SALESIAN PONTIFICAL UNIVERSITY

FACULTY OF THE SCIENCES OF EDUCATION

Doctoral Thesis No. 324

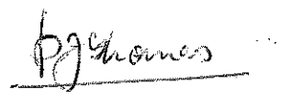
GEORGE GERBNER
A CRITICAL MASS COMMUNICATION RESEARCHER

AN ANALYSIS OF HIS CULTIVATION THEORY, ITS ORIGIN, GROWTH, CONTROVERSY, AND EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

DOCTORAL DISSERTATION

BY

THOMAS PURAYIDATHIL



ROME 1994

Amb
P
91.5
U5
P39
1994

Vidimus et approbamus

Prof. Michele Pellerey
Prof. Pio Scilligo
Prof. Carlo Nanni

Rome, 2 July 1994

UNIVERSITY
OF
PENNSYLVANIA
LIBRARIES

To MARIAMMA JOSEPH,
my mother
and
IYPE JOSEPH,
my father,
to whom I owe so much.

The structure of freedom is organized diversity
whether it pleases or not.

GEORGE GERBNER.

If a man were permitted to make all the ballads,
he need not care who should make
the laws of a nation.

ANDREW FLETCHER of SALTOUN.

Beauty depends on simplicity - I mean the true simplicity
of a rightly and nobly ordered mind and character.
He is a fool who seriously inclines to weigh the beautiful by
any other standard than that of the good.
The good is the beautiful.
Grant me to be beautiful in the inner man.

PLATO.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to several people who have in their own way helped me in the writing of this dissertation. In the first place, my thanks go to Professor Michele Pellerey, for his help in bringing this work to completion. His advice and suggestions, flowing out of years of experience in scholarship and direction of theses, have been of invaluable help to me. I would also like to thank Professor Pio Scilligo and Professor Carlo Nanni for their encouragement and suggestions. I am grateful to Professor Emilio Alberich Sotomayor, Dean of the Faculty, for his timely encouragements, as also to the other members of the Faculty for the help I received from them. Special mention must be made about Professor Raffaele Farina, Rector of this University, who took a keen interest in the progress of this study.

I am indebted to Professor George Gerbner in a very special way. He spared time on several occasions, from March 1992 to August 1993, to provide me with relevant publications, including some pre-publication manuscripts and to clarify issues connected with this work. He used to promptly mail to me, on request, his latest publications. This was of immense help to me. I remember with gratitude Mrs. Susan Williams, Head Librarian of the Annenberg School Library in Philadelphia and the entire library staff, who graciously extended to me every assistance during my library research work. I have profited much from the facilities made available to me, as a visiting scholar at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

Finally, I am grateful to the members of my family, to my salesian colleagues and superiors, and to other friends who in varying degrees, provided me with understanding, support, and concern during the years of this study.

Thomas Purayidathil

CONTENTS

Acknowledgments iv

List of Abbreviations xii

Introduction 1

1. The Choice of the Theme 1

2. Aim and Hypothesis of this Study 3

3. Sources, Limits, and Clarifications 4

4. Research Methodology and its Development 6

5. The Scheme of Work 8

6. Conclusion 9

Chapter 1: Origins and Development of Communications Research in the U.S. 10

1. The Origins of Communications Research 12

1.1 The Role of the Press 12
1.2 The Propaganda Studies 14
1.3 Early Research on Group Interaction and Persuasion 14
1.4 Early Research on the Effects of Motion Pictures 15
1.5 Radio and Audience Research 15
1.6 Media Output Research 17
1.7 Research on Media Institutions 19

2. Media Effects Studies 20

2.1 The Persuasion Studies 22
2.1.1 The Psychodynamic Strategy 24
2.1.2 The Sociocultural Strategy 26
2.1.3 The Meaning Construction Strategy 28
2.2 The Uses and Gratifications Approach 30
2.3 The Diffusion Theory 35
2.4 The Knowledge Gap Theory 38
2.5 The Socialization Theories 41
2.5.1 The Modeling Theory 42
2.5.2 The Social Expectations Theory 46
2.5.2.1 The Social Organization Theory 46
2.5.2.2 Media Portrayals as Social Expectations 48
2.6 Agenda Setting 51
2.7 The Technological Approach 53
2.8 Ideology - Critical and Cultural Studies 54
2.9 Other Approaches 57

3. Communications Research in the U.S. - The Founding Fathers 59

3.1 Harold Lasswell 60
3.2 Kurt Lewin 62
3.3 Paul Lazarsfeld 64
3.4 Carl Havland 67

4. The Process of Institution Formation 70

5. Conclusion 71

Chapter 2: George Gerbner and his General Model of Communication 83

1. Life Sketch of George Gerbner 83

1.1 Early Years 83
1.2 Emigration to the United States 85
1.3 Military Service in Europe 85
1.4 Marriage and Return to the United States 86
1.5 Early Influences and Development of his Thought 87
1.6 Gerbner as Dean of The Annenberg School 89
1.7 His Family 92
1.8 Conclusion 93

2. George Gerbner's General Model of Communication 94

2.1 Some Philosophical Assumptions 94
2.2 General Specifications for an Approach toward a Theory of Communication 100

3. The Interaction Model: Perception and Communication 101

3.1 Perception and Communication 102
3.2 The Interaction Model: The Verbal Form 106
3.2.1 The Interaction Model: The Statement 106
3.2.2 The Interaction Model: The Event 107
3.2.3 The Interaction Model: Perception 107
3.2.4 The Interaction Model: Aspects of the Process 107
3.2.5 The Verbal Model 108
3.3 The Graphic Form of the Verbal Model 109
3.4 Generalized Model of a Communication Event 111
3.5 Value Orientations illustrated on the model 113

4. Conclusion 117

Chapter 3: George Gerbner's Cultivation Theory and the Cultural Indicator's Strategy 123

1. Cultivation Theory: An Initial Glance 124

2. Television in Society 127

2.1 The Central Place of the TV in the Family and in Society 127
2.2 The Special Characteristics of Television 129

3. The Shift from Effects to Cultivation Research 133

3.1 Television as the Ritual Story Teller 133
3.2 Inadequacy of Traditional Effects' Studies in the Case of TV 134

4. The Cultural Indicators 136

4.1 Clarification of Terms 138
4.1.1 Quantitative and Qualitative Methods of Research 138
4.1.1.1 Differences between Quantitative and Qualitative Methods 139
4.1.1.2 Advantages and Disadvantages of the two Methods 141

4.1.2 Culture and Cultural Indicators 142
4.2 The Three Pronged Analysis 144
4.2.1 The Institutional Process Analysis (IPA) 144
4.2.2 The Message System Analysis (MSA) 149
4.2.3 The Cultivation Analysis (CA) 155
4.2.3.1 The Problem of Effects 156
4.2.3.2 The Question of Change 157
4.2.3.3 Symbolic Functions 159
4.2.3.4 The Cultivation Process and its Analysis 159
4.3 The Modes of Cultivation 160

5. The Nature of Cultivation 165

5.1 The Patterns of Cultivation 165
5.2 Cultivation: A Multidirectional Process 167
5.3 The World of Television 169

6. Mainstreaming and Resonance 171

6.1 Objections to the Cultivation Theory 171
6.2 Mainstreaming 172
6.3 Resonance 181

7. The Findings of Cultivation Analysis 182

8. International Cultivation Analysis 184

9. Conclusion 187

Chapter 4: The Critics of George Gerbner 193

1. General Criticism 194

1.1 Percy Tannenbaum 194
1.2 Tom H.A. Van Der Voort 198
1.3 Jennings Bryant 200
1.4 James Potter 203

2. Technical Criticism 208

2.1 Thomas E. Coffin & Sam Tuchman 209
2.2 David M. Blank 213
2.2.1 The Violence Index 214
2.2.2 The Risk Ratio 216
2.2.3 Blank's Final Comments on the Violence Profile 218

2.3 Paul M. Hirch 222
2.3.1 The General Social Survey as Data Set and Resource 225
2.3.2 Reported and Unreported Discrepancies 226
2.3.3 Non-viewers and Extreme Viewers 228
2.3.4 Multivariate Analysis and the Issue of Causality 230
2.3.5 Mainstreaming and Resonance 232
2.4 Michael Hughes 234
2.4.1 The Reanalysis 236
2.4.2 'Television Answer' and Cultivation Theory 238
2.5 Alan Wurtzel & Guy Lometti 240

3. The Humanistic Criticism of Horace Newcomb 245

4. Criticism from the Advocates of a Critical Approach to Mass communication Research 254

4.1 Luc van Poecke 256
4.2 Robert A. White 258

5. Replication of Research outside the U.S. 261

5.1 J. Mallory Wober 261
5.2 Antony N. Doob & Glenn E. Macdonald 265
5.3 Harry Bauwman & James Stappers 269
5.4 Elias Hedinsson & Sven Windahl 275

6. Conclusion 278

Chapter 5: George Gerbner's Defence 288

1. The Main Objections - A Summary 288

1.1 Objections of a General Nature 288
1.2 Objections to Certain Assumptions and Definitions 290
1.3 Methodological Objections 291
1.4 Reanalyses and Other Studies against Gerbner 296

2. The Question of Validity 297

3. An Analysis of the CBS Report - Reply to Blank 302

3.1 The Violence Index 303
3.2 The Units of Analysis 305
3.3 The Sampling Method of Gerbner 305
3.4 The Risk Ratios 306

3.5 One More Time: An Analysis of the CBS Rejoinder 307

4. The 'Scary World' of Paul Hirsch 310

4.1 Reply to Part I of Hirsch 311
4.2 Reply to Part II of Hirsch 316
4.3 Final Reply to Hirsch 321
4.3.1 On Gerbner's Rejection of the GSS 321
4.3.2 On Gerbner's Cover-up of Damaging Results 322
4.3.3 Relationship between Message & Cultivation 325
4.3.4 Mainstreaming and Resonance 326

5. Defending the Indefensible - Reply to Wurtzel & Lometti 330

6. A Reply to Newcomb's 'Humanistic Critique' 336

7. The View from Great Britain - Reply to Wober 341

8. Other Studies that Support Gerbner's Position 345

8.1 International Cultivation Analysis 346
8.2 Cross-Cultural Comparative Cultivation Analyses 349

9. Conclusion 351

Chapter 6: George Gerbner's Critical Contribution to Mass Communication Theory and Research - An Appraisal 357

1. The Meaning of 'Critical' 360

2. The Critical Trends in Gerbner - An Initial Glance 367

3. The Critical Trends in the First Phase 368

3.1 His Concept of Communication 368
3.2 The Concept of Culture, Message, Symbolic Functions 372
3.3 The Aim of Communication Research - Cultivation Theory 384

4. The Second Phase - Empirical Research - Cultural Indicators Strategy - Controversy (1970-1990) 388

4.1 Aims & Assumptions of the Cultural Indicators Approach 390
4.2 Institutional Process Analysis 393
4.3 Message System Analysis 395
4.4 Cultivation Analysis 400

4.5 Conclusion 402

5. The Third Phase - Cultural Environment Movement (1990-) 403

6. Educational Implications 407

6.1 Gerbner's Concept of Education 409
6.2 The Challenges of Education 414
6.3 The Image of Schools, Teachers & Students in Mass Media 417
6.4 Towards a Course in Mass Media Analysis 424
6.5 Conclusion 430

7. Contributions & Problem Areas of the Cultivation Approach 432

7.1 The Assets of the Cultivation Approach of Gerbner 434
7.2 The Problem Areas 437
7.3 Areas of Further Research 442

Epilogue 452

Selected Bibliography 455

N.B. The appendixes attached to the original dissertation have been omitted in this volume.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAHE	American Association for Higher Education
ABC	American Broadcasting Company
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CA	Cultivation Analysis
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CEM	Cultural Environment Movement
CI	Cultural Indicators
CPS	Center for Political Studies Election Survey (Michigan)
GSS	General Social Survey
IAMCR	International Association of Mass Communication Researchers
IBA	Independent Broadcasting Authority
IPA	Institutional Process Analysis
IREX	International Research and Exchanges Board
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MSA	Message System Analysis
NAAB	National Association for Better Broadcasting
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NIMH	National Institute of Mental Health
NORC	National Opinion Research Center
OTP	Office of Telecommunications Policy
RR	Risk Ratio
SES	Sex, Education, Social Orientation
U.C.L.A.	University of California at Los Angeles
VCR	Video Cassette Recorder

INTRODUCTION

We are living in the 'age of communication'. Information is power. The mass communication media are central to this 'age of communication'. To quote Hiebert et al. (1988): "The mass media are the powerful, high-speed information systems that bring about change within societies, subcultures, families, and individuals" (p.1). That being the case, all sections of society and research scientists in a particular way, are concerned about the influence of mass media (especially television) on societies, subcultures, families and individuals. The extent of this influence is a point of dispute, as opinions among research scientists vary from the minimal (otherwise negligible) to the powerful. The measurement of such influence has never been easy as human beings who are objects of such research are often unpredictable. One researcher who has contributed much to the study of the consequences of the media on society, is George Gerbner. Through his cultivation theory and the Cultural Indicators Strategy, he has tried to unravel the nature of this change that is taking place within societies, subcultures, families, and individuals. Basically, the cultivation theory holds that television creates a symbolic environment that shapes the world-view of the viewers, thus gradually altering the way they see reality. This study is precisely about the cultivation theory, its origins, growth, controversy and educational implications.

1. THE CHOICE OF THE THEME

The specific approach of George Gerbner to the study of mass communication appeals to me and hence I selected him for an author study. There were other reasons for selecting him. Among them the most important is the fact that he is considered to be a leading light in the communication research field, with an academic life lasting more than four decades. He has researched and written extensively. Besides, during his more than two decade-tenure as Dean of the

Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, he has contributed much to the development of communication as a discipline. His most important scholarly contribution to communication science is the Cultural Indicators Project, one that he began in 1967-68. He introduced the term 'Cultural Indicators' then and others have taken it up since then. Gerbner and his tireless team - Larry Gross, Michael Morgan, Nancy Signorielli - have been studying the influence of television on viewers. Culture is seen by Gerbner as "a world of towering symbolic constructions which include art, science, law, religion, statecraft, and story telling" (cf. April 1984 issue of *The Pennsylvanian Gazette*, p.35). Culture evidently is difficult to study as it amounts to the sum of many things, few if any, of which are quantitative. One cannot hope to observe and describe directly anything cultural more than its individual elements. Larry Gross (who is on Gerbner's team) compares culture to "an invisible man, whose contour you begin to see when he dons a glove" (*ibidem*, p.35). That glove for Gerbner is television and he studies culture through the study of television. The methodology used for that is called the Cultural Indicators Approach. It has a three-pronged research strategy to study culture through the study of television.

