hour's end, the boyfriend was dead, the tough boss was betrayed by the girl, two drug/prostitution thugs were killed in a shootout and the girl redeemed herself.

The rookies, for the most part, did little more than shake their heads in admiring wonder at the tough boss. One question: when do rookies cease being rookies? One of the original actors, Michael Ontkean, left the series last year, explaining in a letter that he wasn't quite resigned to the prospect of being a rookie for the rest of his life. Mr. Ontkean simply dropped out of sight and was promptly replaced by another pretty face, this one belonging to Bruce Fairbairn. The machine rumbles on.

"The Rookies" is an Aaron Spelling/Leonard Goldberg production, co-produced by Hal Sitowitz and Rick Husky. That bit of information is crucial to comprehending the recent appearance of "S.W.A.T." After all, if "The Rookies" is moderately successful, what is the next logical step? Go find that cookie cutter again. "S.W.A.T." is also a Spelling/Goldberg production, and the first episode was produced by Rick Husky.

The basic situation? A tough police boss, this one in charge of a paramilitary unit called Special Weapons and Tactics, his black assistant (called "Deacon") and three attractive young policemen have been thrown together in what promises to be a seemingly endless

supply of dumb scripts. The S.W.A.T. unit is a kind of elite Blue Berets. And as played by Steve Forrest in tones of macho-drenched virility, this boss, nicknamed Hondo, is tough. One young assistant insists, only half-jokingly, that "I saw him changing clothes in a phone booth this morning."

The story had three psychotic rednecks, two brothers and a cousin, off on a police-killing spree. After ambushing their prey, the three would sit around chuckling over their cleverness. One of them kept sniffing something from a small spoon. Of course, the S.W.A.T. people got their men, killing the two brothers with powerful shotguns and capturing the cousin, who mused about pleading insanity. Hondo's sneer was withering.

"Caribe," another new series, is about "a mythical inter-island law enforcement agency" operating out of Miami. The producers claim the series represents "the most massive logistical effort in television history, with cast, crew and equipment being transported as far as 1,200 miles from the Miami base." Someone forgot to pack the credibility.

I am at a loss to explain what the "Caribe" episode was about. It opened with a dead male body in a luxurious bathroom. A girl was seen bailing out of a small plane. She had something to do with an agency bearing strong resemblances to the C.I.A. And, amid much passing around of glassine packets of heroin, Lieut. Ben Logan and his black partner, Sgt. Mark Walters, searched for the girl. By the time they found her, she had withdrawn into a state of acute catatonia. The only new variation, among the familiar debris of wrecked cars, mangled planes and dead bodies, was that the villains had names like Carlos and Esteban. The single curiosity was that Ben Logan is played by Stacy Keach, an actor who should know better.

Heavily dented by a barrage of commercials for such items as Odor Eaters, a product promising to cure smelly feet, the evening of "action" screeched to a halt.

The range of possible conclusions is vast, but some note should be taken of the sixth annual "Violence Profile," compiled by George Gerbner and Larry Gross, professors at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications. Among other things, they found that "more important than sheer incidence is the nature and role that violence has taken on in the minds of viewers and in the life of society." In a single evening of television, the average viewer can see more killings, drug-taking and assorted disasters than he is actually likely to encounter in a lifetime. This exaggerated "pattern of victimization," the researchers say, "may cultivate an invidious sense of risk and fear."

Whatever the possibilities, something is obviously wrong with the enervating sameness of the product itself. The industry badly needs a product promising to cure smelly television.

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Los Angeles Times

VIEW

PART IV

MONDAY, MARCH 17, 1975

Parent/Child Attitudes Toward TV

BY DICK ADLER
Times Staff Writer

When was the last time you read what Plato had to say about children's television?

"And shall we just carelessly allow children to hear any casual tales which may be devised by casual persons, and to receive in their minds for the most part the very opposite of those which we would wish them to have when they are grown up?" He asked that in "The Republic"—without ever having to sit through a single Hong Kong Phooey, Scooby Doo, Valley of the Dinosaurs, Shazam! or Sigmund and the Sea Monsters on a Saturday morning.

For some time now, I've been attempting to assemble a useful, nonhysterical, hopefully interesting piece about children's television. Not on the subject of violence; that dark and bottomless cave has been explored by enough amateur and professional spelunkers of late. I've also been trying to clarify my personal, parental feelings about those hours that my kids spend in front of a TV set. Do some shows bring on brain rot faster than others? Does one Zoom cancel out six Bewitched reruns? Are the Three Stooges really any nastier than the Cookie Monster? Does

the banning of doubtful programs cause a child to over-value them? And just how much of even those carefully selected "quality" shows is too much?

A session on children's programs held by the Hollywood chapter of the Television Academy last month seemed a good place to start. Bob Keeshan (Captain Kangaroo, host of the best children's show on commercial TV), Joe Barbera (with partner Bill Hanna a prime supplier of kids' fare—everything from the Flintstones to "The Last of the Curlews"); Squire Rushnell (ABC vice president in charge of children's shows) and several other veterans of the youthful arena gathered for a lively verbal handball game, during which such topics as live action vs. animation, the limiting or banning of commercials and parental responsibility were bounced off the walls.

Keeshan—who said early in the meeting that he was troubled by figures he had seen on TV viewing by preschoolers, something like 30 to 40 hours a week—made what sounded like an important point later. "I can't compete against the hard cartoons," he said, "and neither can Sesame Street." If shows like Captain Kangaroo are to stay

on the air, he went on, it was up to parents to get their kids to watch them.

My six-year-old daughter had recently taken to using the Flintstones and Yogi and His Gang as background in the hour before school. I didn't object strenuously at the time; the Flintstones is generally a clever, well-written show that brings back pleasant memories of early Gleason and Carney. But the morning after the TV Academy session, I suggested that we see what Captain Kangaroo was up to these days. There were some small objections, more perfunctory than heartfelt, and the dial was switched. Keeshan was doing one of his stories about Simon, the boy whose drawings come true; I saw my daughter smile as though an old friend she hadn't seen for a while had returned. She was humming Simon's theme when she got home from school.

Although they had no formal representative on the panel, the strongest presence at the session was the Boston-based group of activists called Action for Children's Television. All of the speakers referred to ACT constantly—some with grudging admiration, others with open hostility.

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IN DEPTH STUDY

TV's Effect on Children

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ty. I decided to call them to see what research they knew of into the question of just how much television children should watch.

ACT's library was friendly but not very helpful. Hundreds of people were studying the effects of televised violence, but they knew of nobody actually looking at what happened as a result of those 30 to 40 hours a week that preschoolers were supposed to be spending in front of a TV set.

There was a bit of literature on the subject. In a Red-book article that Evelyn Kaye of ACT used as the introduction to her excellent book called "The Family Guide to Guide Children's Television" (Pantheon), pediatrician T. Berry Brazelton was quite firm about the effects of too much TV. "Television creates an environment that assaults and overwhelms the child; he can respond to it only by bringing into play his shut-down mechanism and thus becomes more passive," Dr. Brazelton says. "I have observed this in my own children and I have seen it in other people's children. As they sat in front of a television set that was blasting away, watching a film of horrors of rapidly varying kinds, the children were completely quiet . . . If anyone interrupted, tapped a child on the shoulder to break through his state of rapt attention, he almost always would start and might even break down in angry crying. If he was led away from the set, he often dissolved into a combative, screaming, wildly thrashing mass."

Behavior Diagnosed

Dr. Brazelton says that this sort of behavior is what Anna Freud once called "the disintegration of the ego," and most parents have probably been involved in the sort of scene he describes. But other researchers don't agree that watching television inevitably brings on extreme passivity. "We know from observation that children viewing a TV program are physically more active than children reading a book," says Dr. George Gerbner of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications—another conclusion hard for most parents to argue with. "Perhaps the theory that watching television makes children passive came about because passive children naturally tend to watch more TV than active children," reasons another psychologist.

It seems finally to be a question everyone has to answer for himself. "I think that a parent should help a child select programs that are emotionally and intellectually stimulating, and then be firm in limiting viewing to these," says Dr. Lee Salk. "It also is far easier to divert a child with an interesting book or hobby than it is to turn off the TV and offer no alternative at all." The problem comes in deciding just what constitutes an "emotionally and intellectually stimulating" program, of course. Sesame Street no longer holds the same spell for my daughter at 6 as it did when she was 3; should I still insist that she watch it instead of Bugs and His Buddies—which is virtually an almanac of animation, a 30-minute history of the form?

Switch Awareness

We've decided that what's most important is that a child be aware that the TV has an off switch. Kate comes home from school at 4:30, and from then until bath time at 7 p.m. is allowed to pick three shows on during that period. Her current choices are the Mickey Mouse Club, Electric Company and Bewitched—a rather strange mixture, but certainly no odder than the programs I watch.

If you are reassured by statistics, a 1973 study of viewer attitudes toward television done by the Bureau of Social Science Research showed that 30% of parents of children 4-6 years of age said that they always restricted the hours their children were allowed to watch TV; 45% never imposed any time restrictions. That figure rose to 39% for restriction in children 7-9 years of age, with 38% for complete freedom.

As to making rules about program content, 45% of those 4-6 parents said they always decided what shows they could see; 27% let them watch anything. Only 37% of the parents of 7-9 exercised strict content control; 27% said they never did.

It turns out that at least one research group has been looking at some of the effects of heavy and light TV viewing. Dr. Gerbner, best known for his work with Larry Gross on the yearly "Violence Profile"—annual studies of trends toward or away from antisocial acts on television—is engaged in studies of a more general nature. "How much television is too much is of course too broad a question for any researcher to answer," Dr. Gerbner says when asked about his work in this area. "Every child has his own limits. What we are doing is trying to put together a picture of the way different amounts of viewing affects how a child sees the world." He and his associates are working in local schools, asking third and eighth-graders a barrage of questions. "First verbally and then—especially with the younger children—by using pictures, we ask things like, 'What kind of person would be a doctor? A policeman? A criminal? Who do you think this person would like? Who would he dislike?' Bit by bit, we reproduce the child's imagery of things around him."

Heavy vs. Light

What the research hopes to find out is whether heavy viewers of television reflect more of the way TV sees the world than light viewers do, and whether the older children—with more TV viewing behind them, but also more outside life—reflect more of TV's idea of the world than the younger ones. (Light viewers are those who watch two hours a day or less; heavy viewers three-and-a-half hours a day or more. "It's amazing how difficult it is to test enough children to get a substantial group of light viewers," Dr. Gerbner says. "And even if some children don't watch much or any television, they still tend to pick up the attitudes of the other children.")

As you might expect, the study results so far show that television does change a child's conception of his environment. "Essentially, what we find is that heavy viewers and older children get to the TV image—as opposed to the reality—sooner, and hold on to it tighter. We know, for instance, that the average age of doctors in this country is 45-50. The TV image of a doctor is usually someone younger, so this is the answer heavy viewers and older children tend to give. Many of these TV images are innocuous, of course; what difference does it really make how old a child thinks a doctor is? But it is a way of establish-

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CHILDREN'S TV

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ing some of the incidental effects of TV watching. We find that television is a very powerful means of spreading conventional ideas; those exposed to it more than others get the conventional ideas sooner, hold on to them longer with less deviation from the norm."

At the TV Academy meeting, Bob Keeshan said that the future of children's television was really up to the networks now—that with public television running out of money, the commercial stations would have to become the innovators. ABC's Squire Rushnell said some sensible things at the session—including a spirited defense of ACT—and I decided to round out my research with a few words from him. One of the points made most often by critics of children's shows is that little attention seems to be paid to the age differences between younger viewers. Unlike the publishers of children's book, makers and broadcasters of children's programs tended to lump all their audience together.

Marketing Attitude

"The tendency to look at all children as one large 2-11 bundle is a marketing attitude, not a programming one," Rushnell says. "All of our shows are aimed at a specific age group. Older children tend to sleep longer, so we schedule a Bugs Bunny very early because it appeals to a younger audience. Shows with older appeal—a Gilligan or a Korg—come on later. It's true that some of the younger children are still watching during the later programs, but there's nothing unsuitable for them in those shows—just things they might not be as interested in."

As for the possibility of some commercial network version of Sesame Street emerging in the imaginable future, Rushnell is less than optimistic. "It just wouldn't be competitive, and Saturday morning is the most competitive time on a network's schedule," he says. "In those places where Sesame Street is on opposite network shows, it invariably winds up in fourth or fifth place. The trouble is that shows like Sesame Street have too narrow a target area. On Saturday mornings, you have to cater to a much wider target audience."

Does this mean that Saturdays will always be the current hodgepodge of prime-time rejects like Star Trek and the Partridge Family, recycled as cartoons, or current hits like The Waltons disguised as These Are the Days? "Not at all," Rushnell says, and then goes on to talk about ABC's fall schedule of children's programs. Two of the new shows sound at this point like more of the same—a cartoon Odd Couple, with a cat called Spiffy and a dog named Fleabag trading insults; and something known as "The Great Grape Ape," about a 30-foot purple gorilla and his wise guy, Sgt. Bilko-ish sidekick who at this point is a dog but might be changed to another creature by September.

But some other new ABC shows in development do appear to have more possibilities. "Uncle Croc's Block," for instance would be a part live action, part animated satire on the typical children's program—inspired by the same sort of verbal lunacy that has made Wacky Packs so popular with kids. "We'll have takeoffs on famous TV shows," Rushnell reports, "things like 'The \$6.95 Man,' who keeps falling apart. We're also putting together a series based on those very popular 'Encyclopedia Brown' child detective books; two different versions of 'Tom Sawyer'—one live and one animated; and a futuristic comedy with overtones of Woody Allen's 'Sleeper.'"

We're watching less children's television at our house these days—four shows on Saturday mornings, three on weekday afternoons—and I suppose this is an improvement. I'm still not convinced that Bugs Bunny is more dangerous to a child's mental health than Police Story (or the latest John D. MacDonald thriller) is to mine, but I do know that I'm better prepared to handle the consequences now than when I was 6.

Violent Crime by Young People: No Easy Answer

By ENID NEMY

Why is it happening?

Why are an increasing number of youths committing brutal, violent and often senseless crimes?

Why is the curve of violence rising, even as the percentage of juveniles in the general population is decreasing?

There is general unanimity, among people associated with criminology, that there is neither an easy nor a single answer. The seeming inability of many youngsters to differentiate between right and wrong, and to feel any sense of personal responsibility for their actions, is the result of a combination of factors. And, it is noted, once the causes are accepted and understood, solutions, while difficult, are more readily planned and adopted.

The experts, whose studies are outgrowths of their areas of concern—sociology, law, psychoanalysis—list among major reasons for the upsurge in juvenile violence:

¶The American dream and the country's emphasis on brawn, rather than brains.

¶The easy availability of guns and lack of a national gun law.

¶The disintegration of the family and the deterioration of discipline in schools.

¶The prevalence of violence in the media, particularly on television and in films.

¶The lack of deterrents in the form of positive punishment.

¶Racial attitudes that neutralize guilt feelings.

"The American dream is, in part, responsible for a great deal of crime and violence," said Dr. David Abrahamson, a psychoanalyst specializing in behavioral disorders. "People feel that America owes them not only a living but a good living, and they take short cuts to get what they feel is owing to them. . . . Frustration is the wet nurse to violence."

Dr. Abrahamson, author of "The Murdering Mind," (Harper & Row) added; "Unfortunately, we in the United States are not very easily given to contemplation. . . . We have a masculine self-image. I think it's time it was a little more feminized, a little more passive and peaceful. If you have a brain, you are thought to be a sissy. If you have muscles on the football field, you are an American. It's

almost un-American to have a brain."

Violence as an accepted technique of getting something, with no sense of personal responsibility for actions, was noted by Wayne Mucci, the former director of the Bureau of Institutions and Facilities for New York City.

Most kids tend to be highly impulsive and seek immediate gratification," said Mr. Mucci, who is now director of the American Bar Association Institute of Judicial Administration, Juvenile Justice Standards Project.

"They didn't plan to murder the person they were robbing, but it seemed to happen if someone got in their way. . . . it seemed incidental."

Mr. Mucci said that one

bara, a lawyer involved in the criminal justice field.

To Dr. Marvin Wolfgang, professor of sociology and law at the University of Pennsylvania, the reduction in discipline, supervision and monitoring of adolescents is "an important variable."

"Important studies have confirmed empirically a lot of laymen's ideas about discipline," he commented.

Dr. Wolfgang, director of the Center for Studies in Criminology and Criminal Law, questioned, too, the race relation between victim and perpetrator. He believed that a high proportion of violent and sometime senseless crime was committed "by a minority group against a majority group."

"I believe a lot of kids

"We don't need to have violence liberated," said Dr. James Short, visiting professor of law and sociology at Stanford University. "I'm not suggesting a direct connection [with television] but it's inconceivable that there is no effect. I don't view it with equanimity."

Dr. Short was one of many who were inclined to attribute the increase in lethality to the greater presence of weapons on the streets.

Urges a National Law

"What we need is a national law," he said. "We can't prevent people from killing when hand guns are so easily available."

Dr. Etzioni concurred, as did Mr. Carlson, a former visiting fellow at the Center for the Study of Democratic

had been through the juvenile court system laugh at what the court could do," said Mr. Mucci, whose former work brought him in contact with hundreds of delinquents in New York City. "They told me it was an 'easy' time. I believe there should be definite sentences and the length should be related to the seriousness of the crime."

"We probably imprison too many for too long but there is an incorrigible minority of those who engage in violent crime that you can't do anything with," Mr. Carlson said.

Although deterrent research is still in its infancy, Dr. Robert Martinson, who is involved in the field, noted that initial results indicated that "people can be deterred by threat of punishment."

"Until recently, deterrence was set aside as an archaic notion," he said. "I'm not interested in pushing any position. I try to base my arguments on the facts of the matter. I think the police have a prima-facie case that couldn't be made 10 years ago. There is no fear among kids. . . . they know if they are caught, they'll get away with it."

Sees Little Effectiveness

Dr. Martinson, who, with two colleagues, spent eight years looking into thousands of studies on correctional treatment, said his research had indicated that "rehabilitation doesn't have much effect, if any."

"There is an American tendency to think that there is a cure for every disease. . . . we have rather strong evidence that, on the whole, if you look at all rehabilitation programs they don't seem to have much effect, or any effect, on recidivism."

Dr. Martinson, co-author with Douglas S. Lipton and Judith Wilks of "Effectiveness of Correctional Treatment," a book scheduled for publication within the next few months, added that treatment—"almost an axiom of American penal policy for 50 to 75 years"—had begun to be questioned very seriously.

"The present system is clearly out of line somewhere. . . . it is certain that money poured into rehabilitation is not the answer."

"The certainty of punishment, rather than the severity, would have the effect," he said.

'There is a continuing disintegration of the social context . . . of links . . . and the family and community are central in this.'

characteristic common to many juveniles in serious trouble was "a highly disorganized environment. . . . no controls or highly inconsistent controls."

"Juveniles tend to become disengaged earlier, not only from families but from society," he said.

Dropout Parents

"An increasing number of parents have resigned their responsibility for the character of their child," said Dr. Amitai Etzioni, professor of sociology at Columbia University.

"It's as elementary as that—where is a child supposed to get the distinction between right and wrong—from the home and school. The schools focus ever more on cognitive skills and less on character building."

Dr. Etzioni also attributed the increasing number of children "who don't know right from wrong" to broken homes, rotating "partners" and the lack of a permanent philosophy.