The three prongs of the approach are the Institutional Process Analysis, the Message System Analysis and the Cultivation Analysis. The Institutional Process Analysis is supposed to reveal the motives and the processes of how certain messages are selected and distributed by the media. Gerbner (1961a, 1964b) discovered that systems of messages produced by institutions, always have some ideological orientations implicit in the decision to select them. In the Message System Analysis part of the strategy the symbolic environment created by (primarily) television in society is isolated. This is achieved by rigorous content analyses of the total system of messages available to the public. Such content analyses revealed that the messages of TV are distinctive and deviant from reality on a number of issues. The hypothesis from this finding was that

persistent exposure to it, leads to its adoption as a 'consensus' view of society, with possible undesirable consequences. This hypothesis is tested in the Cultivation Analysis part of the strategy which has the aim of assessing to what extent the TV viewers are adopting the world view, values, and informations contained in the symbolic environment created by television. Gerbner finds the traditional media effects studies to be inadequate to achieve his above-mentioned aim. He argues that only a system-wide analysis of television messages can reveal the symbolic world which structures common assumptions and definitions for the generations born into it; and which provides bases for interaction.

2. AIM AND HYPOTHESIS OF THIS STUDY

The aim of this study is to appraise Gerbner's critical contribution to mass communication theory and research, through an analysis of his cultivation theory, its origin, growth, controversy, and educational implications. The hypothesis of this research is as follows:

The basic concern of Gerbner in the formulation of the cultivation theory, in the empirical research that tested the theory, as well as in his defence against his critics, is much more the emancipation and liberation of the society and the individual within the society from the cultural domination of the media, particularly television, so that organized diversity which (according to him) is the structure of freedom is respected, than developing a particular methodology for communication research.

An analysis of Gerbner on what has been described above would make it possible to reach several consistent and salutary conclusions. The following conclusions are highlighted in this study.

1. The general perspective and basic concern of Gerbner is the emancipation of society and of each individual from the possible cultural domination of the media, especially television, so that a real

diversity or pluralism of cultural sources and personal perspectives is always respected and guaranteed. Such a diversity (according to him) forms one of the basic conditions of the structure of freedom in every society.

2. Gerbner was more interested in building a coherent and effective critical theory of the impact of the media, especially television, on the cultural development of the individuals and society, and on the conditions which promote a positive social change in the said field, than in developing a particular research methodology for communication. Nevertheless, to test his theory he made extensive use of complementary methods, both quantitative and qualitative (more quantitative than qualitative) and developed the original strategy of the Cultural Indicators.

3. Following which, Gerbner can be viewed as a critical analyst of the world of communication and more so, as a citizen involved in social emancipation movements, sensible to the necessity of developing not only a theory, but also good methods in media education from a liberation perspective. The application of the Cultural Indicators Strategy to media literacy courses could also be considered a major contribution to the field of education.

The above conclusions are elaborations of the hypothesis itself, and the aim of this study is to verify concretely their tenability.

3. SOURCES, LIMITS, AND CLARIFICATIONS

Gerbner and his associates have written and published in abundance on communication. Because of the stature of Gerbner as a researcher and because of the challenging theories, methods of research and conclusions that he has put forward, the academic community has reacted both favorably and unfavorably to him; thus involving an avalanche of literature. The long list of publications provides the main source for this research. Apart from this, I

personally interviewed Gerbner on different occasions in 1992 and 1993. This enabled me to clarify several issues concerning his theory and research. An attempt has also been made to read connected literature.

As Gerbner is still active in the academic field, researching and publishing on a regular basis, one can expect challenging contributions from him in the future. This study therefore, cannot be considered to be a final appraisal. It seems to me that such a limitation would characterize any study made on an author who continues to be academically active. Incidentally, this study includes his publications up to 1993. Also, some pre-publication manuscripts that he send to me have been utilized.

A clarification may be necessary regarding the language used in this dissertation. Since the study concerns an American author who uses American English in his writings, an effort has been made to keep it "American" throughout unless quotes from non-American authors demand otherwise. Also, an effort has been made to use inclusive language. Another observation that needs to be made is the fact that Gerbner when writing about different concepts of culture, media, message, symbolic environment, education etc. often repeats his basic convictions and ideas. When presenting his position on several issues I was forced to follow the same style. Some may see this as avoidable repetitions; but I am inclined to agree with Gerbner that it is necessary to insist on certain basic principles to drive them home. Another clarification is that Chapter 6 is actually the conclusion of the dissertation. This is where the tenability of the hypothesis as elaborated in the three main conclusions mentioned earlier is verified. To wind up the discussion, an epilogue is added instead of a concluding chapter.

Another observation to be made is that throughout this work, a direct quotation has normally been set off from the text, indented in its entirety both from the left and right marginal lines. Due to the brevity of certain other direct quotations or for reasons of not

breaking the argument, sometimes they have been incorporated into the text, enclosed in double quotation marks. In the publications of Gerbner, as well as when others refer to them, certain words (like cultivation theory, Cultural Indicators Strategy etc.) are set in capital letters and at times in small letters; no uniformity has been followed. When I use the same words I too did not care to follow any strict uniformity. Gerbner and his associates tend to publish jointly. Hence co-authors up to even six names have been included in the bibliography. Also, to facilitate reference, the selected bibliography has not been variously categorized. As Gerbner is the head of the group, and the group basically expresses his views, the observations made by the group are often mentioned as Gerbner's views.

4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

After selecting Gerbner as the subject of this study, I set out to collect all the material available about him. This took me to visiting several libraries apart from that of the Salesian University of Rome, including the libraries of the Gregorian University (Rome), University of Bologna and the specialized library of Prof. Umberto Eco. Meanwhile I corresponded with Gerbner himself who provided me with relevant material including a list of his publications.

I visited the Annenberg School for Communication at Philadelphia in 1992 (Spring). During the period I was fortunate to meet Dr. Gerbner in three separate interviews lasting an hour each. I was able to clarify several issues regarding his theory and research. Besides, the Annenberg School Library was a veritable store house of the literature I was seeking. I was able to make a cursory reading of the literature collected. After discussing a number of possible themes of study with my advisor, I formulated a plausible hypothesis: 'the Cultural Indicators Strategy combines the strengths of the quantitative and qualitative methods of research' which was later modified.

During the summer of 1992, I visited the U.S. again where I made use of the New York Public Library, the Penn Belt Library, and the Annenberg School Library. During the said period I met with Gerbner again and discussed the theme of my dissertation. He made relevant remarks and clarified that the main purpose of his research, as a social scientist and a responsible citizen, was not to invent a new methodology of research but to study the long-term effects of media especially television. The methodology that evolved was only a tool. I also collected several related publications including publications of several researchers who have done similar researches like that of Gerbner and his team. During the month of October (1992) Gerbner visited The Institute of Social Communications (ISCOS) at the Salesian University (U.P.S.) in Rome. He taught a course on media analysis, which I attended.

As this study progressed, I noticed that though Gerbner made use of mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative) for his research, they were more quantitative than qualitative. Qualitative methods of research like projective techniques, case studies, participant observation were part of the Cultural Indicators Strategy, but the majority of the research was in the genre of content analysis and survey analysis. I was struck by the specifically critical thrust in Gerbner's theories; and critical reasons prompted him to research as he did. An attentive reading of Gerbner's publications from the beginning and confronting the texts among themselves and with the writings of others on the same issues, the critical leanings of Gerbner became evident to me. My personal discussions with him clarified his stand further. It was also noticed that Gerbner was more theoretical in his writings in the beginning. He then tried to test his theories empirically. At a much later stage he tried to put into action some of his critical ideas for transforming society. Thus three general phases in the work of Gerbner were noticed. While these three general phases are not rigid nor mutually exclusive, during the phase (from 1950 to 1970) the theoretical developments of the cultivation theory and his general model of communication took place. In the second

phase (roughly 1970 to 1990) Gerbner tested his theories empirically. When the results of his research appeared there were protests from the scientific world which he countered. Then began the third phase where he launched the Cultural Environment Movement with the scope of doing something concretely to change the society to the realization of the critical goals he had set. These phases were noticed as my study progressed and hence they are treated explicitly only in the sixth chapter. This is not my original discovery. Morgan in a forthcoming publication mentions them. Thus the scope of the dissertation turned out to be an assessment of the critical contributions of Gerbner to mass communication theory and research. I belong to the Education Department; accordingly the educational implications of his theory captured my imagination as well.

5. THE SCHEME OF WORK

The text consists of six chapters. In the first chapter a brief outline of the history of communication research in the U.S. is attempted. This chapter provides the context where Gerbner can be placed. In the second chapter we turn to a brief life-sketch of Gerbner and the philosophical foundations of his thought. The same chapter also examines his model of communication. Chapter 3 presents the origin and development of the cultivation theory and explains the Cultural Indicators Strategy. Chapter 4 examines the positions of the main critics of Gerbner who, in most part, reacted negatively to his theory and research. Chapter 5, after a brief summary of the main objections of the critics of Gerbner, elaborates his defence of himself. A detailed examination of the objections of Gerbner's critics as well as his counters, is deemed necessary because many clarifications regarding the cultivation theory and research, were made during this dynamic debate. Besides, the progressive development of Gerbner's theory and research become evident in the context of this debate. Chapter 6, basing on the presentation of the theoretical foundations of the cultivation theory, the research strategy of the Cultural

Indicators and also basing on the controversy connected with Gerbner's theory and research as well as his defence of himself, tries to assess his critical contribution to communication theory and research. The tenability of the three general conclusions, mentioned earlier as elaboration of the hypothesis, is discussed in this chapter and found to be tenable. Gerbner's contribution to communication theory and research is assessed as considerable, provocative and challenging. An Epilogue winds up the discussion. In the Appendix George Gerbner's 'curriculum vitae' and his professional activities from 1991 to 1993 (as provided by him) are given. This will provide more information about him and his professional activities. The measuring instruments used for the Message System Analysis and a sample questionnaire (in miniature) used for Cultivation Analysis are also included. A number of tables have been relegated to the Appendix so as not to burden the text with too many of them.

6. CONCLUSION

This study confirms the hypothesis that Gerbner was basically concerned with the emancipation and liberation of society and the individual from the cultural domination of the media. His cultivation theory and empirical research is geared to that. He believes such emancipation is possible if organized cultural diversity in programming and participation in cultural decisions can be assured, as it should be in any democratic society. As a result, he should be seen as a critical analyst of the world of communication, and a citizen involved actively in emancipation movements as evidenced in the Cultural Environment Movement that he launched. His concern with developing a coherent and effective critical theory of the impact of the media drew him to make extensive use of complementary methods of research, (qualitative and quantitative), and his Cultural Indicators Approach should be seen as an original strategy. In his scheme of things, media education from a liberation perspective finds an important place as well.

CHAPTER 1

ORIGINS & DEVELOPMENT OF COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH IN THE U.S.

To arrive at an adequate appraisal of Gerbner's cultivation theory and research, it is necessary to have a background of the spectrum of mass communication research, of which he is a part. A history of communication research is not attempted as it is beyond the scope of this dissertation. What is attempted here is an outline of the origins and development of communication research in the U.S. so that one may the more easily understand the position of Gerbner. As the development of communication research in the U.S. depended heavily on research in Europe, some mention will be made of the same.

Many writers are of the opinion that the history of communication research is only about fifty years old and hence relatively short (Lazarsfeld 1963, p.184). But according to Carey (1980) if in the notion of research is included the scholarly studies of journalism that began in the late 1880s, the history could be longer. Considering the fact that many of the present communication schools grew out of schools of journalism and rhetoric, Carey's position makes sense. Hence in the presentation of the origins and development of communication research, we will begin with a brief mention of the role of the press (studies of journalism). Connected with the study of the press, enquiry into the role of propaganda and advertisements gained momentum. The arrival of the motion picture industry made people worry about the possible negative influences of movies especially on young people. Akin to this also developed studies on the nature and effects of propaganda (e.g. Lasswell, 1927). In fact, Harold Lasswell's Propaganda Techniques in World War I (1927) could be termed the first systematic media content study.

Alongside of propaganda studies, the phenomenon of group interaction and persuasion studies also originated. Propaganda studies made use of content analysis making media output studies popular. Connected with media output research some research on media institutions also found the light of day. Meanwhile, the radio industry, that was in the field before the motion picture industry, conducted audience research. This was more for the sake of knowing the number of people who listened to their programs than anything else. This knowledge was made use of in the preparation of more popular programs and to attract larger audiences.

These steps grew into the present field of communication research[1]. All along, the concern about the effects of the media, particularly on the younger generation, was present. In fact, the greatest amount of research in mass media has been in the sphere of the effects of the media[2]. The question of effects is particularly germane to the cultivation theory of Gerbner. He, in fact, dislikes the term "effects". He prefers to use "cultivation" instead of "effects", as the term "effects" denotes some short-term influence (something that can be simulated in a laboratory). "Cultivation" on the other hand is the result of long-term influence. As this is going to be discussed in detail later on in this work, there is no need to dwell on it here.

When talking about communication research in the United States, the life, work, and research of the four founding fathers - Lasswell, Lewin, Lazarsfeld, and Hovland, become important[3].

The development of communications as a discipline[4] in its own right is closely connected with the process of institution formation. Lewin, Lazarsfeld, and Hovland founded institutions where, even after their time, other scholars worked and built careers for themselves. Many institutions of research and schools of communications, mushroomed all over the United States. Gerbner is practically the founder[5] of one of the most prestigious communication schools in the U.S. In fact, his life, career, and research are closely connected with the growth and development of The Annenberg School for

Communication at the University of Pennsylvania[6]. After this introduction, it is time to proceed to a brief presentation of the origins of communication research.