"There's a continuing disintegration of the social context. . . . of links. . . . and the family and community are central in this," said Richard (Rick) Carlson of Santa Bar-

have a neutralization of guilt about attacking [a majority racial group] . . . they feel justified. . . . and the easiest targets are the disabled and the old."

Dr. Wolfgang, who is also the research director of the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence and the commissioner of the National Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, observed that a display of sex in the media and television wasn't hurting anyone "but a display of violence has more of a response. . . . people imitate violence."

Although violence had, he believed, become "the norm" in society, Dr. Abrahamson suggested the necessity of television controlling its content better than it does now.

"There are no doubts about it, it serves as a stimulus," he said. "It can trigger hostile actions."

Mr. Mucci said he had seen research figures that indicated that children who watched television had seen about 11,000 murders by the time they were 14 years old, "and that's really shocking when you come to think of it."

Institutions in Santa Barbara.

"Guns make a physically disadvantaged person—someone smaller, less strong than an adult—into an accomplished person," Dr. Etzioni said.

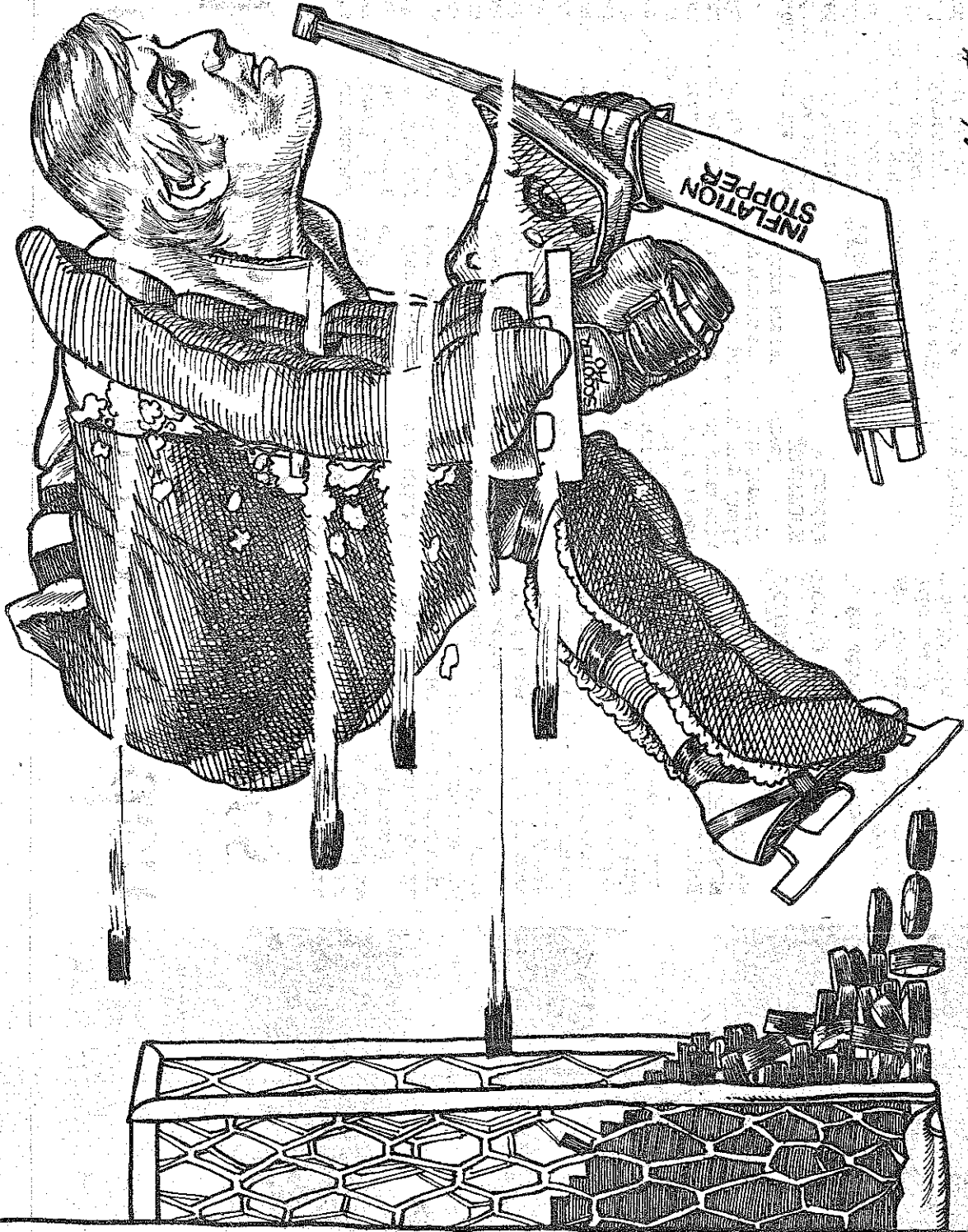
Although there is some belief that the rising juvenile crime figures reflect both better reporting and an increase of the percentage of juveniles in the general population, police officials question the general validity of the first premise, and census figures refute the second.

The Census Bureau reports that although the juvenile (16 years of age and under) percentage of the general population increased from 35 to 49 per cent between 1965 and 1971, it has fallen steadily since then. Juveniles accounted for 31 per cent of the population in 1972, 30 per cent in 1973 and slightly under 30 per cent last year. There were 67,151,000 juveniles in the country in 1965 and an estimated 63,055,000 last year.

The figures reinforce the beliefs of some criminologists that lack of deterrents in the judicial system encourages young first offenders.

"I used to see kids who

... OF COURSE THE
ODD ONE GETS BY ...



A LOT OF EVEN ONES, TOO

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Is public a victim of TV violence?

Television packages violence for the public on a large, commercial scale. And there is growing concern that it may be contributing to the rise of violent crime in society. As an article on this page today points out, television seems to be also preparing people as victims of crime, by showing them situations that inspire fear.

This is a potentially dangerous situation. And it is time it was investigated in Canada as part of a comprehensive royal commission inquiry into violence. In the U.S., major studies have continued since 1964, when a presidential commission on the causes and prevention of violence was set up following the assassination of President John Kennedy.

We shouldn't wait for a national disaster, or a rise in the crime rate to equal that of the U.S., before commissioning our own study.

One major American report, called the Violence Profile, indicates that television violence may be vitally affecting the structure of society.

On a small scale, citizens feel unwarranted fear of personal attack. On a larger scale, they feel weak and powerless as a group. And so they are vulnerable to real criminals, and can be manipulated by unscrupulous people. The best way to fight unfounded fears is with facts. A royal commission study would help to do that.

Any factor that has great influence over social change is potentially dangerous in the hands of a non-elected body. Television violence is not just an

entertainment issue. It is one of arbitrary influence exerted by corporations over the broad mass of society.

As such it is a political issue, and certainly merits inclusion in a royal commission study. The object is not to introduce mandatory government censorship, or in fact to work toward any preconceived conclusion.

Instead a study would collect the facts and put them before the public for discussion. It would allow for an informed judgment on how best to go about controlling violence while still protecting civil rights.

Prime Minister Trudeau, Solicitor-General Warren Allmand and Premier William Davis of Ontario have, all voiced the concern felt by many Canadians in recent months, about the apparent rise in the level of violence in this country.

None has proposed solutions, because the problem is too complex and far-reaching for immediate, emotional reactions. But it is not enough for them to wring their hands in public. They should do everything within their power to see that the issues of violence are untangled, separated and examined in detail.

The study itself would take time to complete. Meanwhile the amount of violence—and of exposure to it on television—continues to rise. And as the American study points out, we are not at all sure of the connection between the two. The government should attempt to find out.

Violence is a favorite subject in the TV classroom

By OLIVIA WARD
Star staff writer

Television is the world's biggest classroom and one of its favorite subjects is violence.

In the U.S., where most violence-filled programming originates, the Federal Communications Commission is proposing limitations on the amount of violence shown on prime time TV, in response to an apparent wave of fear about the increase in violent crimes.

In Canada, Ontario Premier William Davis expressed concern about excessive TV violence, but did not suggest curbs.

There has been an increase in televised violence in North America over the last decade. And there has been an increase in violent crimes.

Yet the relationship is still hazy. The only thing clear is that television teaches, and the lessons of violence are never pleasant.

The obvious view is that watching violence on television may make a "disturbed minority" turn aggressive. But according to the 1973-4 Violence Profile of the Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, the relationship may also be the reverse.

Related studies have shown that violence, no matter how pervasive on television, does not become socially acceptable. But it does reinforce the public's fear of real violence, and particularly the fear of those in certain vulnerable groups.

Television's power over its audience seems to be unique. It cannot be lumped together with newspapers, which apparently play a more documentary role. In fact, the Violence Profile shows that newspaper reading tends to lower the fear of violence, while seeing violence on television has a heightening effect. TV violence, even in news programs, may raise the fear level beyond the normal.

Because of its wide appeal, television has an enormous potential to influence its audience—a teacher with the instant audience appeal of a Mannix, or a Harry O, would be an example to his profession.

Opinion

idea of censorship in principle, though Solicitor-General Warren Allmand has shown some interest in investigating possible exploitation of violence.

"The United States television production industry," says Juneau, "has attained a position of such world-wide dominance that nearly all countries import at least some U.S. programs, many of them being crime or adventure series, in order to fill their television schedules. The matter of television violence on Canadian stations is one of a number of problems related to the general situation of Canadian broadcasting."

The public outcry against violence is growing. Yet while the government wonders about the question of censorship, the amount of television watching is expanding rather than decreasing. It is a vicious circle of increased public awareness of violence, and at the same time exposure to the entertainment that caters to that fear.

Self-censorship

At some point, catering becomes exploitation. And apart from intervention by the government, responsible networks must consider censoring their own presentation of violence.

Traditionally, that means cutting down the instances of violence. But Prof. George Gerbner of the Annenberg School of Communications, and co-author of the Violence Profiles published yearly since 1967, believes that is not the only solution.

"When you show violence frequently you build up a pattern in people's minds," he said. "They see that the victims of violence tend to fall into similar categories. Whatever the frequency, the pattern is still there, and it is the most important thing.

assumptions about real-life possibilities of violence from the fantasy world of television.

The profile studies also showed that heavy viewers, who watch more than 3½ hours of television a day, are more affected by the TV version than light viewers. They showed an exaggerated sense of risk about the dangers of everyday life.

There are several important implications in the violence studies. Firstly, that any attempt to control television violence must look to the quality as well as quantity of violence. Secondly, that it must take account of both sides of the problem at the same time—the nature of the aggressors and of the victims.

Are old women, blacks, ghetto-dwellers the most constant violence victims in reality? Does every burglar carry a gun? Is every lone woman a potential rape victim?

U.S. studies have shown the real answers are unlike the television answers. But both TV fiction and newscasts dwell on the unreal. As Gerbner said, "We seem to consider normal and real that which fits the established fantasies of our culture. The establishment of these fantasies is increasingly a corporate mass production process."

Even the news, he said, is part of the process. "It's a social typing game. What is shown in the newsreel is not what's happening. It's a fraction of what's happening, selected by the networks to suit their fictions. They cater to the mentality of the TV viewer, and at the same time create it."

The mentality includes a built-in pattern of victimization. So groups of people who may have some cause to feel vulnerable, are confirmed in their fear. Fear invites repression, and it is possible that it also invites incidents that cause still more fear and repression.

If so, television censorship—either by the networks or the government—must begin with responsibility to the broad pattern of society.

The question should be not are we showing too much violence, but are we showing too many stereotyped victims? Making people feel weak puts power into the hands of the stronger. If the stronger are despots, or criminals, the result is the same.

A large part

And violence makes up a large part of the television "curriculum."

Producers have an interest in keeping it that way. Why deal with expensive stars, directors and set designers when time and space can be filled with cheap fight scenes? Violence is not the most popular product, though some producers protest that it is. Rather, it is the most popular product at the cheapest price.

So television violence is frequent, widespread, and relatively attractive to audiences—a combination that makes parents concerned for their children, and the government concerned for society.

In Canada there is added anxiety because many of the violent programs are imported from the U.S. They reflect to some extent the higher level of real violence in American—but not yet Canadian—society.

So we have to deal not only with the fundamental question of government censorship, but the political problem of international regulation.

Pierre Juneau, chairman of the Canadian Radio-Television Commission, has rejected the

"Look at the victims of violence on American television. They're the stereotyped have-nots—the old, the non-white, lower class, foreign. They're the people who are being conditioned to expect aggression."

Women come off badly in the Violence Profile's record of victimization ratios. In the seven years of study, totals show 21 male killers for every 10 men killed, but only 10 female killers for every 15 women killed. Single women had the worst killer-killed ratio and lower-class women were most harassed. Non-white and old women were next in order.

Following up the victimization ratios, Gerbner and his team interviewed representative groups, asking them to estimate the possibility of violence in their own lives, the proportion of crimes they thought were violent, and the number of people working in law enforcement. These were all questions that television answers much differently from the evidence of actual statistics.

The people closest to the "television" answers, rather than the statistical answers, were similar to the groups that appeared most often as victims in television programs.

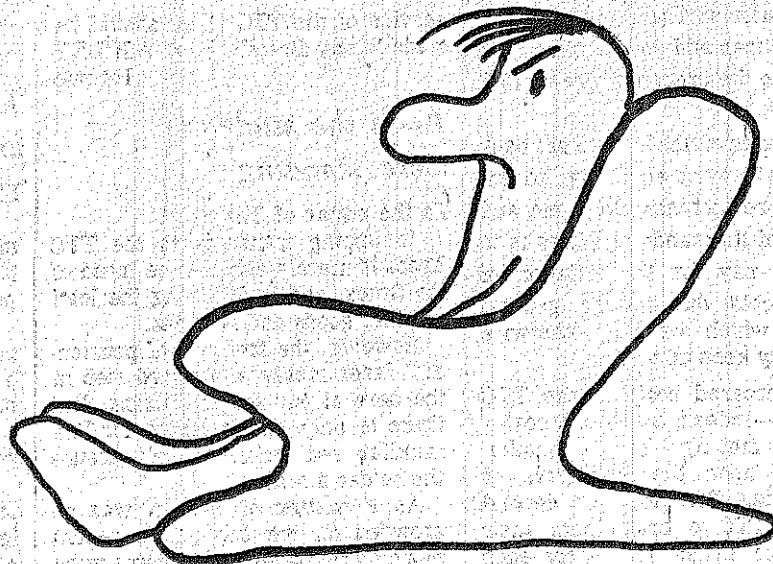
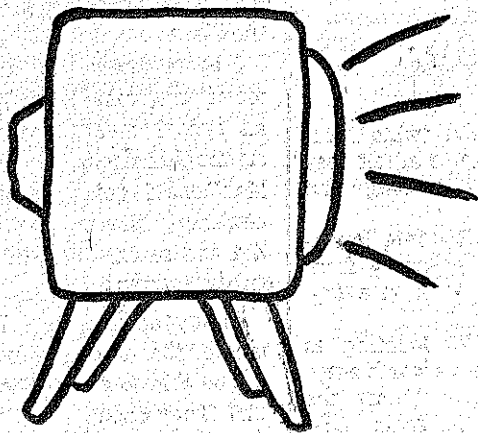
In other words, people may get their as-

Pressure is heavier

It is not a new problem. But the social and political pressure is becoming heavier to solve it. A recent article in TV Guide said: "As winter turns to spring and summer, unemployment is almost certain to rise to levels not seen since the 1930s . . . Violent crime could reach unprecedented levels . . . If a clear nexus can be found, measures must be taken to suspend or prohibit certain types of programming . . . the constitution doesn't give anyone the right to yell 'fire' in a crowded theatre, and that ought to include the networks."

When segments of society feel weak and powerless, there is always cause for alarm. One of the most persuasive arguments for control of the over-all TV violence pattern was written by Walter Lippmann, in 1934:

"Unless there is a method . . . by which the governed can make their views effective in some proportion to their weight, the nation is at the mercy of violence in the form of terrorism, assassination, conspiracy, mass compulsion and civil war."



The public outcry against violence is growing, but TV watching is expanding

The Toronto Star, Mon, March 24, 1975 C4

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CRIMINAL JUSTICE NEWSLETTER

A PUBLICATION OF
THE NATIONAL COUNCIL
ON CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

*A Bi-Weekly Report on Significant Developments
For Leaders in Criminal Justice Administration*

SUMMARY

"But the necessity for a strong stance against corruption should not be equated with waging a war on corruption. There is an element of phoniness about most such efforts very much like that in the frequently declared wars against crime." Herman Goldstein in Viewpoint (pp. 4-5).

Media (1). • Recent study shows that heavy television viewing leads to exaggerated conceptions of crime and violence in society.

Police (2). • Court-based diversion program fails to reduce juvenile incarceration in Chicago suburbs due to police resistance • New Picture-By-Telephone Unit may aid police.

Statistics (2). • Preliminary Uniform Crime Reports for 1974 show 17% rise in reported crime; Levi calls for deterrence.

Washington Report (3). • Levi nudging Ford Administration into taking a stand on gun control.

Corrections (3). • Study estimates 1 million juvenile cases result in incarceration each year. • Grievance procedures at juvenile facilities need strengthening • NCCD launches drive to decriminalize status offenses.

Viewpoint (4) • Excerpts from new monograph by Herman Goldstein on police corruption.

Focus (6) • New York pilot project demonstrates value of due process in parole revocation proceedings.

MEDIA

Television Watching Linked to Inflated Fears of Crime and Violence in Real Life

Heavy television watching causes viewers to grossly exaggerate the prevalence of crime and violence in the real world, according to an important recent study by a team of communications researchers.

The effect of television violence on the perceptions of viewers has been measured statistically by George Gerbner and Larry Gross of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications.

Their report, entitled *Violence Profile No. 6: Trends in Network Television Drama and Viewer Conceptions of Social Reality 1967-73*, focuses on audience perceptions. The study does not address the question of whether television violence influences actual criminal behavior.

Results of large-scale surveys conducted in both 1974 and 1973 indicated a "positive and generally linear relationship" between heavy television viewing and inflated perceptions of danger, crime and law enforcement in the real world.

Violence Overestimated. In the 1973 phone survey, a substantially higher proportion of avid television watchers (four hours per day or more) than of casual viewers (less than two hours per day) rated their chances of involvement in violence at "about 50-50" (the "television" answer) instead of "one in a hundred" (the "real world" answer).

Heavy television watchers interviewed in a 1974 national probability sample survey were much more likely than light viewers to overestimate the numbers of

people involved in violence at 10 in 100, the percentage of crimes which are violent at 25%, and the proportion of males who work in law enforcement and crime detection at 5%. The respective "real world" choices were one person in 100 involved in violence, 15% of crimes are violent, and 1% of males work in crime-fighting.

College education was found to have no effect in correcting the distortion in the minds of heavy viewers. Women were the most fearful heavy viewers, a finding which correlates with their portrayal as victims on the air. Viewers under 30 were found to be extremely susceptible to television's picture of reality.

Programs Analyzed. The research group has mapped the violence profile of adult and children's dramatic programming on television each year since 1967. Using a form of content analysis called "message system analysis," they found that, "violence remained a (or perhaps *the*) staple element of dramatic programming" in those years.

Although Westerns and other exotic locales were replaced by urban police scenes between 1967 and 1973, violence remained a prevalent theme in seven out of ten shows in 1973 (as compared to eight out of ten in 1967). Violence and crime ranked third and fourth in importance respectively as themes in adult programs, and first and fifth respectively in cartoons.