1. THE ORIGINS OF COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH

Media research began with certain inquiries about the role of the press. Thus the origins of media research can be traced back to studies on the role of the press.

1.1 THE ROLE OF THE PRESS

The historical roots of modern communication research dates back to the 19th century when scholars enquired about the pattern of life brought on by the Industrial Revolution. Due to the spread of literacy and the development of popular culture, the newspaper industry also developed hand in hand. Newspapers were considered the most powerful organ for the formation of public opinion. Naturally, research (though not very refined) regarding the role of the press came to be popular with the researchers of the time. As the newspaper was considered to be the most effective organ to articulate public opinion, the political leaders of the time made use of it for their own purpose. Knies, in a book published in 1857, concluded that the press had the power to set the agenda. This power was not considered to be equal in all countries. Alexis de Tocqueville (a French historian and political theorist) tried to compare the power of the press in France and the U.S. He came to the conclusion that the French press was more powerful and influential than the U.S. counterpart. But all the earlier studies lacked systematic data collection.

> The first steps in this direction involved compilations of historical statistics on newspaper production and circulation. With the publication between 1859 and 1864 of Eugène Hatin's eight-volume tome on the political and literary history of the French press, followed two years later by a bibliographical essay to which he attached a

> compendium of statistics, a major milestone was passed (Lang, 1988, pp. 369-370).

Yet other noteworthy studies of the time were Heinsrich Wuttke's *Die deutschen Zeitschriften und die Entstehung der Offenlichen Meinung* (1875), and Ludwig Solomon's *Geschichte des deutschen Zeitungswesen* whose 3 volumes (1900-1906) treat the history of the press up to 1850. Karl Bucher helped in the systematic collection of all newspaper statistics in Germany. To quote from Lang (1988): "Bucher investigated every aspect of newspaper production, including advertising, by which he meant not only sales promotion but every kind of PUBLIC RELATIONS and self-promotion" (p.370, capitals in the original). At the turn of the century, rudimentary elements of content analysis came to be in vogue.

> An early U.S. study by Delos F. Wilcox (1900) classified the allocation of space in a single issue of each of 240 newspapers; in 1902 Henri de Noussance presented even more detailed statistical tabulations of the contents of 20 Parisian and 7 French provincial newspapers for a single day. Drawing on the findings of the French study, Paul Stoklossa collected data about one week's output in 13 metropolitan and 17 German provincial papers over a full week as a basis for comparing the metropolitan and the provincial press in the two countries. These investigations were essentially evaluative, to see if the press was measuring up to what he deemed its moral obligations (*ibidem*, p.370).

In 1910 Max Weber suggested a value-free inquiry to see what gets into the press, what does not, the causes of tension between the press as political information, and the press as advertising medium. Issues like the monopoly of the press were also studied. Weber was of the opinion that the answers could be found in newspapers themselves. So it was assumed that content analysis of a quantitative nature could lead to answers to questions of a qualitative nature. Weber held that the content analysis of newspapers should be followed by an empirical study on journalists themselves.

1.2 THE PROPAGANDA STUDIES

Weber's proposal never found the light of day in research. But due to the interest in propaganda in World War I, Harold D. Lasswell, (University of Chicago) focused on the role of symbols in politics. He tried to document how private deprivations and internal conflict came to be attached to public symbols. He also demonstrated how quantitative content analysis could be used to uncover hidden propaganda themes and how inferences could be made about communicators. During World War II, the U.S. Government used social science resources to analyze Nazi propaganda. In this research effort several German refugees participated. As a result of these studies the idea "that propaganda could not create facts but only reinterpret existing ones received firmer underpining" (*ibidem*, p.371).

1.3 EARLY RESEARCH ON GROUP INTERACTION AND PERSUASION

Group interaction and persuasion entered the communication research field with the advent of Kurt Lewin and Carl Hovland. Both were psychologists. Kurt Lewin (a German expatriate) was interested in group interaction and attitude change. He joined the war effort research studies and conducted experiments to see how best American families could be persuaded to change their food habits so that they did not discard certain nutritious meats which were still plentiful. The results showed that discussion among shoppers followed by a group decision was a better strategy for producing change than lectures of experts. From this Lewin developed the concept of "gatekeeper".[7]

Carl Hovland, with the help of several cognitive[8] psychologists, investigated the persuasive power of different versions of orientation films prepared by the army for motivating new recruits. Even after the war, research continued to answer the questions: To what extent did new information change attitudes? Who was most affected? Did these changes persist and under what conditions? etc. They also

found that it was difficult to universalize laboratory experiments in real life[9].

1.4 EARLY RESEARCH ON THE EFFECTS OF MOTION PICTURES

In the 1930s, entertainment films and comic books came to the market. They began to be considered to be the causes of possible antisocial behavior. Naturally, educators, sociologists, and psychologists studied the influence of films on children. The areas investigated included the following five: information, attitudes, emotions, health, and conduct. The current motion picture contents and children's actual movie attendance were assessed. The methodology used included experiments, surveys, self-reports, depth interviews, etc. The general conclusion arrived at from these studies was that the motion pictures were a powerful medium of education. However, content analysis showed that the movies had too much sex, crime, and love. They also came to the conclusion that motion pictures were only one of the many influences on children. There are many who question the "scientificity" of these studies. But all agree that the fact that children imitate games from films shows that some type of modelling and learning does take place.

1.5 RADIO AND AUDIENCE RESEARCH

The transmission of "The war of the worlds", a radio production by Orson Welles, persuaded many listeners that invading Martians were destroying New York. Many studies followed this broadcast immediately. They revealed that critical ability can greatly reduce the influence of false reporting. With the advent of radio, audience research boomed. Paul Lazersfeld was a leader in this type of research. In collaboration with Frank Stanton (research director, later president of CBS), he developed programmatic research by broadcasting organizations in the U.S. and the world. These studies showed that heavy consumers of one medium tend to consume heavily other media as well. They also found that low media consumers were

less active in politics and such people normally participated much less in community activities in comparison with heavy consumers of the media.

Initially, audience research developed as a result of the need of the media to assess the mood of the audience so that they could plan their programmes accordingly to derive maximum profit. Besides, the executives of the industry needed to give an account of the industry to the advertiser, sponsor, owner, etc. In the case of radio broadcasting especially, there was the need to quantify the audiences and if possible to increase them, so that advertisers and sponsors would be more willing to invest their money in the industry. Such short-sighted motives were slowly supplemented by requirements to know more about all media audiences.

> From an early point in the history of research, attention was given to the motivations of the audience and to the functions that media reception might exercise in the rest of social life. The name of one of the pioneers of mass communication research, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, is closely associated with this and other kinds of audience research undertaken at Columbia University (New York) during the 1940s (McQuail, 1988, p.489).

Along with commercial interests, a general concern with the social effects of the media led to research on child audiences and other groups. In audience research, quantitative ratings have always received predominance; but concern with assessing the qualitative response of the audience also persisted. In particular, researchers of the time were interested in finding what types of programs attracted certain categories of the audience and why. McQuail (1988) summarizes his discussion on audience research in the following words:

> Thus the purposes of audience research may be summarized as beginning with relatively "hard" matters concerning who attends to what content in what degree, and extending into "softer" areas concerning the motives for choices; the processes of selective attention, PERCEPTION, and interpretation; and the ATTITUDES and attachment of audiences to content and sources (p.490, emphases in original).

Early definition of mass communication as messages transmitted by remote senders to mass publics in a unidirectional and somewhat impersonal way affected the type of research as well. Thus much of media consumption research adopted this view. These were conducted like other market-type research. But along with it a strand of research developed, one that was interested in the social character of the audiences. "Here the focus of attention is on the degree to which audiences interact internally, share a conscious social identity, have ties of attachment or loyalty to chosen media, and actively choose and use media content" (*ibidem*, p.490). A major discovery was that audiences have an internal structure and they can be stratified according to interest in particular content. This can be considered a landmark in the history of audience research. The concept of "opinion leader" enters here.

Later research about audiences included some of the concerns like the attempt to measure motivation and expectation as well as the consequences of media fragmentation and abundance. The balance of interest slowly shifted from the sender to the receiver. The methods of audience research have not changed much over time. They include the survey of persons, the automatic recording of television reception, the keeping of media time-budget diaries etc. In the research regarding audience motivation and satisfaction some significant changes have taken place. The uses and gratifications research tradition is the outcome of that. In point of fact, this tradition has connections with content as well as effects research. The outcome of audience research can be found in the several quantitative descriptions of audiences arrived at by several researchers. Along with such studies, there exist studies that throw light on the determinants and functions of media reception.

1.6 MEDIA OUTPUT RESEARCH

When talking about communications research, two types of research must be distinguished: research relating to mass

communicators, their organizations, and the media institutions of the society; and research relating to the messages made and transmitted. The latter type of research which began as an offshoot of effects research in matters such as the power of the press, has a longer history than the former type. In the early decades of this century, content research was coextensive with propaganda studies. Gradually, attention shifted to the analysis of motion pictures, radio, and popular literature. This emphasis emerged out of a concern with the behavioral and moral effects of the media in matters of crime, violence, and sex. The motive for such research was some type of social regulation to protect the consumers.

> From the 1930s onward there has been a broader interest in the social and personal values disseminated by way of mass media, and in the implications for the quality of social and cultural life. An important early impulse in this direction was provided by the emigration to the United States of members of the Frankfurt school, including THEODOR ADORNO, MAX HORKHEIMER, and LEO LOWENTHAL (McQuail, 1988, p.488, capitals in the original).[10]

Content analysis came to be widely used in media output research. The arrival of computers facilitated greatly the statistical calculations, which would have been very cumbersome otherwise. On the other hand, Semiotics and Structuralism insisted on a shift of emphasis toward qualitative analysis and a concern with latent or connotative meaning. For such studies methods of research from the humanities were adopted. Thus both quantitative and qualitative research developed in contrasting styles. According to McQuail (1988) five research questions have been central to the development of communications research.

> 1. Does content reflect or correspond to the reality of the society in which it originates, and if not, in which direction does it deviate, and whose or what reality is represented?
>
> 2. Which values are promoted or symbolically rewarded in content, and which are neglected or punished?

> 3. Does media information meet criteria of quality in such matters as objectivity, diversity, independence, balance, and accuracy?
>
> 4. Is there bias, whom does it favor, and what accounts for it?
>
> 5. More fundamentally, what is the essential structure of media texts and forms, and how is this related to the symbolizing modes employed in the surrounding culture? (p.489).

Content research methods are diverse and are still developing. The general conclusion from such research, is that media content does not reflect the society directly, but rather a selective view (or views) of the social world is offered. Such selection is influenced by the social and cultural context of production as well as the presumed interests and expectations of the audience.

1.7 RESEARCH ON MEDIA INSTITUTIONS

The two occupations that developed around mass communications, are those of the film-maker and the journalist. Interest in these occupations led to a tradition of research on media organizations. The "selective perception" employed by the audience stimulated further the research on media organization as well. A near complete concept of media selection led to research on the whole process of production and the many influences that go with it. Such influences come from a variety of sources: "the culture and politics of the society expressed through pressure from other social institutions, the economics of the media operation, the technologies employed to collect or transmit media content, the relevant professional and craft norms and requirements, and the specification of functions for the intended audience" (McQuail, 1988, p.489).

When talking about research on media institutions, two other lines of research can be mentioned. One relates to the issues derived from the relationship that mass communicators and their organizations have with society. The rapport that the mass communicators have among themselves in the media organizations, the degree of

independence or dependence, the presence of conflict, etc. would fall under such research. The other line of research concerns questions regarding the relationship between media organizations and audience. The methods of research on media institutions[11] are mainly of a qualitative nature: participant observation, in-depth interviews, surveys of chosen categories of media workers etc. One thing that can be concluded from such research is that media content bears strong marks of its context of production.

The traditional division of mass communication falls under the headings of audience studies, content studies, and effects studies. A brief presentation of the first two (audience studies and content studies) is given above. The greatest amount of research has been on the last one (effects studies) and hence presented separately below.

2. MEDIA EFFECTS STUDIES

The problems and methods of media effects research have not changed greatly over time. The earlier research sought simple stimuli response; but found that many conditions existed for a particular stimuli to have certain response. These conditions are those concerned with characteristics of the source, the message itself, of the channel, of the receiver, and of the context of reception. Much of the early research was in the nature of small-scale laboratory research. They were precise but could not be generalized as more natural settings were needed for that.

In the initial stages campaign studies including political, audiovisual education, development communication, and children-development of communications (more precisely, issues like crime, violence, sex and socialization of the young) were in vogue. A landmark in the history of effects research was provided by Joseph Klapper's (1960) assessment of the field where he said that media is more likely to reinforce than convert or change. It was also found out

that interpersonal communication and diffusion can play an important role in the effects of the media.

After Klapper (1960) there followed a period where many researchers advocated a limited effects of media paradigm; but now they talk about a more powerful effects of the media, though more concealed and indirect. McQuail (1988) thinks that the grounds on which such a revision took place may be due to the following three observations supported by research. a) Media of all kinds carry messages having other sources of social support. b) The effects of the media are often in the long run, and may be missed by short-term experiments. c) The bases for effects are often cognitive in nature rather than affective, irrational, or directly behavioral. The media offer a social view of the world with a set of values and opinions. They also offer models for social behavior. The relations of power and status in society are also taught by the media. "The ubiquity, volume, and relative consistency of this flow of messages make some influence probable, especially where alternative sources are few and dependency on the media great" (McQuail 1988, p.491).

It is also true that the media have become a legitimate institution for recognizing social status and they direct attention to society. The media are constantly in touch with other forces in the society, providing channels for other institutions like politics. Besides, the culture made and disseminated by the media has become the culture of the society.

> It is now necessary to acknowledge long-term institutional and cultural effects as well as effects on individuals. All this imposes a strain on a research apparatus that has been developed mainly for short-term studies of individuals and aggregates, and presents a challenge that has not yet been fully met. Some attempts to grapple with it can be seen in projects concerned with CULTURAL INDICATORS and "cultivation"[12], which seek to measure the significant features of the media "message system" and to relate changes in this to changes over time in society, culture, and opinion (McQuail, 1988, p.491, emphases in original, note sign added).