"Fear of victimization pervades the world of television drama, and may cultivate a corresponding sense of danger in the world of social reality," the researchers suggest.

Some of the messages conveyed in the programs are that lower class characters are most likely to be involved in violence, that women are favored as victims, and that, "whites... have the upper hand in every category of both sexes."

The findings may help account for erratic public attitudes on crime and crime control. For information contact Prof. George Gerbner, University of Pennsylvania, The Annenberg School of Communications C5, Philadelphia, PA 19174.

POLICE

Cook County Police Foil Juvenile Diversion

Police resistance to a new court-based diversion program in suburban Cook County (Chicago), IL was largely responsible for a 53% increase in juvenile incarceration last year, according to a recent report.

Researchers Ramon J. Rivera and Richard M. King of the Youth In Crisis Project, a counseling and services effort, studied the 1974 decentralization of Cook County's juvenile court.

An important part of the decentralization plan was creation of six local complaint screening units, comprised of probation officers and a court arbitrator, in suburban areas. Capitalizing on their knowledge of local resources, the goal of the screening units was to

divert as many youths as possible from the justice system.

The screening units did in fact divert 42% of their cases by either dismissing charges or assigning juveniles to 90 day supervision, the study found.

Screening Units Avoided. But the report relates that police were able to by-pass the complaint screening units by sending juveniles directly to detention, thus automatically requiring a court hearing under Cook County rules.

Juvenile officers seized on this detour of the screening process with the result that 1,166 juveniles were referred to detention in 1974 in the suburban districts as compared to 762 in 1973, according to the report.

The authors of the study comment: "we are left with the conclusion that a significant factor in the swollen figures for juvenile detention in 1974 is a newly developed practice among suburban juvenile officers: sending a youngster directly to detention rather than referring his case to local complaint screening."

Copies of the report, entitled *Juvenile Court Decentralization: Implications for Communities in Effecting Juvenile Justice in Cook County*, are available for \$1.25 each from Youth In Crisis Inc., 6737 West 34th St., Berwyn, IL 60402.

New Device Sends Photos by Phone

A Pictures-By-Telephone unit providing eight second, two-way picture transmission of mug shots and other photographable police material over phones and radios has been developed by the non-profit National Institute for Rehabilitation Engineering.

The PBT unit transmits pictures over phones, police radio systems, and into police cars, according to NIRE. A transmitted picture is projected on a viewing screen and may be either photographed or recorded.

NIRE suggests that the PBT would aid police in sending pictures, verifying identification of records and weapons, and in providing medical consultations for prisoners.

The unit costs \$1,495 plus postage. NIRE is a non-profit research and service organization founded to serve the poor, ill and handicapped. For information write NIRE, Pompton Lakes, NJ 07442 or call Dr. Donald Selwyn (201/838-2500).

STATISTICS

Reported Crime Up 17% in 1974; Levi Glum

Crime known to police leaped upward by 17% in 1974, the largest annual increase since the FBI began compiling the Uniform Crime Reports 45 years ago.

In releasing the preliminary UCR statistics on March 31, FBI Director Clarence M. Kelley noted that

CRIME INDEX TRENDS

(Percent change 1974 over 1973, offenses known to police)

Population Group and Area	Number of Agencies	Population in thousands	Total	Violent	Property	Murder	Forcible rape	Robbery	Aggravated assault	Burglary	Larceny	Motor vehicle theft
Total all agencies	6,651	176,338	+17	+11	+17	+ 5	+ 9	+14	+ 9	+17	+20	+ 4
Cities over 25,000	911	91,696	+15	+10	+15	+ 3	+ 8	+13	+ 8	+15	+19	+ 1
Suburban area	2,974	61,114	+20	+16	+20	+12	+12	+22	+13	+20	+22	+10
Rural area	1,393	21,093	+21	+ 9	+22	+ 5	+ 2	+25	+ 8	+23	+22	+16

violent crime known to police last year was up 11% while property crime rose by 17% (see chart). Increases in rural areas (21%) and suburban communities (20%) outran the 15% boost in cities with over 25,000 residents.

The footprints of the recession were evident as reported crime jumped 19% in the economically-troubled last three months of 1974 after an increase of 16% in the first three quarters of the year. Regionally, the South experienced the biggest boost in reported crime (21%), followed by the North Central states (17%), the Northeast (15%), and the West (13%).

The 17% upturn between 1973 and 1974 compares to a 6% increase between the two previous years and a 4% drop between 1971 and 1972.

Attorney General Edward H. Levi said the figures "represent a dismal and tragic failure on the part of our present system of criminal justice." He called for greater emphasis on deterrence through a concerted effort "to move quickly and effectively to detect and punish offenders."

Levi's glum reaction was in sharp contrast to former President Nixon's assessment only 15 months ago that, "The 17-year rise in crime has been stopped."

He related that this formula would have triggered federal controls in 62 large cities this year. The advantage of this selective approach would be in leaving undisturbed the use of handguns in areas where violence has not yet reached emergency levels, according to Levi.

Registration Skirted. Possession of a handgun, Levi remarked, "makes an individual in a city too powerful for his environment." He acknowledged that existing local and federal laws are "ineffective," but carefully avoided gun owner registration proposals which have already been disavowed by President Ford.

The National Rifle Association has thus far held its fire on the Levi initiatives (*Washington Post*, 4/8/75). Sen. Birch Bayh, sponsor of the 1972 ban on "Saturday Night Specials" which passed the Senate but died in the House, said he is "encouraged" by Levi's ideas. But Bayh expressed skepticism in view of what he said were unfulfilled Administration promises dating back to 1969 and 1971 to move on gun control. Bayh's juvenile delinquency subcommittee has scheduled hearings on the issue on April 23 at 10 a.m. in Room 2228, Dirksen Senate Office Building.

WASHINGTON REPORT

Levi Airs Administration Gun Control Ideas

U.S. Attorney General Edward H. Levi appears to be leading an unenthusiastic Ford administration into endorsing some form of gun control.

Speaking before the Law Enforcement Executives Narcotics Conference on April 6, Levi sketched two types of measures now being considered in the Justice Department.

Levi revealed that the Administration will likely support either an outright ban on manufacture and sale of "Saturday Night Specials" or heavy taxation on these cheap handguns. Such taxation might bring the price of these pistols up to \$100 or some such imposing figure.

Other types of handguns and ammunition might be subject to prohibitions on transport, transfer or sale but only in metropolitan areas where the crime rate exceeds the national average by 20% or some other figure, Levi suggested.

CORRECTIONS

Misuse of Juvenile Incarceration Claimed

An extensive nationwide analysis has uncovered evidence that upwards of a million juvenile cases result in incarceration each year in a crazy-quilt pattern which appears to defy rational justification.

Dr. Rosemary C. Sarri of the National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections at the University of Michigan concludes in *Under Lock and Key: Juveniles in Jails and Detention* that, "The facts lead to the conclusion that the organization of (juvenile) detention care in the United States serves few positive functions other than, for those who need it, firm security. But most who receive secure containment do not need it."

Reviewing numerous studies of juvenile incarceration, including her own ongoing research project, Dr. Sarri projects a total of up to 500,000 juvenile cases which result in incarceration in *adult* jails each year.

(continued on page 6)

Herman Goldstein is professor of criminal justice administration at the University of Wisconsin Law School. From 1960-64 he served as executive assistant to Chicago Police Superintendent O. W. Wilson, and he has been a consultant to several commissions concerned with criminal justice reform. The essay below is adapted from his new monograph, "Police Corruption: A Perspective on its Nature and Control," published by the Police Foundation. For copies contact the Foundation at 1909 K. St., N.W., Washington, DC 20006.

By Herman Goldstein

Of all the problems involved in the complex business of policing, few are more fundamental than corruption. When corruption exists in a police agency, the potential for dealing effectively with the multitude of other problems is severely diminished. This is true because two factors that are essential elements of any program to improve the quality of police service are seriously eroded. First, public confidence in the police is undermined. Second, the police administrator's ability to direct and control his personnel is substantially reduced.

Given the importance of the problem and the extent to which it siphons off the time and energy of the administrator, it is curious that corruption has not received more attention in the major effort made in recent years to improve police operations. Some of the reasons for this are themselves a part of the problem.

The existence of corruption clearly impairs an agency's credibility in enforcing the law. The police officer who accepts bribes is obviously doing what he is paid by the taxpayers to prevent. He is like a fireman setting fires or a physician spreading disease.

The officer who spends his time in corrupt activities does little police work. He is unlikely to take seriously requirements that he check the security of various premises, that he investigate suspicious circumstances, or that he respond speedily to calls for assistance. In extreme cases, he may even see such requirements as intrusions on his time. If his supervisors are also corrupt, it becomes even more likely that he will ignore these responsibilities.

Corruption Causes

The extent to which the day-to-day nature of police work contributes to corruption has not been adequately recognized. The average officer—especially in large cities—sees the worst side of humanity. He is exposed to a steady diet of wrongdoing. He sees many individuals of good reputation engaging in practices equally dishonest and corrupt. It is not unusual for him to develop a cynical attitude in which he views corruption as a game in which every person is out to

get his share.

An officer who sees the processing of hundreds of offenders through a city's courts cannot help but be struck by the futility of the procedure. In agreeing not to make an arrest or to drop a charge in exchange for a payoff, an officer may justify his action by claiming that further processing would produce no more effective or just disposition. This reasoning is greatly reinforced when the prosecutor's office and the courts are also corrupt.

Needed Changes

It is indisputable that a change in legislative policy with regard to laws generally recognized as unenforceable would substantially reduce police corruption. By removing the basis for much petty corruption, decriminalization would eliminate the activity that often accustoms officers to accepting bribes and makes them targets for corruption related to more serious offenses.