As already mentioned, earlier empirical research concentrated on the effectiveness of media campaigns. The campaigns were thought to have the power to force the individual in the society what to think, choose, or do. But research showed that the media possessed no such omnipotent power on the individual. Attention was then directed to specifying the complexities of the process of influence, why there were differences between individuals, and also alternative conceptualizations of effect as such. There was a persistent search for effects that would describe the social roles of the media.

> Thus successive traditions of media research have considered whether the media can tell us *what* to think, *with what* to think, *when* to think, *who* should think, what to *believe*, what to *think about*, *how* to think, what *not* to think, *where* to belong, and what to *feel* (Katz, 1988, p.492, emphases in original).

Now let us proceed to a brief presentation of the different research traditions that exist today.

2.1 PERSUASION STUDIES

From early times, media were considered to be agents of persuasion[13]. As research progressed, it was found that the media had often limited and indirect effects. Earlier studies also narrowed the concept of effect to the success of persuasive messages on the opinions of the individuals, in the "short run". Naturally, research concentrated on the message rather than the medium itself; information was neglected and what mattered was purposive influence. The concentration was on isolated individuals, neglecting small groups and social institutions. The whole insistence was on short-term influence. Gradually it became clear that many other factors (often unidentifiable) other than the media, were always present in any opinion or attitude change. Hence theoretical room had to be made for the presence of individual selectivity and interpersonal relations. In short, it became clear that the effects of the media could not be

reduced to simple stimuli-response behavior; and effects of a long-term and indirect nature were more important in the research itself.

The basic idea of persuasion is of ancient origin. When the human voice was the sole medium of communication, rhetoric was very important. In the ancient societies of Greece and Rome, the skill to persuade people (rhetoric) was a very valuable skill indeed. This skill is important even today. But with the great development of mass communication, persuasion has taken on another shade of meaning.

> In the present context, then, persuasion refers primarily to the use of the mass media to present messages that are deliberately designed to elicit specific forms of action on the part of audiences (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989, p.273).

Some such typical actions would be voting for a political candidate, buying a consumer product, donating to a worthy cause, or other such actions complying with some requests for action solicited by the communicator.

Interior (psychological) forms of conduct that result from persuasion, are normally not included in persuasion studies (in communication), though there are some who feel that even those should be included. Although some definitions of persuasion include changes in an individual's subjective beliefs, opinions or attitudes, DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989) feel that such changes should be included only if they lead to overt modification of actual behavior. With all the research that has gone into 'persuasion studies', the fact is that even today we know very little about them. But this should not discourage anyone to the point of abandoning all search to understand the complex and often frustrating activity of persuasion. One may note three different theoretical strategies of persuasion[14]. They are: the psychodynamic strategy, the sociocultural strategy, and the meaning construction strategy.

2.1.1 The Psychodynamic Strategy

In determining the directions of behavior, psychology assumes that three events are involved: stimulus-organism-response (S-O-R). The 'O' in the case of human beings, is a complex structure of biological, emotional, and cognitive components[15] of personality. The biological components of personality are inherited. Nothing can normally be done about them and hence persuasion should concentrate on emotion and cognition. Some persuasion strategies do try to link emotional arousal with specific forms of behavior. Many students of human behavior believe that behavior is controlled more by cognitive factors than emotional ones (see DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989).

Among the internal processes that determine behavior, a rich set of concepts are used. They include needs, drives, beliefs, interests, anxieties, fears, values, opinions, and attitudes[16]. In understanding persuasion 'motives' and 'motivation' are important concepts. The terms 'need' and 'drive' have for long been associated with explaining the influences on behavior. As they are central they need to be explained. DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989) explain:

> A *need* is essentially a state[17] of deprivation. The "organism" is deprived of some essential substance, such as food or water, that is required for adequate functioning. Or it may be an activity, such as sex or exercise, that is supposedly required by the body to continue normal activities. The state of deprivation brings about an arousal of energy to obtain that which will satisfy the need. That state of arousal is the *drive*. Some needs are products of our biological nature. Others are products of learning in a social environment. Psychologists have discussed a long list of our acquired needs. These include needs for achievement, affiliation, being dependent, exercising power, conforming, having social approval, providing nurturance, engaging in play, being orderly, greedy, and deferent, to mention only a few. All of these are candidates for persuasive strategies on the assumption that they can be modified (p.277, emphases in original, note sign added).

These concepts are important in the understanding of behavior, but there is another term 'attitude' that is often mentioned in relation

to shaping the complex behavior through persuasion. There is an established conviction that many categories of behavior are directly linked to attitudes. It is common thinking that if a person's attitude towards a particular topic is known, that person's behavior can be predicted. DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989) feel that the above assumption does not have sufficient foundation on research; nevertheless the assumption is taken for granted by many, who continue to believe that attitude and behavior are closely correlated. The cognitive strategy for persuasion "emphasizes that internal structuring of the psyche is a product of *learning*. It is this emphasis that makes it possible to use mass communications to modify that structure so as to change behavior" (*ibidem*, p.278, emphasis in original).

The psychodynamic strategy for persuasion believes that effective message has properties that are capable of altering the psychological functioning of individuals in such a way as to warrant a desired overt behavior suggested by the communicator. This simply means that the strategy assumes that the key to effective persuasion lies in new learning, on the basis of information provided by the persuader. The said information is expected to modify the internal psychological structure of the individual (needs, fears, attitudes etc.) that will produce the desired overt behavior.

One factor that has been used widely in advertising is fear. Thus for example, the promotion of the sale of certain medicines, is achieved by warning of health problems if the medicine is not taken. Certain other consumer goods are advocated to reduce the fear of being socially offensive (e.g. certain perfumes to evict unpleasant body odors, mouth-wash needed for freshness of breath, etc).

Although common sense suggests that this is the best strategy to achieve the desired effect of persuasion, often it does not work and no one knows why. This strategy is often referred to as the "learn-feel-do" approach, and in spite of consistent failure, has remained popular with many advertisers. The magic message

characteristics that would produce cognitive changes in the individual have not been ascertained for certain. That has been the weakness of this strategy.

2.1.2 The Sociocultural Strategy

The psychodynamic strategy is based on the idea that human behavior is controlled from within while sociocultural strategy considers that behavior is controlled by factors outside the individual, like culture, economics, exercise of power, social organizations, groups, etc.

The powerful effect of culture to control behavior can be easily demonstrated. For example during World War II, the mentality of the suicide pilots (Bushido Code followed by Japanese soldiers) cannot be understood by western minds. But in the Japanese culture it made sense. They believed that self-inflicted death was more honorable than capture. The practice of 'Sati'[18] in traditional India could be another example. In western society the wearing of high-heeled shoes by women, consumption of alcohol to numb the senses, listening to rock music to the extent of impairing the ear drums, etc. are examples of meaningless behavior, encouraged solely by culture. The example of certain graduate students who sign up for statistical courses, though they normally dislike statistics, is dictated often by the fear of being banished from the graduate group, if not complied with. These choices have little to do with preferences or attitudes. Here it is a question of not "learn-feel-do"; but "learn-conform-or be punished!" It is a fact of life that far more of our behavior is controlled by social expectation than anything else.

> There is little doubt, then, that both social and cultural factors provide guidelines that shape human behavior. It is the individual's understandings and acceptance of culturally approved forms of conduct and the behavioral expectations of others that determine how he or she will act in a social context. For this reason, such external factors can provide a basis for persuasion, presuming that their definitions for the individual can

> be shaped or controlled (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989, p.283).

This being the case, proponents of this strategy seek to modify social expectations to influence behavior[19]. The strategy consists in defining or redefining through messages, the rules for social behavior. A classic example of this has been cigarette advertising just after Word War I. At that time it was socially unacceptable for women to smoke. To get them do that advertisers devised a program. In the advertisement, an elegantly dressed young man and a beautiful woman were sitting on a grassy bank. The man was puffing contentedly on his cigarette. The woman was leaning towards him with a look of longing. The caption read: "Blow a little my way". It did not take long for women to start smoking in public and later it became fashionable.

The sociocultural strategy could be termed in the following words:[20] the persuasive message should define or redefine the cultural requirements or group norms, roles, ranks and sanctions. This is expected to lead to forming or altering the definitions of socially approved behavior for group members, and this would achieve change in the direction of overt behavior. There are different versions of this strategy[21]. Some of the versions are based on interpersonal communication rather than mass communications.

> The entire persuasive effort is sometimes handled by the media alone, however. If there is any doubt that the sociocultural strategy is widely used in media advertising, the reader is invited to spend an evening before the TV set viewing commercials within the perspective of this strategy. Smiling and happy people act out little dramas concerning beer, laxatives, deodorants, and denture paste. They define for their viewers approved and disapproved norms, acceptable role behavior, how to gain or maintain status, and what social controls might come down on one's head if one deviates from the system. It is made abundantly clear that to be caught with the wrong beer, a detectable body odor, inactive bowels, or loose dentures places one far outside the pale of social acceptability (*ibidem*, p.289).

2.1.3 The Meaning Construction Strategy

The meaning construction strategy hopes to achieve persuasion through the manipulation of meanings. From the early stages of humanity, knowledge (meanings) of the objective world was provided by oral transmissions in the process of socialization. In the modern world this role has been taken up by the mass media. Ready channels are provided to huge populations for the purpose of the deliberate structuring of meanings. The behavioral sciences are based on the assumption that knowledge shapes actions. Throughout the history of man "scholars of each century sought to establish how conduct should be shaped by knowledge of either a religious faith or a secular system of government" (*ibidem*, p.290).

Anthropologists believe that meaning is linked to language. Psychologists talk about the concept of 'schemata'. Even mass communication scholars think that media content influences behavior. The process could form ideas (pictures) in our heads and influence the way we behave. Media cultivate our beliefs about the real world and thus influence our behavior[22]. The process of acquiring knowledge through mass media helps to form an agenda for us to think about.

The strategy under discussion would consist in modifying meaning for the purpose of achieving the desired pattern of behavior intended by the communicator. The behavior of audiences can be influenced by the media without intending it, as in the case of violent scenes making people afraid of their neighborhoods. If that is the case, with deliberate intention some other desired effect can be achieved. The trick consists in the following, as given by DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989):

> Mass communicated information should be as effective as any other kind in changing the meanings people assign to some thing, product, cause, candidate, or issue. If such changes can be achieved, modifications of behavior toward that target of persuasion should follow (p.291).

As an example of the above strategy, DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989) cite an episode from Robert Lacey's book: *Ford, the man and the machine*. In the 1920s automobile advertisements in the U.S. stressed the mechanical qualities of the car. Edward S. Jordan, the founder of the Jordan Motor Car Company, had a factory that produced an otherwise uninspiring car named "Playboy". In 1923 while Jordan was one day traveling from Detroit to San Francisco, he looked out of his train and saw a magnificent sight. A beautiful girl was cantering her horse beside the train. This girl was well tanned with hair flowing behind her in the breeze. Jordan asked someone in the train where they were. He got the answer: "Somewhere west of Laramie". The picture of the girl and the reply made an impression on Jordan and out of it came an advertisement for his car. It consisted of his 'Playboy' superimposed in the middle of a large, romantic-looking drawing of a beautiful woman galloping on a powerful horse with hair streaming behind. The ad read:

> Somewhere west of Laramie there's a bronco-busting, steer-roping girl who knows what I am talking about ... the PLAYBOY was built for her.
>
> Built for the lass whose face is brown with the sun when the day is done of revel and romp and race ...
>
> There's a savor of links about that car - of laughter, and lilt and light - a hint of old loves - and saddle and quirt ...
>
> Step into the PLAYBOY when the hour grows dull ...
>
> Then start for the land of real living with the spirit of the lass who rides, lean and rangy, into the red horizon of a Wyoming twilight (from Lacey Robert, 1986 as quoted in DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989, p.292).

The strategy consisted in presenting the idea that the 'Playboy' was connected with meanings of laughter, freedom, adventure and even a hint at uninhibited sex. The ad resulted in a tremendous sale for the car. Thus the strategy under discussion seeks to present persuasive media messages that provide meanings or change meanings; and meanings give direction to action in the desired direction. This

strategy is widely used in campaigns, ads and other attempts at persuasion. Thus airplanes fly 'friendly skies'; political candidates seek slogan like expressions in the genre of: New Deal, Fair Deal, War on Poverty, New World Order, New Covenant etc.

The effectiveness of this strategy is debatable. Some advertisers think that this type of persuasion is effective. But communication research provide few examples of such effectiveness. All that can be said in this regard is that sometimes such strategy works and other times it does not, and no one is sure why.

> There is some evidence that they can be very effective, but their success may require using media information along with interpersonal persuasion. Meaning construction strategies remain even less well understood. This strategy appears frequently in contemporary advertising, but whether it works reliably to trigger desired responses is not known (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989, p.293).

In **conclusion** it can be said that a discussion on the effectiveness of persuasion always ends with an uncertainty about the empirical bases of effective persuasion.

> One thing is very clear. It is difficult to adapt and apply principles that seem to characterize the ability of mass communication content to influence behavior in a non-deliberate way to practical tasks such as selling goods, candidates, or pro-social conduct. In spite of the intense efforts made to find the theoretical bases of effective persuasion strategies, they remain elusive (*ibidem*, p.293).

2.2 THE USES AND GRATIFICATIONS APPROACH

The uses and gratifications tradition as well as diffusion tradition of research developed as a result of the reaction against the assumptions of the campaign studies. The uses and gratifications theory is directly based on the concept of selectivity exercised by the consumer. Viewers actively choose the messages of the media not only to defend their prior opinions and habits but also to satisfy

their own entertainment and other needs, interests, and striving. People choose one media or another for entertainment (escape), for the achievement of social mobility, for reassurance, etc. Thus this tradition links communication research with the study of popular culture.