Among the factors contributing to corruption is the widespread belief that police are supposed to enforce all laws.

Legitimizing police discretion would contribute significantly to reducing the air of questionable legality that pervades much of what police do. Such steps would reduce the frequency with which police must adapt, and sometimes pervert, the criminal process in order to carry out their responsibilities.

Police administrators have a particular responsibility to make citizens aware of how their individual actions affect the quality of police service.

An appeal of this kind seems especially appropriate when investigation reveals a pattern of corruption in which the corrupters are a special category of citizens such as restaurant owners, hotel keepers, construction firms, or taxicab drivers. The fear of the consequences of not offering a bribe while competitors do so results in wholesale conformity with the pattern. If an entire category of businessmen agreed to simultaneously abandon corrupt practices, the pattern would be terminated effectively.

Administrator's Posture

Careful review of past efforts to deal with police corruption leaves little doubt that the administrator's posture determines the agency's effectiveness in coping with the problem. The factor most clearly distinguishing the relatively few successful efforts has been the unequivocal stance against corruption taken by those leading the effort.

But the necessity for a strong stance against corruption should not be equated with waging a war on corruption. There is an element of phoniness about most

such efforts very much like that in the frequently declared wars against crime. Police officers, more so than the average citizen, recognize these statements as mere rhetoric.

The administrator who is committed to dealing with the problem and who also wants to remain in office must be able to characterize his efforts to attack corruption as something other than an attack on his own personnel. This is not easy.

For many years it was generally assumed that administrators without tenure were vulnerable to improper political pressures and corrupt influences, while those with tenure would resist such pressures.

Too much faith may have been placed in this single reform. However, few efforts to control corruption have succeeded without some guarantee of tenure for the top man. Significantly, those agencies once known for corruption which have since acquired a reputation for integrity were directed by one person for an extended period of time.

A police chief must place his house in order before he attacks corruption. This usually involves the introduction of techniques for increasing the accountability of operating personnel. Many are elementary, and few would doubt their value. Others, which have become a part of the traditional package of administrative improvement programs, are of questionable value in achieving the desired results.

Recruit Training

One of the most common recommendations for dealing with corruption is that it be realistically covered in recruit training. Most police training programs avoid discussion of corruption, often on the rather naive grounds that it is undesirable to draw attention to wrongdoing.

If recruit training is to have any impact on corruption, it must explore fully and realistically all the dimensions of the problem and include specific examples of corruption known to exist or to have existed in the department. The more realistically training deals with corruption as a hazard of police work, the more credibility the staff is likely to have and the greater the probability that the officer will take warnings seriously.

Internal Investigations

Many departments have established internal investigation units to concentrate responsibility for the investigation of corruption and to give continuing attention to the agency's integrity.

The greatest weakness of special investigative units is one seldom acknowledged by police. It is absolutely unrealistic to expect officers on special assignment, however honest and dedicated, to investigate zealously the activities of fellow officers who may one day be their

partners or superiors.

Despite their weaknesses, internal investigation units can be of great value. However, the likelihood of apprehension is not very high if police limit their anti-corruption efforts to investigating complaints. A strong case can be made for police utilization of all legal means available for ferreting out corruption.

Granting immunity from prosecution to an officer willing to testify against fellow officers is as justified in a bribery proceeding as it is in a proceeding against other forms of crime. Using undercover men can be justified if an administrator is willing to share with the public the problems resulting from their employment.

External Investigations

There appears to be growing support for anti-corruption investigative efforts based outside the police agency. These investigations have taken three forms in the past several years: (1) those conducted by specially constituted groups such as the Knapp Commission in New York City and the Pennsylvania Crime Commission in Philadelphia; (2) those conducted by the United States Department of Justice; and (3) those conducted by a specially appointed prosecutor.

The last two forms of investigation have special appeal to rank-and-file police personnel since they do not single out the police but proceed against governmental corruption wherever it exists. Honest officers have been much more willing to cooperate with such investigations.

By airing the true magnitude of the corruption problem in a given community, they have helped to create an atmosphere which has justified aggressive action on the part of the administrator that he may not have been able to take without such disclosures.

Many competent officers have found that to have reported corruption even once had the effect of permanently impairing their careers. The honest officer would appreciate most an opportunity to report corruption in a way that does *not* require his testimony or identification. An administrator can make good use of these reports, employing independent forms of investigation to disprove or verify the allegations. Evidence of integrity certainly should be a factor in considering an individual for promotion.

Aggressive action in ferreting out corrupt practices is essential, but such action will lose its effectiveness unless two conditions are met: (1) there must be periodic evidence to remind both police and citizens that action is being taken; and (2) there must be a continuous and aggressive effort to identify new patterns of corruption and the offenders involved in them.

(continued from page 3)

While most such cases involve juveniles awaiting trial, Dr. Sarri found that a substantial number of jails house juveniles serving sentences of up to one year, and a smaller, though surprising number of jails are used to incarcerate juveniles for more than one year.

Detention Centers. Juvenile detention center incarceration, Dr. Sarri estimates, is used in about a half-million cases each year. Dr. Sarri reports that five out of six children assigned to all types of juvenile facilities are housed in detention centers, as opposed to less punitive types of facilities.

Studies analyzed in the report show that incarceration of juveniles is not consistently related to seriousness of offense or to sociodemographic variables in the offender population.

Finding that the rate of juvenile incarceration is positively correlated with the level of urbanization and the FBI crime index, Dr. Sarri postulates that juveniles are imprisoned because "they can be readily arrested and detained as a generalized social control response to rising crime."

NAJC findings support the observation that police are accorded wide discretion in recommending detention in order to show the juvenile that, "the court means business."

Paradoxes Noted. But the study queries two seeming paradoxes in incarceration policy. If imprisonment is used to counter high crime rates, why are status offenders, who present no threat, disproportionately represented in inmate populations? And why should incarceration be higher in urban areas, where more alternative treatment is available, than in rural sections?

Several studies are also cited to document poor physical conditions, inadequate separation of juveniles from adults, absence of services, and low degrees of professionalization among correctional officers.

For further information on the study contact National Assessment of Juvenile Corrections, The University of Michigan, 203 East Hoover, Ann Arbor, MI 48104.

Juvenile Facility Grievance Channels Mapped

Grievance procedures at juvenile correctional facilities lie fallow unless someone has a stake in promoting their use and effectiveness, an extensive study by the Center for Correctional Justice has shown.

In the recently-issued report entitled *Seen But Not Heard: A Survey of Grievance Mechanisms in Juvenile Correctional Institutions*, the CCJ research group note that grievance procedures are especially important for juveniles. This is because juvenile inmates are generally too passive and legally unsophisticated to have recourse to the courts.

The study team found that among juvenile institutions with 50 or more residents which house offenders for an average stay of at least three months, 59.4% report the availability of specific procedures to handle complaints.

Formal Procedures. While a minority of these institutions employ ombudsmen, most juvenile facilities offer structured, multi-level procedures to the complainant.

The report suggests that effective juvenile grievance mechanisms must feature: *simplicity*, a small number of easily understood steps; *answers*, guaranteed responses to all complaints with reasons given for adverse decisions; *speed*, time limits for responses; *participation* by residents and staff in design of procedures and resolution of complaints; *outside review* of appeals; *commitment* by administrators to grievance resolution; and *monitoring* of the functioning and implementation of the grievance procedure itself.

For further information contact the Center for Correctional Justice, 1616 H St., N.W., Washington, DC 20006 (202/628-6094).

NCCD Starts Drive to Drop Status Offenses

A major nationwide campaign to remove status offenses from juvenile codes in all 50 states was launched by the National Council on Crime and Delinquency at a press conference in New York City last week.

NCCD President Milton G. Rector told the press that 23% of all boys and 70% of all girls held in juvenile institutions are guilty of no crime for which an adult would be prosecuted. The most common of these juvenile "status offenses" are running away from home, truancy, incorrigibility and curfew violations, Rector noted.

Considering the harm done to children by unwarranted incarceration, Rector described present policy as "a national scandal." He urged development of non-institutional social services so that troubled youths and their families, most of them in the economic lower class, can obtain treatment outside the justice system as do affluent families.

Joining Rector at the press conference were Dr. Albert Alissi of the University of Connecticut School of Social Work and NCCD Legal Counsel David Gilman.

FOCUS

... On Due Process in Parole Revocation

Infusion of due process guarantees into parole board proceedings results in substantially fewer parole revocations, according to a recent evaluation of the "Parole Revocation Defense Unit" in New York City.

In the wake of decisions extending constitutional protections to parole revocation proceedings, most notably the U.S. Supreme Court's 1972 ruling in *Morrissey v. Brewer* (408 U.S. 471), the New York

City Legal Aid Society launched the unique Defense Unit in November, 1973.

An evaluation of the first 10 months of the project was performed and recently released by the Institute of Judicial Administration. The evaluation labels the Defense Unit's approach "advocacy casework" because lawyers are teamed with social workers to influence the parole board's "sentencing" discretion in favor of the parolee.

The effort resulted in parole for 28.6% of the offenders represented at final hearings by the Defense Unit as compared to only 3.9% of the unrepresented persons. In an additional 10% of the cases with Defense Unit representation the parole delinquency was cancelled before final hearings.

Litigation Initiated. Litigation contesting parole revocation decisions was initiated in about 20% of the cases processed. The evaluators found the Defense Unit to have been highly successful in rectifying penalties disproportionate to the parole violation. In one such case, a state court overturned a "sentence" of nine months' incarceration meted to a parolee whose offense was drinking half a can of beer in his own home.

Defense Unit court actions frequently obtained pre-hearing release of parolees incarcerated for long periods while awaiting parole board proceedings. A suit is currently pending in which the Defense Unit seeks access to parole board minutes under New York's Freedom of Information Law.

Significantly, the evaluators found that the parole board's recognition of the Defense Unit's willingness to test decisions in the courts has caused the board to "deliberate more fully and fairly to avoid such tests."

The *Special Report on the "Parole Revocation Defense Unit"* was prepared by Peter Schwindt and John Delaney. A summary of the evaluation is available from the Institute of Judicial Administration Inc., 40 Washington Square South, New York, NY 10012 (212/598-7721).

LISTINGS, ANNOUNCEMENTS

Briefs

Senate Panel Boosts Funding Ceiling. A small glimmer of hope was shed on the federal funding picture when the Senate's appropriations subcommittee for the Justice Department recently recommended a fiscal 1976 budget ceiling \$150 million above President Ford's request. An aide told CJN the extra funds were recommended to the new budget committee for Juvenile Justice Act programs, LEAA grants, and to cover \$7.5 million in rescissions in the FBI and Drug Enforcement Agency budgets which Congress recently rejected (*Congressional Record*, 3/24/75).

Detroit Murder Rate Drops. For the first time in a decade the homicide rate in Detroit has dropped. Police report 19% fewer murders in the first quarter of 4/14/75

this year than in the same period in 1973. The progress is being credited to two new special squads which combine the talents of diverse specialists and handle only one case at a time. One squad concentrates on "execution-style" killings, the other on felony murders (*New York Times*, 4/3/75).

\$10 Million for Supported Work Projects. The Ford Foundation and five federal agencies have announced grants to organizations in 13 communities for supported work projects (see *Ford Foundation Letter*, 4/1/75). The programs prepare ex-offenders and drug addicts for the job market through a carefully structured work environment. The grants sponsors hope to replicate the successful experience of the Vera Institute in New York City (see report in CJN 5/6/74).

Attica Aftermath. Former Attica prosecutor Malcolm H. Bell has dropped a bombshell in publicly accusing the chief prosecutor of burying charges against law enforcement officers in connection with the 1971 prison uprising (*New York Times*, 4/8/75). The charges have been denied by Bell's former boss Anthony G. Simonetti, though state Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz has agreed to investigate. Bell's allegation came just after a jury convicted one prisoner of murder and a second of attempted assault in the first major Attica trial. A total of 62 persons were indicted for Attica, all of them inmates.

Short Notes

The International Association of Chiefs of Police announced on April 4 its withdrawal from next fall's U.N. Congress on Crime Prevention in protest over an invitation to the Palestinian Liberation Organization. . . The U.S. Supreme Court on March 31 agreed to hear a case raising the issue of whether parole officers must advise suspected parole violators of their "Miranda" rights before questioning (No. 74-492, *Ohio v. Gallagher*) . . . The U.S. Justice Department filed a motion on March 28 to intervene as a plaintiff in a suit charging officials of all Alabama county and municipal jails with violating the rights of prisoners. . . Court reporters are being "tuned" to a computer-aided transcription system in a new Federal Judicial Center program (see *The Third Branch*, 3/75). . . Harold R. Tyler, Jr. of New York was sworn in as Deputy U.S. Attorney General on April 7. . . Abilene, TX experienced a 15% drop in burglaries during 1974, a decrease attributed by police to effective use of manpower and a crime prevention unit (see *Criminal Justice Highlights*, 3/75). . . The National Center for State Courts will move its South Central office from Denver to Norman, OK around Sept. 1. . . The press is beginning to challenge new laws to suppress and expunge criminal records on the grounds that important public information may be sacrificed. The issue has surfaced in Hawaii, Massachusetts, Missouri and at the federal level (*Washington Post*, 3/29/75). . . Acting Assistant Attorney General John C. Keeney testified in the House on March 24 that the Justice Department objects to proposed amendments to the

Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure which would replace arrest warrants with summonses (Rules 4 and 9) and broaden pretrial discovery (Rule 16).

Employment Opportunities

Researcher/Writer. Working knowledge of Crime Control Act program and operation of SPAs required. One year contract beginning immediately. Salary commensurate with experience and ability in \$14,000 to \$18,000 range. Submit resumes to H. G. Weisman, Executive Secretary, National Conference of State Criminal Justice Planning Administrators, 1909 K St., N.W., Washington, DC 20006 (202/872-0620).

Research Staff Director for Appellate Court. Position opening in July for director of legal research staff serving 18-judge intermediate appellate court. Substantial legal research and writing experience plus proven administrative ability required. Salary \$28,000-\$34,000 in annual increments. Send resume to Judge Robert J. Danhof, Michigan Court of Appeals, 600 Washington Square Bldg., Lansing, MI 48933.

Three Faculty Positions. 1) Director, National Crime Prevention Institute: supervise staff, develop training curriculum, train police officers, technically assist police agencies. Experience as a police administrator and manager of crime prevention program desired. 2) Graduate Faculty in Corrections. Doctorate in criminal justice, criminology or related field required. Candidates with training and/or experience in corrections or research preferred. Send resume to Dr. R. Paul McCauley at address below. 3) Assistant Professor, Police Science and Administration. To teach police and correctional management, communications. Liaison with military and other universities in teaching/recruiting in-service military students. Salary for all three positions negotiable based on experience and qualifications. For positions #1 and #3 send resume and three references to Dean John C. Klotter, School of Police Administration, University of Louisville, KY 40208.

Timely Reading

Organized Crime Control Legislation. A comprehensive survey of statutes designed to combat organized crime. Tables are included for easy reference to varying approaches in the states. Copies available for \$4 from National Association of Attorneys General, Committee on the Office of Attorney General, 1516 Glenwood Ave., Raleigh, NC 27608.

Integrated Services for Victims of Crime: A County-Based Approach. A 24 page pamphlet describing county resources for victim assistance programs, reviewing the operation of five existing efforts, and developing models of effective approaches. A limited quantity available free by writing Donald Murray, Criminal Justice Project Director, National Association of Counties, 1735 New York Ave., N.W., Washington, DC 20006.

Rethinking Criminal Justice. A special issue of the magazine *Christianity and Crisis* (2/17/75) devoted to three valuable overview articles on prisoners' rights, due process in parole board procedure, and community corrections. Single copies are 75¢, bulk rates available. For information write *Christianity and Crisis*, 537 West 121st St., New York, NY 10027.

Case Load Size Variation and Difference in Probation/Parole Performance. Important article by M. G. Neithercutt and D. M. Gottfredson now available in booklet form. Authors suggest that reducing caseload size does not necessarily improve performance. Copies are \$3 from the National Center for Juvenile Justice, 1309 Cathedral of Learning, Pittsburgh, PA 15260.

So You Want to Start a Community Corrections Project. Primer for developing community corrections programs takes the reader step-by-step through planning, operations and staffing. Available for \$5 from NCCD.

Law-Related Education in America: Guidelines for the Future. Excerpts from a talk by Joel F. Henning based on material in this book were published in the Feb. 17 issue of CJN. The book is available from the American Bar Association, Division of Professional Education, 1155 East 60th St., Chicago, IL 60637.

Women in Policing: A Manual. Explores successful recruitment, training and utilization of women in policing, plus obstacles to effective deployment of women. Copies of the 90 page manual are available from the Communications Department, Police Foundation, 1909 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.

Families of Sand. How to help teenage runaways, \$3 from Teenage Flight Research Center, Ohio State Univ., School of Social Work, 1947 College Rd., Columbus, OH 43210.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE NEWSLETTER



Richard Allinson, Editor

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Dr. George Gerbner
... 'at a crossroads'

Penn Arts Aide Keeps One Post, Leaves Another

By SUSAN JENKS
Of The Bulletin Staff

Dr. George Gerbner wants the University of Pennsylvania to make one more cut-back at the financially troubled Annenberg Center for the Performing Arts — himself.

Dr. Gerbner, dean of the university's Annenberg School of Communications, will remain in that post, but he asked that he be relieved immediately of his duties as the center's administrator.

The request was made in a letter Monday to Penn president Martin Meyerson and provost Elliot Stellar.

Budget Slashed

"If I cannot assure the university and the trustees of the university of the quality of the scope of the programs offered (at the center)," Dr. Gerbner said, "in all good faith, I cannot support them."

He said Penn's decision to slash its budget for the three-theater complex at 3680 Walnut st. from \$238,000 to \$59,000 played a part in his decision.

But, he said, money is not the only issue.

"As far as the center is

5/17/75
concerned," Dr. Gerbner said, "we are at a crossroads. By stepping down, I am indicating to the university that it must make a policy decision on the center . . . where it stands on the scale of university priorities."

\$400,000 a Year

Penn is the second largest source of revenue for the Annenberg Center's program. Its parent institution, the Annenberg School of Communications, contributes \$400,000 a year to the program, which Dr. Gerbner said would not be affected by his action.

Dr. Gerbner recommended that Stephen Goff, the center's assistant managing director, be named to replace him until Penn picks a successor to Richard Kirschner.

Kirschner, managing director of the center, resigned last month, effective May 31. He accused Penn of an indifference to the performing arts.

Dr. Gerbner's request to step aside apparently will be decided next week when Dr. Meyerson returns from Europe. Provost Stellar said he and the president would try to dissuade him at that time.

New Cut in Financial Aid Looms at Annenberg Center

By WILLIAM B. COLLINS
Inquirer Theater Critic

The Annenberg Center for the Performing Arts, which became a major force in Philadelphia's theatrical life, now faces the threat of a cut-off of its principal source of outside financial support.

It was learned Tuesday that Dean George Gerbner, of the Annenberg School of Communications, had severed his ties with the center as a result of drastic cut-backs in the University of Pennsylvania's contribution to the center's program of

professional theater.

The center is an adjunct of the Annenberg School, which has contributed \$400,000 a year to the center's expenses. Dean Gerbner's move raised the possibility that the Annenberg support would also cease, reducing the center to the status of student-activity facility under the exclusive care of the university.