> Studies of the gratifications provided by the SOAP OPERA, for example, anticipated current humanistic interest in the genre of television as a focus for problems of identity, gender conflict, and even our anxiety about survival. The world, says the soap opera, will continue, albeit from crisis to crisis (Katz, 1988, p.494, emphasis in original).

This tradition sees the media as a tool for social utility and the consumer is selective in the choice of programs. At the initial stages such research coincided with campaign studies; but gradually a more important role was given to the audience. Campaign studies see media as a force-feeder, whereas gratifications researchers see the media as a cafeteria or toolbox[23]. The methods of research used by campaign studies include field experiments, panels, and before-after-surveys. Studies of gratifications, on the other hand, use retrospective interviews that credit the consumers with high degree of self-awareness. It is rooted in 'functional analysis'. This tradition has contributed to the concept that "the nature of the involvement, role, or dependency in which "readers" contact the media constrains uses, gratifications, and potential effects" (*ibidem*).

Thus the uses and gratifications approach instead of studying what the media do with people, tries to study what people do with the media. The basic assumption is that audience behavior is to a large extent explained by the needs and interests of individuals. One aspect that has to be remembered here is that this approach could be justifiably called a model of the receiving process and hence it does not embrace the whole communication process. McQuail (1979) argues that two main impulses can be noted behind the emergence of this approach: a) an opposition to deterministic assumptions about media effects, this need being particularly accentuated by authors like Katz

& Lazarsfeld (see Katz & Lazarsfeld, 1955); b) people were getting fed up with a sterile discussion over mass media taste; the uses and gratifications approach provided an alternative to look at media effects according to function rather than taste. It is possible to divide the research on gratifications into a classical and a modern period.

> The former included studies such as that of Herzog (1944) which dealt with gratifications sought and obtained by listeners to radio soap operas and Suchman's (1942) study of motives for listening to classical music on radio. To these may be added Berelson's (1949) study of what readers of New York dailies said they missed most during a newspaper strike (McQuail & Windahl 1987, p.75).

Uses and gratifications research that appeared in the 1960s and 1970s of a more elaborate form belong to the modern period. There is no single uses and gratifications model but many; but there is basic agreement among researchers regarding the main idea. The underlying logic of the approach according to Katz et al. (1974) is as follows:

> They are concerned with (1) the social and psychological origins of (2) needs, which generate (3) expectations of (4) the mass media or other sources, which leads to (5) differential patterns of media exposure (or engagement in other activities), resulting in (6) need gratification and (7) other consequences, perhaps mostly unintended ones (as given in McQuail & Windahl, 1987, p.75).

Apart from these key elements, the gratifications approach often includes motives for satisfying needs and functional alternatives for the realization of these needs. McQuail & Windahl (1987) give the following example:

> An example of a typical uses and gratifications way of reasoning might go as follows: a certain individual has, like most human beings, a basic need for social interaction. From experience, he expects that a certain mass media consumption or use will give him some fulfillment of this need. This leads him to watch certain TV programmes, read certain types of magazine content, etc. In some cases this results in need gratification, but it may equally result in dependence on mass media and in changed habits. In the case described we may say that

> his mass media use serves as a functional alternative to real interaction (p.76).

Among the many models of the uses and gratifications approach, the one that is widely cited is that of Rosengren (1974) as it includes most of the elements. McQuail & Windahl (1987) present Rosengren's model as follows:

> 1. Certain basic human needs of lower and higher order under interaction with 2. Differential combinations of intra-and extra-individual characteristics and also with 3. The structure of the surrounding society, including media structure result in 4. Differential combinations of individual problems, being more or less strongly felt, as well as 5. Perceived solutions to these problems, the combination of problems and solutions constituting 6. Differential motives for attempts at gratification-seeking or problem-solving behavior, resulting in 7. Differential patterns of actual media consumption and 8. Differential patterns of other behavior, both behavior categories giving 9. Differential patterns of gratifications or non-gratifications and, possibly, affecting 10. The individual's combination of intra-and extra-individual characteristics as well as, ultimately, 11. The media structure and other social, political, cultural and economic structures in society" (p.77, boxes in the original are omitted here).

Thus the starting point for the model of Rosengren (1974) is formed by the needs of the individual. These needs occur in interaction with elements within and around the individual. According to the same author, higher level needs like the need for company, love, acceptance and self-actualization are more relevant to the uses and gratifications model when compared to the lower level needs like psychological and safety needs. The fourth element in the definition includes the concept of problems which should not be confused with needs. Problems are created by the interaction of needs, individual characteristics, and surrounding social conditions[24]. The relevance of these problems differs with the individuals as also perceived solutions. These problems and their perceived solutions give the motive for action. In empirical research it may be difficult to separate motive from need and problem. These motives in practice may be

directed towards a wide range of goals of gratification or problem solving types.

Empirical research has provided support for the uses and gratifications theory. Katz & Foulkes (1962) found that certain social situations that bring a lot of tension and conflict to the individuals create a motive for relaxation through media consumption by the same individuals. Rosengren & Windahl (1972) found that individuals who lack the possibility of fulfilling their need for social interaction in a natural way, are motivated to use certain type of media content like television drama. Edelstein (1973) proved that individuals who are aware of certain problems in the society are motivated to seek more information for further orientation in the media content.

Such problems that create motives will result either in media consumption or in other behavior. Another thing that has to be kept in mind is that since problems and their perceived solutions differ with individuals, the resulting pattern of behavior also will differ. Thus some will seek entertainment material while others information, and it is possible that some people do not use media content at all. In other words it can be said that as a result of the process, differential patterns of gratifications or non-gratifications will occur. It is assumed that people normally get the gratifications that they seek; however, empirical research has so far failed to investigate this matter. The last two elements in the model (Rosengren, 1974) of uses and gratifications approach, deal with the effects of the process. Rosengren (1974) holds that both the traditional effects tradition and the uses and gratifications tradition deal with effects; but the former is concerned with effects from the communicator's point of view while the latter with the consumer's point of view. This theory has provided the framework for a large number of studies[25].

This approach has been criticized heavily. The approach is seen to be too individualistic. Besides, empirical research depends a great deal on subjective reports of mental states and hence too 'mentalistic' with the resulting drawbacks. This approach also sees the audience as

active while others would see the audience as fairly unselective and more passive. This approach talks about motives being created by basic needs, social experience and conditions; this situation is inconsistent with the view of an active audience. Some critics also feel that media content is not given due importance by this approach as the content itself is treated in very general categories. The gratifications approach has a functionalistic character and thus open to the criticism levelled against functionalism. The tradition is also accused of being conservative in character and serves as a pretext for producers of bad content. Such producers can say they are just filling the needs of the audience. In spite of strong criticism this approach has many adherents and has survived in the United States.

2.3 THE DIFFUSION THEORY

The notion that interpersonal networks filter media messages and influence their interpretation and evaluation forms the basis of diffusion research. (The gratifications research on the other hand is based on the notion of cognitive selectivity). The diffusion of new fashions, technologies, ideas etc. are studied to see how the media stimulate awareness of an innovation over time, space, and social structure. Diffusion research also examines how the media create interest in other sources of influence to favor adoption of the same. In this type of research, attention is shifted from the individual to the small group of interacting individuals that affect the flow of influence. The stratification and centralization of the society and the consequent flow of influence also come under the purview of this type of research. Hence diffusion research connects, to a certain extent traditional concerns of the discipline of communications with other disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, politics, history of religion, etc.

> If campaign studies may be said to address the proposition that the media can tell us *what to think*, diffusion studies suggest that the media tell us *when to think* - when it is our turn to be in fashion, for example - and gratifications research proposes that the media

> tell us from what to choose or *with what to think* (Katz, 1988, p.494, italics in original).

The process of encouraging the adoption of innovations has always interested researchers in mass communications. Under conditions of social and technological change both in developing and advanced countries, there is an ever present exigency to replace old methods and techniques with new ones. Application of such new techniques need to be presented to the public as useful and necessary. The success of new public policy to be effective depends a lot in encouraging the adoption of innovations. Concretely, the target for most of the efforts in innovation diffusion have been connected with farmers and other rural populations. In the 1920s and 1930s such efforts were made in the United States, which have now become models for development in Third World Countries. The topics that come under these efforts relate not only to agriculture but also to other areas such as health, sanitation, and social and political life. The most important features of diffusion may be identified from the following quotation from McQuail & Windahl (1987):

> For the student of mass communication models, the most important features about work on diffusion are: the weight which has to be given to non-media (often personal) sources (neighbors, experts, etc.); the existence often of a campaign situation in which behavioral changes are sought by giving information and trying to influence motivations and attitudes. Because of the large amount of empirical research on diffusion (much of it summarized in Rogers and Shoemaker 1973), the model which has emerged is a much tested one, although it is limited to a set of rather specific circumstances (p.52).

Rogers & Shoemaker (1973) assume that there are at least four distinct steps in an "innovation-diffusion" process. They are *knowledge, persuasion, decision,* and *confirmation.* In the first step of *knowledge*, the individual is exposed to an awareness of the existence of the innovation, and gains some understanding of how it functions. In the second step (*persuasion*) the concerned person forms a favorable or unfavorable attitude towards the innovation. In the third step of *decision*, the individual engages in activities which lead to a choice to adopt or reject the innovation. Finally, at the *confirmation*

stage, the person concerned seeks reinforcement for the innovation decision he/she has made. If exposed to conflicting messages about the innovation in question, the individual may even reverse the earlier decision[26].

Rogers & Shoemaker (1973) incorporate the following four ideas about the diffusion process:

(a) The main stages of the whole event of the innovation process that can be distinguished are *antecedents, process* and *consequences. Antecedents* refer to those circumstances of the event or characteristics of the people involved which make it more or less likely that an individual will either be exposed to information about an innovation or will experience needs to which information is relevant[27]. Thus it is more likely that people who are well-disposed to change tend to adopt innovation. Learning, attitude change, and decision are involved in the *process.*

> Here the perceived characteristics of the innovation play a major part, as do the norms and values of the relevant social system. Sometimes technically efficacious means may be unacceptable on moral or cultural grounds or may present a threat to the existing structure of social relations. The stage of *consequences* of the diffusion event is mainly taken to refer to the later history of use or disuse, if adoption takes place (McQuail & Windahl, 1987, p.53, italics in original).

(b) Another idea about the innovation diffusion process is the need to separate the distinct functions of knowledge, persuasion, decision, and confirmation, even if in actual practice the above sequence is not followed or all the elements are not present. It is possible that different kinds of communication processes are involved in each case. For instance, early knowers need not necessarily be the opinion leaders. It can be argued with some justification that early knowledge can go with a degree of social isolation, just as can ignorance. Both being in advance of society and lagging behind, can lead to isolation in society instead of social integration.

(c) Different communication sources like general mass media, advertising or promotional material, official agencies of change, informal social contacts, etc. are involved in the diffusion of innovations. "Thus mass media and advertising may produce awareness and knowledge, official agencies at the local level may persuade, personal influence may be important for the decision to adopt or not and experience of use may provide a main later source of confirmation or otherwise" (McQuail & Windahl, 1987, p.54).

(d) Logically the 'receiver variables' like personality, social characteristics, etc. apply to the first step of *knowledge*. But these 'receiver variables' are important in the later steps as well. The same can be said about the social system variables (like norms of the social system, tolerance of deviancy, communication integration, etc.) which are related to the *knowledge* step in the process, but which apply to the other steps as well.

The diffusion theory is based on a large amount of experience in the applications of mass media and other agents for purpose of planned change. Much research has paved the way for the adoption of the theory. But the theory rests on a number of assumptions about an ideal way of proceeding which in actuality may not fit the conditions that really exist. The theory seems to speak about a 'dominant paradigm' of the relation between communication and development, which is considered outmoded by some theorists.[28]

2.4 THE KNOWLEDGE GAP THEORY

The assumption of the knowledge gap theory is that the media may widen the information differential between social classes, rather than narrow it. Such type of research, naturally, is concerned with the role of the knowledge gap phenomenon in perpetuating the inequality that exists between social classes. The researchers who hold this theory, are also interested in identifying the conditions under which knowledge gap actually occurs and how such knowledge

gap can be overcome. This theory seeks to address the proposition that the media tell us 'who should think'. Thus this theory can be said to be anchored in the intervening variables of selectivity and interpersonal relations.

It is a fact that mass media has contributed to an explosion of information. Theoretically this increase in information should benefit everyone in the society. But research has shown that the increased flow of information often has the negative effect of increasing knowledge within certain groups more than in others. As a result, information gaps will occur and increase.

Tichenor (see Tichenor et al., 1970) is an early protagonist of this theory. He claims that with the increase in the flow of information, the better educated and the higher socioeconomic strata of the society, will be able to absorb the information better than the others. This will result in increased information and widening of the knowledge gap instead of diminishing it. Rogers (1976) argues that information results not only in increasing knowledge gaps, but also in gaps concerning behavior and attitudes. From this view-point he changes the name of this theory from 'knowledge gap' to 'communication effects gap'. A dimension added by Rogers (1976) is that not only does mass communication produce gaps, but interpersonal communication also has similar effects. He adds that these gaps are produced not only by the differences in education, but by other factors as well.

Nowak et al. (1976) belonging to a Swedish research group, have built a similar discussion around the term 'communication potential'. The term stands for the resources and characteristics that facilitate the communication process for a person as well as those characteristics that enable one to give and take information. McQuail & Windahl (1987) have the following to say in this regard:

> The size and shape of the communication potential depends on three main types of characteristics or resources:

(a) Personal characteristics. Man has both certain basic, often native *faculties,* like seeing and speaking, and acquired *abilities,* like speaking different languages and typewriting. Besides, he has a potential for communication, knowledge, attitudes, and traits of personality.

(b) Characteristics dependent on the individual's social position. This position is defined by variables like income, education, age and sex.

(c) Characteristics of the social structure in which the individual is found. An important factor is the functioning of the individual's primary groups (e.g. family, working group), and his secondary groups (e.g. clubs, associations, school, organizations) when it comes to communication. In this context, society as a communication system is also relevant (pp. 70-71, emphases in original).

The above mentioned resources of an individual lead that individual to reaching certain objectives and values. A likely conclusion from this objective is that the systematic differences between groups in a society will result in systematic differences in the achievement of values and objectives of the respective groups.