Gerbner did not make his decision public but informed the university of it in a letter to Penn President Martin Meyerson and Provost Eliot Stellar.

"I do not think I should say anything until they have had a chance to read what I have written," Gerbner said. But he added that his bowing out of the center's affairs did not mean that the Annenberg School would withdraw its fi-

nancial support.

"I would hope that my personal decision would not affect the continuing support of the center," Gerbner said. He said he was not aware of any decision by the school's trustees to pull out.

However, it was known that he had expressed his dissatisfaction with the failure of the university to maintain its commitment to the center's artistic program, which has been crippled by an 80-percent budget reduction imposed by the university.

Gerbner was also clearly disappointed in Penn's failure to take action on an undergraduate theater course he proposed for the coming academic year.

The controversy over the center's future erupted publicly on April 11 with the angry resignation of managing director Richard Kirschner, who accused Penn of fighting "tooth and nail" against contributing money to the center's professional program.

For the last two seasons, the center's Zellerbach Theater has been the tryout theater for productions of Joseph Papp's New York Shakespeare Festival at Lincoln Center as well as host to touring companies like the Shaw Festival and the New Phoenix Repertory Company.

Papp's decision not to return next year was based mainly on his change of policy from new plays to classical revivals at Lincoln Center's Vivian Beaumont Theater.

The Shaw Festival will return to the Zellerbach with two productions in the fall. That engagement remains firm, as the Annenberg School support of the center currently extends through December.

One clue to what was in Gerbner's mind was seen in his recommendation of a replacement for managing director Kirschner. In his letter to Mayerson and Stellar, Gerbner proposed Stephen Goff, assistant managing director who has been concerned primarily with student activities at the center.

bration, the need for ecstasy, the desire to be lifted out of the daily round," May notes. "Through violent death, their horror before it and their need to draw near it, men are momentarily relieved of that other death which is boredom."

Need for Ritual. Perhaps, May suggests, terrorism is a response not only to political inequities, but to a poverty of ritual expression as well, and, he adds, there may be a link between the two. But terrorism alone, without positive social concern, will not be enough to fill these voids. "We may need a different kind of experience of ecstasy for that," he concludes.

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The Era of the Victim

TV violence as a subject for research has received a lot of attention in the past several years, but perhaps nowhere more exhaustively than in a seven-year study conducted by George Gerbner and Larry Gross of the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School of Communications. In a series of annual violence profiles, the two professors assess the amount and nature of violence in prime-time and Saturday-morning programming and compare it with previous seasons going back to 1967.

The results of their sixth report indicate that despite the hue and cry, violence is still very much with us, although its style has changed somewhat. For one thing, it's moved closer to home. Once presented largely in an exotic, historic or distant context, more recently violence has focused on the here and now.

Fewer Violent Actors. In some respects, violence has shown a decline, say Gerbner and Gross, particularly in the proportion of principal characters committing brutal acts. "They decreased from over half of all leading characters to a little more than one-third," the researchers report, but "victims," they add, "decreased less," the number of victims increasing for every violent actor. Victims have been steadily outnumbering violent characters every year since 1967—14 to 10 in general programming, 17 to 10 in cartoons in 1973.

Nevertheless, the percentage of television actors involved in any violence decreased from 73 percent in 1967 to 56 percent in 1973, while those involved in killing dropped from 19 to 7 percent. The prevalence of violence in cartoons, however, declined very little, and the overall picture suggests that "violence remained a (or perhaps the) staple element of dramatic programming, but the visibility of violent

characters, especially of killers (but not so much of victims), was sharply curtailed," believe Gerbner and Gross.

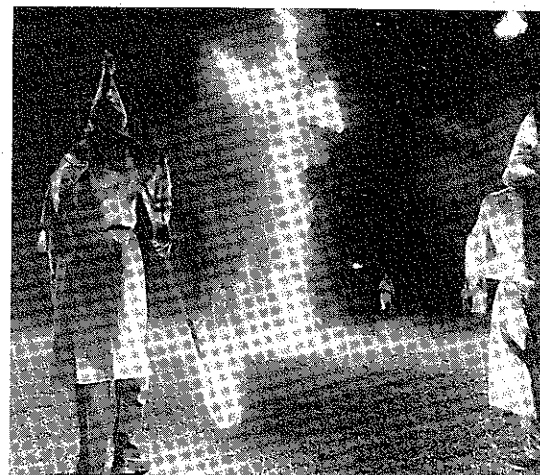
And who are the victims? Disproportionately to their power to inflict violence, they are women, especially single women, or young adults, the lower class and the nonwhite. Out of all the female characters, only married and foreign women, along with most groups of men, "have the power to strike more lethal blows than they suffer," the researchers disclose. "Single women suffer fatal violence in by far the largest ratios of all groups." Five unmarried women are killed for every two who kill others. Young men, on the other hand, are most likely to get away with fatal violence: four of them kill for every one killed.

Reality Blurs. Gerbner and Gross were curious to know how much of this "symbolic world" of television the viewers took seriously. "To the extent that the pattern of television violence and victimization cultivates conceptions of social reality, heavy viewers should be more likely than light viewers to exaggerate danger and violence and law enforcement activities in the real world and generally project assumptions that would underlay a heightened sense of fear and risk," they speculated.

Accordingly, a random survey asked such questions as "During any given week, what are your chances of being involved in some type of violence? About 50-50 or 1 in 100?" and "What percent of all crimes are violent crimes—like murder, rape, robbery and aggravated assault? Would you say it is 15 or 25 percent?" Heavy viewers (four or more hours per day) chose the "television answer" (the inflated figures) more often than did light viewers (less than two hours per day).

Even a college education failed to help heavy viewers see the situation more rationally, although college-educated light viewers were least likely to choose the "television answer." Accustomed to seeing themselves as victims, women proved especially ready to exaggerate the risks of today's society. The "TV generation," those under 30, were also more prone than their elders to accept television's view of life, and younger women were most vulnerable of all. Confrontation with real life through newspapers had a similar effect as education. Interestingly, exposure to TV news and news magazines did not correct the misimpressions about crime delivered by the tube. Television, it seems, may be an even more powerful shaping mechanism than most of us have realized.

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Do KKK rituals provide members with relief from everyday boredom?

"Television violence is still very much with us, although its style has changed somewhat."



Patty Duke plays a victim of violence on "Police Story"—the type of role in which young females are often cast.



Julian Bond says that he will run for President in 1976, but could he win?

Sample Ballots on Sex and Race

When Shirley Chisholm made her quixotic bid for the presidency in 1972, she was obviously hit by the double whammy of racism and sexism. Chisholm herself attributed her low-key showing at the polls more to the latter prejudice. But the situation is much more complicated than that, points out Myra Marx Ferree, a doctoral candidate in social psychology at Harvard. Because, by 1972, the public felt just the same about sending a woman to the White House as they did a black (about 70 percent said they would vote for "a well-qualified woman of [their] own party"; 69 percent felt that way about a black).

Ferree monitored the results of six Gallup and National Opinion Research polls taken between 1958 and 1972 that measured the public's predisposition to cast their ballots for a minority presidential candidate. The two most striking results were the gradual acceptance over the years of a black candidate compared to the more hardened resistance toward a woman—until 1972—and the fact that women were less likely to vote for a sister than were men before '72.

Collegian Ballots. Ferree attributes both shifts in attitude to the Women's Movement, the effects of which, she says, were not really felt by most Americans until 1971. The about-face showed up most dramatically among college graduates and young women. In 1967, for instance, 63 percent of the male graduates and 55 percent of their female classmates would vote for a well-qualified woman. By 1972, 79 percent of the men in this group—and 92 percent of the women—shared those liberal sentiments.

The new support for women comes from those who were old hands at being tolerant of minorities. But, supporting a woman still seems to be harder for women. In the 1972 poll, of the women who would vote for a black, 20 percent would not vote for a woman. "This suggests," she concludes, "that it may be easier to ascribe minority status to others than it is to accept it for oneself."

In the spring of 1973, some of the country's best-known and respected city planners gathered together to discuss, among other topics, a revolutionary urban design that centered around the four-day workweek. The experts came up with the idea that the city of the future should cater to a domestic arrangement in which the man of the family would leave his country home each week to go to the city to work, spend three nights there and then return to his family for the other four nights. The design sparked considerable interest and excitement among the participants.

With one exception. Urban planner Janet L. Abu-Lughod, the only woman in attendance, was "appalled and angry" with a plan that favors those who could afford to maintain two dwellings, and one that would banish married women with children to rural "breeding farms." Since single women were not mentioned, Abu-Lughod wondered whether her fellow planners intended to keep them in the city for the lonely three nights away from home that the men faced.

Another Suggestion. Such an "upper-class males only" utopia, insists Abu-Lughod, is out of the question. She has since come up with her own version of Goshen—one that seeks to provide an equitable solution for all its citizens. It also takes into account trends seen in population and labor-force statistics. In 1970, 43 percent of all women were working compared to one in four a generation ago, and that number is increasing so rapidly that by 1980 most women will be in the work force. Taking that and other factors into account, Abu-Lughod suggests that rigid division of labor should be eschewed in favor of higher labor-force participation, particularly by those currently un- or underemployed—teenagers, older individuals (who could gradually limit their working time instead of being forced to retire) and women. That could be accomplished with a shorter workweek and a six-hour workday.

In Abu-Lughod's plan, we would have to live closer to our jobs, since more of us would take part in both the "money" and the "home" economies (men would have more time to share in child-rearing and other domestic responsibilities). Home-job proximity would also be necessary since an extended commuting would be "indefensible when the workday itself would be only six hours." Abu-Lughod also advises two or three overlapping workshifts (e.g., 9 a.m. to 3 p.m., noon to 6 p.m., 3 p.m. to 9 p.m.) that would maximize use of stores

"By 1972, the public felt the same about sending a woman to the White House as they did a black."