This phenomenon has often been talked about as 'the information gap' or 'the knowledge gap' in society. This is an oversimplification of the phenomenon. There are actually many information gaps and they are not alike. Also, the different types of information gaps that exist in a society affect the different sections of the society differently. It is also believed that these gaps widen as time passes. Thunberg et al. (1979) think that certain gaps increase in the beginning and later close[29].

The less privileged groups in the long run catch up with the more privileged groups on certain issues; this phenomenon is called 'ceiling effects' by some. This can occur when the potential information about the subject in question is limited. It is possible that those who have the capacity to absorb large quantities of information after a certain stage have nothing new to absorb regarding a particular issue. This makes way for the less privileged to catch up

with them and thus join the gap (or seal the gap). The ceiling can take place also when the privileged group no longer feels motivated to seek more information regarding a certain topic, while the less privileged being still motivated in the long run, close the gap.

A group of American researchers under the leadership of Donohue (Donohue et al., 1975), demonstrate how many information gaps fail to close. The topics they chose for study include space research and smoking that causes cancer. They found that heavy media attention in both cases resulted in widened gaps between higher and lower educated categories. When these topics dropped out of general public discussion, it is possible that the gap between the privileged and the less privileged remained wide and even widened.

It may be better to discuss information gaps in relation to other models of communications especially in relation to diffusion research. This theory can be seen as a reaction against a naive and exaggerated liberal belief in the ability of mass media to create a homogeneously well-informed mass public. In relation to the role of communications in developing countries, this theory becomes significantly relevant.

2.5 THE SOCIALIZATION THEORIES

The questions addressed by the socialization studies are: 'what to believe' and 'how to behave'. The media are agents of socialization and they interact with other agents of socialization like parents, teachers, peers, the church, etc. Thus for example, if children view television with parents, there is possibility of enhancing learning and avoiding undesirable influences (at least that is what some researchers think). Some of these researchers argue that the media directly cause effects. They would think that depiction of violence on television would increase the aggressive behavior in children. This can be possible because of the tendency of children (adults in a lesser degree), to model and imitate behavior. Of course, factors like

social approval, parental expectations, concrete possibilities, etc. can temper down such effects. When talking about mass media and socialization, two theories are always mentioned: they are the modeling theory and the social expectations theory.

2.5.1 The Modeling Theory

The modeling theory has contributed significantly to the understanding of the role of mass communications in the socialization process. Psychologist Albert Bandura[30] (with his associates) formulated this theory in the 1960s. As it forms part of a broad social theory, to understand it one needs to be aware of the social learning theory itself.

The social learning theory is also called observational learning theory. It does not specifically treat of learning from exposure to mass media but tries to explain how people acquire new forms of behavior. The word 'social' is used to explain how individuals, observing other people's actions, try to adopt the same patterns to solve similar problems or situations in their own lives. As the portrayal of social life is a favorite topic with mass media, the social learning theory is particularly relevant to mass media. The characters in the media programs (primarily visual and auditory programs as well as descriptions of actions in print) can become models for the audience; some might even adopt the modeled behavior.

> Like other psychological explanations, social learning theory assumes that people acquire new *linkages* between particular stimulus conditions in their environment and stable patterns of action (that they become capable of performing) as responses to those conditions. Such linkages, referred to by psychologists as "habits", tend to become relatively stable or recurrent when they are *reinforced* in some manner. Reinforcement is usually a consequence of reward, that is, some pleasurable experience, for performing the behavior as a response to the stimuli. The removal of some irritating or punishing situation can also result in reinforcement. If a pattern of action used as a response to a stimulus is reinforced, the probability of that particular behavior's becoming

> the individual's usual (habitual) way of responding to those stimulus conditions is increased. In fact, psychologists often define learning itself as just such an increase in probability (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989, p.213, emphases in original).

Reinforcement is an important concept in the social learning theory. Another important concept is 'operant conditioning'. It refers to the fact that certain sequences of reinforcement of a given S-R linkage can occur habitually in an unplanned way. Thus both reinforcement and consequent learning can take place incidentally, due to operant conditioning. Behavioral imitation coupled with reinforcement, forms the heart of the social learning theory. DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989) summarize the theory as follows:

> ... if a particular pattern of behavior is performed by a model, and if that pattern is identified as problem-solving, rewarding, or in some other way desirable in its consequences, the probability that it will be adopted by an observer is increased. If its adoption does indeed result in positive consequences, that particular pattern (habit) is likely to persist as a more or less permanent part of the individual's repertoire (p.214).

Though incidental acquisition is included in the social learning theory, the said theory holds that normally human response acquisition is different. Human beings often have clear recognitions, recollections, and understandings of modeled behavior. This does not mean that they have complete understanding of all the motives that are behind such modeling. With the use of language people can think, remember and plan ahead. Most of the learning theories insist that people do not learn through a single S-R but a repetition of the same response when the response to be learned is reinforced according to some schedule. Thus the psychological explanation of learning is that it takes place in a long-term perspective; the social learning theory also shares this perspective. But this theory also talks about single-exposure acquisition of new behavior, thus having also a short-term perspective besides the long-term one.

The term "modeling theory" is used to apply the general social learning theory to the acquisition of learning through media portrayals. The media (especially films and TV) provide a rich variety of models for any human situation; children and adults do acquire styles, new attitudes, and emotional responses from such modeling. The modeling process itself, in the case of learning from mass media portrayals, has according to DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989), the following stages:

> 1. An individual member of an audience *observes* or reads about a person (model) engaging in a particular pattern of action in media content.
>
> 2. The observer *identifies* with the model, that is, believes that he or she is like the model, wants to be like the model, or sees the model as attractive and worthy of imitation.
>
> 3. The observer consciously *realizes* - or unconsciously reaches the conclusion - that the observed or described behavior will be functional. That is, the person comes to believe that the behavior will bring about some desired result if it is imitated in a particular situation.
>
> 4. The individual *remembers* the actions of the model when confronted with the relevant circumstances (stimulus situation) and *reproduces* the behavior as a means of responding to that situation.
>
> 5. Performing the reproduced activity in the relevant stimulus situation brings the individual some relief, reward, or satisfaction, thereby causing the link between those stimuli and the modeled response to be *reinforced*.
>
> 6. Positive reinforcement increases the probability that the individual will use the reproduced activity *repeatedly* as a means of responding to similar situations (pp.216-217, emphases in original).

The modeling theory has contributed to the keen interest in content analysis. Through content analyses unlimited behavioral patterns can be identified in media portrayals, patterns that can be adopted. As a result, thousands of studies in the nature of descriptive investigations of what media programs contain exist today. A number of researchers investigated attitudes of people making use of 'attitude measurement instruments', assuming that attitudes are

good predictors of possible behavior. This assumption lacks the background of research findings[31], but nevertheless is a popular one. Even modern content analyses suffer from such weakness. The fact that various forms of behavior are consistently portrayed in media content does not warrant the assumption that they will be widely adopted. "Content analysis says nothing about the acquisition of stable habit patterns among people exposed to specific actions portrayed or described in mass communications" (*ibidem,* p. 218).

The modeling theory holds that the mass media can serve as agents in the socialization process. The producers and distributors of the programs may not intend their portrayals of human behavior to provide models for others. Some modeled behavior has been replicated in laboratories but most modeling behavior cannot be demonstrated experimentally[32]. This is a limitation of the empirical method and not of the theory itself (*ibidem*).

A behavior can sometimes be adopted on the basis of a single exposure and sometimes repetition is needed. No clear guideline is provided by the theory as to the "when" and "why" it occurs. All the same, the theory has great value in mass communication research. It can account for "at least some direct and immediate, as well as *indirect* and *long-term*, influences on individuals who are exposed to media content" (*ibidem*, p.218). The assumption that since models consistently exist in portrayals, audiences would adopt them, should be avoided. One outstanding weakness of the theory is that while it can be applied in the case of individuals, it can say nothing about "either the shaping of the social organization of any group or society, or the contribution of mass communications to culture - two very powerful influences on the behavior choices of individuals who interact with other people" (p.219). This necessitates the use of different approaches to account for long-term and indirect effects of the media.

2.5.2 The Social Expectations Theory

The social expectations theory is another explanation of indirect and long-range influences of mass media. Its basic considerations are derived from broader general theories of socialization and social organization. Psychologists think of human behavior in terms of inner processes of the individual. Sociologists, while recognizing the need for psychological/individualistic level of analysis of human behavior, insist that it presents an incomplete picture of the human condition. Man/woman is social by nature and lives out his/her life in complex webs of social interaction. So sociologists focus on social interaction that conditions behavior. To understand the social expectations theory, one needs to have a basic idea of the general theory of social organization.

2.5.2.1 The Social Organization Theory

This theory holds that what gives direction to human conduct is stable patterning of human social interaction. It is a fact that normally when people choose a course of action to follow, their main concerns are the expectations of others and their probable responses. People are worried about 'what other people will think'. In the process of socialization, members of a group establish the rules for interpersonal interaction. The stabilization of rules for interpersonal interaction gives rise to patterns of expected behavior which are collectively called social organization. There are four fundamental concepts in the understanding of social organization: *norms*, *roles*, *ranking*, and *sanctions*. DeFleur (1970) set forth a simple 'cultural norms theory' that provides the foundations of a more comprehensive social expectations theory. This included the following ideas:

> ... the mass media, through selective presentations and emphasis of certain themes, create impressions among their audiences that common cultural norms concerning the emphasized topics are structured or defined in some specific way. Since individual behavior is usually guided by cultural norms (or the actor's impressions of what the norms are) with respect to a given topic or consideration, the media would then serve indirectly to influence conduct (DeFleur, 1970, p.129).

The explanation did not go far enough and hence DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989) added the components of roles, ranking and sanctions in addition to norms. These terms are briefly explained below.

Norms can be defined as the general rules that are understood and followed by all members of a group[33]. An enormous range of activities are included in norms. From simple rituals like the way of answering a phone to emotional issues like who is permitted to have sex with whom, are all included in norms. Some norms like 'you shall not kill' are rigidly enforced. Some exchanges like borrowing tools requires that they should be returned, but are not enforced strictly. Other contracts are legally binding.

> Thus, whether they pertain to trivial or serious forms of action, and whether they are informal or formal, norms are general rules that presumably apply to all members of a given group, community, or society. Behavior within group settings requires that people have internal, that is acquired, "maps" of these norms - which can be very subtle and complex - if they are to interact smoothly with others within the bounds of accepted conduct (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989, pp.221-222).

Roles are also concerned with rules, but apply to specific positions in the organization of a group's activities, rather than general guidelines to action. Thus in a family, the roles of husband, wife, and children are different. In the military and in companies the roles are built around definite structures. There is a specialization of activities and their interdependence. The faithful following of the rules dictated by roles ensures the attainment of the goals of the group. The expected behavior from the definitions of roles should be known and understood by every member of the group for the smooth running of the group. In other words, each member should have a 'role map' in mind.

The third component of social organization is *ranking*. It is often connected to roles. All the members of a group do not have the same authority, power, or prestige. Some have more. The exercise of authority, power, or prestige should be recognized and backed by the group, and the members of the group should honor its dictates. Behavior of group members can be predicted on the lines set by norms, roles, and ranking.

The fourth component of social organization is *sanctions*. They are used for maintaining social control and checking deviant behavior. Sanctions can be negative when deviants are punished for transgressions, and act as a deterrent to those who might contemplate transgressions. Positive sanctions are rewards applied to those who in some distinctive way have contributed to the observance of the norms, roles, etc. and contributed significantly to the attainment of the goals of the group. DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989) conclude their discussion on social organization theory saying:

> Generally, then, social organization theory places an emphasis on events that occur between people rather than only in their heads. Obviously, people have to *learn* norms, roles, and all the rest, but those internal modifications of the psyche are not the whole story. Social behavior is more than the sum of its parts. Groups take on their own existence that is at least conceptually independent of their current members. As people form groups and collectively seek goals through patterned social interaction, their shared expectations become stable social systems in their own right. ... ... Thus, social organization theory shows how the stable expectations characterizing a social system can be powerful influences on behavior (p.223, emphasis in original).

2.5.2.2 Media Portrayals as Sources of Social Expectations

Patterned social expectations regarding the social organization of specific groups in society are abundantly present in mass media. Thus in the content of programs norms, roles, ranking and sanctions of practically every group can be found. The norms of dozens of

groups can be learned by reading books and watching TV or movie. One could learn the norms of gangs, fashionable restaurants, hospitals, police etc. from mass media. The role behavior of a detective, policeman, professor, or tennis coach are often learned by youngsters from the mass media. Audiences can learn (or vicariously experience) from mass media, sanctions that accompany social disapproval of deviant behavior, or those that go with approval. The Payne studies in the 1920s "revealed that youngsters internalized norms, role definitions, and other understandings of social organization from what they saw on the screen" (*ibidem*, p.224). So DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989) conclude:

> Social expectations theory, therefore, pertains to socialization influences of mass communications that result from their portrayals of stable patterns of group life (p.224).

The same authors (1989) summarize the basic ideas of the theory as follows:

> 1. Patterns of social organization in the form of norms, roles, ranking, and sanctions pertaining to specific types of groups are frequently *portrayed* in media content.
>
> 2. Those portrayals for any particular type of group may or may not have *authenticity*. That is, they may be trustworthy or misleading, accurate or distorted.
>
> 3. Whatever their relationship to reality, members of audiences assimilate such definitions and they become their learned *sets of social expectations* of how the members of such groups are expected to behave.
>
> 4. Such expectations are an important part of people's prior understandings of behavior that will be required of participants within groups *of which they will become members*.
>
> 5. People's sets of expectations of behavior of members of the many other groups that make up their community and society are an important part of their *general knowledge of the social order*.
>
> 6. The definitions provided by these expectations serve as *guides to action*, that is, definitions as to how

> individuals should personally behave toward others playing roles in specific groups, and how others will act toward them in a variety of social circumstances (pp.224-225, emphases in original).

Thus, the social expectations theory is based on the idea that media convey information regarding the rules of social conduct which helps the individual to shape his/her overt behavior. All the cognitive explanations of learning, attitudes etc. that psychological theories talk about are unnecessary in the case of the social expectations theory. Like the modeling theory, this theory also can be said to be an explanation of long-range influences.

In conclusion, it must be said that neither the modeling theory nor the social expectations theory are useful guides to empirical research[34]. Content analyses to determine the models and rules of social conduct are possible and abundant. But to determine what type of models or how the rules of social conduct are adopted or assumed by individuals, is difficult to be demonstrated empirically. These theories according to our authors give the broad frameworks to help us to formulate and interpret the relationships between various categories of media content and their long-term influences on individuals. No final proof of the two theories may ever be ascertained. It is not really necessary.

> No one has ever performed an experiment, or a sample survey of biological phenomena, that "proves" or "disproves" Darwin's famous synthesizing principle. It is not likely, or even necessary, that they ever will. In the same sense, it is highly unlikely that such final proof will be forthcoming regarding the two theories of indirect influence discussed here. However, they can stimulate a great deal of systematic observation of the content of the media in terms of both modeled actions and the portrayal of social expectations. They also encourage long-term observation of populations to seek the traces of their workings in the daily behavior of citizens in our emerging media society (*ibidem*, pp.226-227).

As the research traditions mentioned so far seek to account for factors that intervene between a message and the targeted attitude or action, they are called models of limited or indirect effects. But the

following three traditions of research, talk about direct (unmediated) effects. They are agenda-setting, technology, and ideological studies.

2.6 AGENDA-SETTING

The proposition 'what to think about' is addressed by the agenda-setting studies. The media are deemed to have the power to focus and shift public opinion. According to this theory, the agenda that should have the attention of the society is set by the media. This agenda includes not only news, but all the central issues of a society. Naturally, agenda-setting will affect decision-making on the individual and societal levels. Especially in the case of candidates who stand for office, if one is able to define what is the major problem (need) of the nation (in the case of a chief executive), and put himself/herself forward as the person suited for the job, that candidate is dictating the agenda and can influence the electorate in his/her favor. Of course, as in the case of diffusion research, here as well, to receive attention and priority, an adequate period of gestation of the agendas is needed. All political parties in democratic nations function under this assumption.

> At first it was supposed that such effects would not be affected by prior personal and interpersonal commitments, but this is not the case. Media agendas are more acceptable to those in need of orientation," and media are more successful in mobilizing attention to issues that are not salient in the personal lives of the public. Agenda-setting studies, therefore, are better classified as a tradition of limited effects" (Katz, 1988, p.495).

But it has to be asserted that amongst the several hypotheses about the effects of mass communications, agenda-setting hypothesis has survived the test of time. In effect, this hypothesis holds that the mass media, simply, by the fact of paying attention to some issues and neglecting others, can have an influence on public opinion. Early empirical research cast doubts on any theory that advocated a powerful influence paradigm of mass media. But the agenda-setting theory escaped these critics mainly because it primarily deals with

learning more than attitude change or direct opinion change. Empirical studies had established that the most likely effects of mass media would be on matters of information.

> The agenda-setting hypothesis offers a way of connecting this finding with the possibility of opinion effects, since what is basically proposed is a learning function from the media. People learn what the issues are and how they are ordered in importance (McQuail & Windahl, 1987, p.62).

Malcolm McCombs & Donald Shaw (1972, 1976) may be considered the best known proponents of this theory. They argue that audiences not only learn about public issues from the media, but they also learn how much importance should be attached to each of them. They point to the setting of the agenda for an election, by the media. Therefore the media has some ability to affect cognitive change among individuals. It must also be noted that most 'agenda-setting' research has concerned itself with election campaigns.

> In the typical modern election campaign it has become a common strategy to establish the "image" of a given candidate by association with certain positions on the perennial problems of a society and with certain special issues of the candidate's choice. The theory is that if voters can be convinced that an issue is important, they will vote for the candidate or party which has been projected as most competent to deal with it (*ibidem*, emphasis in original).

The theory of agenda-setting appeals to common sense, and seemingly it is easy to test this theory. The basic idea is that among a number of issues, those that get more media attention will, in the long run, grow in familiarity with the public and other issues will be gradually forgotten or relegated to the background. The 'Watergate affair' is taken as an illustration of the agenda-setting function of mass media by McCombs & Shaw (1976). They argue that political corruption was nothing new; but the intense press exposure and TV coverage made it the topic of the year.

2.7 THE TECHNOLOGICAL APPROACH

Marshall McLuhan can be considered the most famous advocate of this approach. Theorists of this approach "believe that for any epoch the predominant medium of communication powerfully shapes personality and social structure by enlisting a particular mental regimen to process the information encoded in the technology. Thus decoding of print is said to lead to sequential thinking, which involves notions of before and after, causality, rationality, and - because linear decoding takes time - deferred gratification" (Katz, 1988, p.495). The media therefore are given the role of teaching us how to think. The medium itself, and not the content, that is the causal agent. Because of that, the defensive processes that intervene in the flow of messages become irrelevant to these researchers, at least theoretically. This theory thus posits long-term effects on mind and society; and it has not been the subject of much empirical research on individuals.

At the level of institutions, the research on the social history of media technologies has tried to connect papyrus and highways with bureaucratic empires, the invention of the printing press with the Protestant Reformation, the mass diffusion and growth of newspaper with European nationalism, the advent of television with the breakdown of privacy, etc. Further, Katz (1988) feels: "These studies emphasize physical (rather than message) attributes of the media such as precision (Elizabeth Eisenstein's "fixity," McLuhan's "hot"), ubiquity, and simultaneity" (*ibidem*). These theorists hold that media technologies have a say in the shaping of social organizations. In short, the media tell us where to belong or with whom to think. They also have connections with mass-society theories in sociology and political science that hold that the media are agents that establish direct connection with leaders and mass publics at the expense of secondary institutions like the church, political parties, etc.

> Franklin D. Roosevelt's "fireside chat," early national advertising campaigns, and television evangelism are examples of attempts to establish remote loyalties over

the heads of local politicians, retailers, and churches, respectively (*ibidem*).

2.8 IDEOLOGY – CRITICAL AND CULTURAL STUDIES

Another tradition claiming direct and powerful effects is that of ideology, which has hardly been studied empirically. The so-called critical or cultural studies are often seen in contrast to empirical studies; but this is actually a confusion of methodology and theoretical orientation.

The more basic concerns of the critical approach have been articulated by the Frankfurt school, whose chief exponents have been Max Horkheimer, Theodor Adorno and Leo Lowenthal. They migrated to the United States during World War II and this resulted in "... some cross-fertilization between an empirical approach, more typical of U.S. research, and a "critical" European tradition" (Lang, 1988, p.373). They were not very much concerned with measurable effects as with...

> ... values and ideological images reflected in the media content, particularly as these values and images were being modified by marketing strategies aimed at the popularization of knowledge, literature, and other elements of CULTURE through the same techniques developed in the United States for selling goods. To the exponents of the critical viewpoint, communications research should address the more subtle and long-term implications of the underlying structure and the implicit themes in the media content rather than specific effects directly traceable to some overt message content[35] (Katz, 1988, p.495, emphasis in original, note sign added).

Lowenthal, in his content analysis of biographies in popular magazines between the first and fourth decade of this century, noticed that in the "latter period, the heroes of consumption prevailed over the previously dominant heroes of production" (*ibidem*). There have been other studies by other scholars as well. For example, Patricke Johns-Heine and Hans H. Gerth used magazine fiction; Martha Wolfenstein and Nathan Leites used the movies; and Rudolf Arnkeim used daytime radio serial, to assess the prevailing values of

society or at least the values presumed to be holding the allegiance of audiences. These studies were of an empirical nature. Herta Herzog, a European associated with Lazarsfeld, "found differences between listeners and non-listeners to be related to the greater dependence of the former on the radio, a difference that remained even after the effect of education had been eliminated" (*ibidem*). This line of enquiry was later pursued by the U.S. scholars W. Lloyd Warner and William E. Henry. They used intensive interviews and projective techniques and found what gratification regular listeners derived from family-type serials. These programs had a positive influence as listeners identified with important people of the serial drama experiencing their own problems. That made them feel more confident and hopeful. This process resembles what Lowenthal calls "psychoanalysis in reverse". On the other hand, the Payne Fund studies based on observations of youthful movie-goers found a rising dissatisfaction with the status quo. But the two inferences are consistent and imply that popular fare, though catering to the dispositions and concerns of targeted audiences, helps shape rather than merely reflect their values.

Evidence of hegemonic influence comes from Adorno's studies on radio music. It was found empirically that "plugging" a song increased its popularity. German-born sociologist Theodor Geiger in 1940 showed in a study in Denmark that labels mattered. A selected repertoire of serious music when labeled popular rather than classical attracted many more listeners. So labels are important to support an established hierarchy among 'taste cultures'. This has a strong similarity to the theory of the Frankfurt school. Repeated exposure over time to serious music can create a taste and popularity for it. Adorno argued that on radio "the sound is no longer larger than the individual; the surrounding function of music disappears. Instead of hearing the musical piece, listeners merely pick up bits and pieces of information about it" (Lang, 1988, p.374). Further Adorno feels that when elements of musical composition become detached from the action, they acquire the character of quotations and people go around whistling it, proud of being able to recognize great music, and thus

qualify to belong to the cultured class. This transformation of music for Adorno was more significant than any report by listeners of what they came to like.

> The music itself has ceased to be thought provoking, and their listening has degenerated into a merely pleasurable pastime (Lang, 1988, p.374).

Edward A. Suchman found that radio-initiated listeners to symphonic music preferred romantic as opposed to classical composers; and those who had a well-developed prior interest when supplemented by listening to radio loved difficult classical composers. This may support the speculation of Adorno. It would have been interesting to find out if radio listeners developed their taste to a point after which they sought live performances. No such study has been attempted so far.

In short, ideological theorists consider "that all other traditions of communications research have wrongly focused on change, whereas the "true" effect of the media is in the *thwarting of change*" (Katz, 1988, p.495, emphases in original). For them the reinforcement of prior opinions, attitudes, and actions as a result of exposure to the media is not a residual change but a powerful effect achieved by propagating the legitimacy of existing social arrangements. The stability of the system as well as the interests of the elites are protected and perpetuated this way. Some even consider this function of the media as manipulative.

> Empirical research in this tradition presents the media as purveyors of a coherent image of social reality to heterogeneous mass audiences for whom media consumption forms an increasingly important bond and who often favor mass media (television in particular) over interpersonal influence and alternative sources of information. (*see* CULTIVATION ANALYSIS; CULTURAL INDICATORS). Methodologically, the ideological tradition raises the question of how to study an effect such as the slowing or absence of change (Katz, 1988, p.495, emphases in original).

Gerbner's cultivation theory and research can be seen as having the same ideological basis. In fact Gerbner did work with

Adorno and collaborated with Lowenthal as well. At his own admission[36], he has been influenced by the theory of the Frankfurt School and particularly of their analysis of society.

2.9 OTHER APPROACHES

Apart from the above mentioned traditions of media effects research, there are other conceptualizations of effect that try to determine the elusive power of the media as well as the subtle processes that are involved in the intervening of messages, audiences and the media. A current contrary to the cognitive bias of media research, focuses on the hypothesis that the media tell us what to feel.

> Examples may be drawn from the psychological work on the role of the media in stimulating and channeling "arousal" and from the psychoanalytically inspired studies of the gratifications and frustrations of cinema audiences and television viewers in their interactions with what they see on the screen. These studies contribute importantly to the redemption of the neglected concept of entertainment (Katz, 1988, p.496).

There has been a gradual shift away from the social-psychological study of persuasion and influence to a study of information its control, its diffusion, its processing, its utility, its effects, etc.[37] Although the traditions of diffusion, knowledge-gap, agenda-setting, and campaign studies are concerned with information, new technologies have made this concern even more salient. On the level of the individual these studies try to assess the effect of the new media on the management of information by the individual, and also the new media's contribution to what to think, how to think, etc. On the level of the institution, these new approaches revert attention to the social theories of media technologies hitherto neglected over time. They attempt case studies of the role of the press, telegraph, and other media in institution-building, and also try to generalize about the careers (professions) of the new media and the consequent impact.

> An example that combines all these emphases - cognitive, affective, and integrative - comes from a tradition of study of the live broadcasting of public ceremonies. Pioneered by Kurt Lang and Gladys Lang, current research on televised events such as the pope's pilgrimages, royal weddings, the Watergate hearings, and the Olympics focuses attention on the ability of live television to declare "time out," to evoke the sense of occasion, to highlight a value, to define what is "real," to engender what anthropologist Victor Turner has called *communitas*. This integrative effect of the media, acting also to link individuals to one another and to the "center," corresponds to one of the major concerns of French sociologist E'MILE DURKHEIM. These studies remind us again of the hypothesized power of the media to define, but also to defy, social boundaries (*ibidem*, emphases in original).

The media, as technology and as content, have influence over society and this has received attention recently. Such renewed attention can be seen in both the functional and the critical schools of research. The institutional effects of the media that are not mediated by effect on the masses, such as in the case of the role of the media in the making of foreign policy, deciding the agenda for political campaigns, etc. have received the attention of sociologists and political scientists.

Thus there is a continual search to conceptualize and define the effects of the media in new directions. With this concern, efforts are made to specify the conditions and processes of such effects.

> In this respect the notion of patterns of involvement, arising from psychological theories of COGNITION and affect and from sociological theories of role, serves as a basis for a multidisciplinary attack on the neglected questions about the experience of viewing (or reading) and why people devote so much time and attention to the media. ... Moreover, it serves as a call to humanists and sociologists to rejoin the ranks of communications researchers. For example, the concept of reader involvement or role - expanding the notions of audience selectivity and activity - has become the focus of a notable convergence among critical, literary, and functional theorists. Certain critical theorists have recently turned from their own readings to the empirical study of audience readings. The idea that a text may be read oppositionally, not just hegemonically, by real

> readers makes room in critical theory for ideological change. At the same time, and related to the revival of the idea of polysemic texts, literary theorists are finding interest in the roles that real readers assume in the "reception" of texts. For their part, gratifications researchers are occupied with the idea of "negotiated" readings in which meanings, and consequent effects, emerge from the interaction between texts and readers-in-roles (*ibidem,* emphases in original).

A group of researchers headed by Jay Blumler, view election campaigns as supplying different roles to the readers; these role differences influence the patterns of meaning, use, and effect of the media involved in it. The availability of public space for political discussion supplied by TV and print accounts for the differential use of television news in different societies. The decoding of these texts by the readers depends on the involvement of the readers, their education, the importance of reader involvement in the culture, etc. "The concepts of involvement and role add psychological and sociological depth to the persistent concern with the conditions under which the media and their messages vary in meaning, use, and effect" (Katz, 1988, p.497).

In **conclusion**, the following observation of Lang (1988) seems valid. Often empirical communications research has been mistakenly seen as an American invention. But its deeper roots are in the intellectual, social and cultural concerns of agitated European scholars. Nearly all the empirical research attributed to the United States, were pioneered in Europe and later exported to the U.S. Another mistaken notion, according to the same author, is that in earlier times the media were considered all powerful. But most of the earlier writers revealed a sensibility to the political and cultural contexts of communication. This trend seems to be missing in the more recent technically proficient but narrowly focused research of today.

3. COMMUNICATIONS RESEARCH IN THE U.S. - THE FOUNDING FATHERS

We have so far presented a general outline of the origins and growth of communication research with particular emphasis in the

United States. But it would be inappropriate to end this section without mentioning something about the four scholars who according to Schramm (1980) deserve the designation of founding fathers[38]. They are Harold Lasswell, Kurt Lewin, Paul Lazarsfeld, and Carl Hovland[39].

> These "fathers" of our field had strikingly similar career backgrounds. All of them had rich early experiences, went to excellent universities, and came into contact with great minds. Three of them had all or part of their academic training in Europe. All four were interdisciplinary in their interests. Each was trained in another discipline and turned to communication study through the experience of confronting "real world" problems. All had a deep influence on younger scholars who came to be leaders in the field. And all except one of them founded a research institute or program that attracted bright young people and able colleagues (Schramm, 1980, p.74, emphases in original).

3.1 HAROLD LASSWELL (1902-1978)

Lasswell was born in Illinois in 1902, the son of a preacher (father) and teacher (mother). He grew up in an ambient of books, and even in his teens he used to read philosophy. At the age of 16 he entered the University of Chicago. He studied with great names like Anton Carlson the biologist, John Maurice Clark the economist, Charles E. Merriam the political scientist (who directed his dissertation), Robert E. Park and Ernest Burghess the sociologists, and the philosopher George Herbert Mead.

> As a graduate student he shared an office with Robert Redfield the anthropologist and Louis Wirth the sociologist. He spent most of two years in Europe where he assisted in Bertrand Russell's (unsuccessful) campaign for a seat in Parliament, sat in seminars with John Maynard Keynes and G. Lowes Dickinson, and went to Theodore Reik, author of *Listening with the Third Ear*, both for instruction and to experience analysis. It was a rich background for a scholarly career (Schramm, 1980, p.74, emphases in original).

Lasswell returned to Chicago, from Europe, in 1926 to take up a teaching assignment at the University of Chicago. His earlier students

found him ill-at-ease but still capable of inspiring and even jolting one to learn and investigate ever more. Schramm (1980) remarks: "Throughout his career I found him always accessible, helpful, and stimulating" (*ibidem*). Further, Schramm (1980) feels that Lasswell's contribution to communication study was not so much to substance but more to a way of looking at communication study. For him hypothesis-making was what he was more concerned with, rather than hypothesis-testing[40]. He knew how to get behind tables, and was interested in looking at probable future options. "It was our good fortune that from 1926 until 1978 he could pass along this viewpoint to some of the brightest young men in the field of communication" (*ibidem*, p.75).

Although he called himself a political scientist, he was always in communication. His dissertation and later his first book was entitled '*Propaganda in World War 1*'. As a young teacher at Chicago he pioneered in content analysis. Robert Maynard Hutchins was president of the University of Chicago and he refused to give Lasswell a permanent teaching post there because the former could not stand social science. So in 1938 Lasswell decided that as he had no future in Chicago he should quit. He resigned, packed all his books and notes in a truck and started for New York. Unfortunately on the way the truck burned up with everything in it. Thus he was without a job, without materials, and without students. He finally got his tenure as professor ten years later at the Yale Law School. But there he could not direct dissertations, nor teach any social science subject. But his greatest contribution to communication study has been his direct influence on graduate students at Chicago where he spent twelve years.

> His students included Herbert Simon, the most recent Nobel Laureate in economics; V. O. Key, of Cornell; David Truman, of Columbia; Ithiel de Sola Pool, of M.I.T.; Morris Janowitz, of Chicago; Heinz Eulau and Gabriel Almond, until recently at Stanford; Barrington Moore, Abraham Kaplan, and many others you would recognize (*ibidem*, p.75).

He had a direct influence on these and other scholars. After he left Chicago he kept contact with them through friendship, collaboration, and his prolific writings. In all he has written around six million words. After his books were burnt, he took up many temporary assignments that included: Head of the Library of Congress study of foreign propaganda during World War II and Head of the Stanford Hoover Institution's study of propaganda symbols used by elites and by the prestige press. He used to contribute to the Lyman Bryson's lecture series where some of his fundamental papers in communications are found. He contributed[41] much to the study of communications during a long productive career.

3.2 KURT LEWIN (1890–1947)

Lewin was born in Germany in 1890 and took his doctorate at the University of Berlin, when Wilhelm Wundt was head of the psychology laboratory at that university. At that time the Gestaltists Koffka, Kohler, and Wertheimer had great influence on him. Their inquiry into the emotions, human relations, and the formation of ideas and attitudes, fascinated young Lewin. He was a decorated soldier in World War 1. After the war he went back to teach at the University of Berlin where he built a promising career. Forced by Nazi pressure he emigrated to the United States. At the University of Iowa and later at M.I.T he built distinguished careers.

Everywhere he went he influenced some of the best young social psychologists in the world. When in Germany Vera Mahler, Tamaro Dembo, and some pioneers in Russian psychology, came under his influence. At Iowa Bavelas, Festinger, Schachter, White, Lippit, MacKinnon, Maier, and many others were his students. Some of the big names who were influenced by Lewin at M.I.T. were Kelley, Deutsch, Thibaut, Benne, and others. He always had a great excitement in trying to understand every bit of human behavior around him; and in this he preferred to see the whole picture before explaining parts of

it. He was able to transmit this excitement to his students. Schramm (1980) says:

> If Lasswell was shy, Lewin was humble. If Lasswell overwhelmed students by his knowledge, Lewin encouraged his students to join in his own drive to learn.
>
> I remember him, his thin face flushed with excitement, eyes shining behind his glasses, pacing back and forth in front of the chalkboard, arms flailing, asking, constantly challenging us: "Vot haf ve vergassen?" (p.76).

Lewin was not a great lecturer and he often mixed German and English when he spoke, to the delight of his students. He used to hold open discussion groups on Saturdays where everyone was allowed to speak his/her mind. This 'Hot Air Club' as it was called at Iowa, was crowded and often lasted the whole day. His students were loyal to him; even though they differed with him and moved away from his position, they always kept contact with him. Nobody really felt guilty about drifting away from the position of Lewin. In Berlin where he used to have these discussion groups before coming to Iowa, they produced studies of the Zeigarnik effect[42] and the analyses of anger as behavior. The discussions at Iowa gave rise to the studies of the effect of frustration on child development, and the remarkable wartime "food studies".[43] Other studies that resulted from these discussion groups were: the Lippit-White study[44] of democratic versus authoritarian groups, the studies of group relations in factories, etc. Lewin had a theoretical system but would not tell anyone about it. He used the "field theory[45] as a basis for his concept of the life space and topology,[46] a good way to express his psycho-logic, but he never conceptualized a theoretical relationship and looked for data to fit it" (*ibidem*, p.77, notes' indicators added). Lewin and his students were responsible for much important theory. They connected communication theory and psychological research. The idea of gatekeeper,[47] so important in communication study, is their contribution.

> They were responsible for what has come to be called consistency theory[48], and is represented by Festinger's

> *Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*[49], Heider's balance theory[50], Newcomb's A-B-X model[51], Osgood and Tannenbaum's congruity theory[52], McGuire and others' consistency theory[53], and even Hovland's 1960 volume. They were responsible for beginning the studies that have come to be called "group dynamics" (*ibidem*, note signs added).

After being in M.I.T. barely for two years, he died in 1947 prematurely. His Group Dynamics Center moved to Michigan after his death, and helped to build the prestigious Institute for Social Research. Some of the renowned students of Lewin continued his Center but it could never be the same without the master. Schramm (1980) evaluates the contribution of Lewin to mass communication studies in the following words:

> It is amazing to think how much Lewin did in only 14 years in the United States, after he came in 1933, fleeing from virulent Naziism in Germany. Two years on a foundation fellowship at Cornell; 10 years at what seemed at first a most unlikely place - the Child Welfare Research Station, at Iowa; 2 years at M.I.T. Yet we can hardly work in communication today without walking at some point in Kurt Lewin's footsteps. We have the same experience in applying communication to social change (p.77).

3.3 PAUL LAZARSFELD (1901-1976)

Paul Lazarsfeld was born in Vienna in 1901. He took a doctorate in Mathematics from the University of Vienna. In 1927 he started an institute for community studies. He was influenced by Freud[54], and wanted to study the sources of behavior. His main scholarly contribution before coming to the U.S. was a book, *The Unemployed of Marienthal*. Marienthal was an Austrian town where nearly everyone was unemployed. Through this research Lazarsfeld learned about studying behavior and survey research. At the age of 32, when Naziism began to spill over to Austria from across the border, Lazarsfeld emigrated to the U.S.

Three events brought Lazarsfeld into the mainstream of communication research in the United States. 1) The Rockfeller Foundation offered him a traveling fellowship to observe social research in the United States. Lazarsfeld came as a specialist in community research. 2) While he was in the U.S. the Foundation decided to start an Office of Radio Research at Princeton. The directorship of this institute was offered to Lazarsfeld. 3) As director he met Frank Stanton, who was then director of research and later became president of CBS. Stanton showed him where research opportunities and financial support could be found in radio audience research. With his support Lazarsfeld moved to New York in 1935, and founded the famous Bureau of Applied Social Research. This Bureau was affiliated to Columbia University and supported by commercial network and foundation funds. This research organization became the most famous one of its kind in the world.

Lazarsfeld was interested not merely in knowing the number of persons who listened to a radio program, but more in knowing who was listening, what they listened to, why, and how were they making use of what they heard. In time his interest shifted from the audiences of radio to the effects of radio. Later this interest broadened to include film, television, printed media, and personal communication. Regarding the style of functioning of Lazarsfeld as director, Schramm (1980) has this to say:

> What kind of director, what kind of person, was he? Hearty, humorous, warm, exuding energy and vitality, full of ideas for research to be done and suggestions for how to do it, a great entrepreneur who could always find the money and the people for a worthwhile study. "What made Paul unique," said James Coleman, after Lazarsfeld died in 1976, "was not his involvement with ideas or his involvement with people but his ability to stir the two together". Like the other "fathers" of our field, he was a great stirrer, a great catalyst of important research (p.78).

He brought together great scholars and researchers; the list could be long. To mention only a few: Robert Merton, who was already a leading sociologist in the U.S., Leo Lowenthal[55] of Frankfurt School

fame, Rudolph Arnheim (the last two studied in Europe), Bernard Berelson (who had studied at Chicago), and James Coleman from the Hopkins. They were brought together by Lazarsfeld. He influenced top-level doctoral candidates and post-doctors like Elihu Katz, David Sills, Charles Glock, and Herta Herzog. His influence was not always homogeneous. To people like Katz, he was teacher and research supervisor; to people like Merton he provided the funds and a stimulating place to do research; to others like Herzog, Coleman, and Klapper he provided a place where each one's creative skills could be put to optimum use. He was able to find easily the necessary funds for research. The planning of research projects was excellent. The interpretation and writing of the results took years, but once the books started coming out, the Bureau set the standard for audience research studies as well as effects of media studies[56].

With Stanton Lazarsfeld developed a program called 'Big Annie', which was a program analyzer that automatically tallied which buttons people in a studio audience pushed to indicate whether they liked a program or not. This type of research became popular 20 years later in the United States. The Bureau produced two volumes in 1940 entitled *Radio Research* and *Communication Research*, that contained important papers like Herzog's *What do we really know about daytime serial listeners*, Kendall's *The children talk about comics*, Berelson's *What missing the newspaper means*, and the *Mr. Biggott study*. The research leading to the book *Mass Persuasion* was conducted at the Bureau by Kate Smith. The Bureau also conducted two large studies of presidential elections in 1940 and 1944. The book *People's Choice*, that came out in 1944, was the result of the first study; Lazarsfeld was the main author. The second study resulted in a book that came out only in 1954 with Berelson as the chief author. Both books concluded that the effects of the media may have been exaggerated in the past. They found that more than the media, what influenced people in their voting was personal influence and social background. This finding was summed up in Klapper's epoch making book, *The Effects of Mass Communication.* Katz's book, *Personal*

Influence, co-authored with Lazarsfeld, also stressed the same finding. Both these books were of the opinion that the chief effect of mass media was social reinforcement rather than direct change or conversion.

> Mass media ordinarily do not serve as a necessary and sufficient cause of audience effects. They operate through mediating factors and influences. Personal contacts and relationships are much more potent. One way the media may operate is through effect on influentials who in turn affect other people. This is the famous two-step flow hypothesis, which has now been generally discarded because it has been found to be too simple, but represents where Lazarsfeld and his colleagues had come out after 20 years of study: that in society the media are unlikely to have many direct effects, they work *through* something else or are used to confirm or support ideas previously held (*ibidem*, p.79, emphasis in the original).

For more than two decades the Bureau of Applied Research was the most important center for media research in the United States and possibly in the world. Then Lazarsfeld withdrew from media research, went back to the study of mathematics, and teaching and administering sociology. He did this in 1955; the reason why he did this is not clear. May be he was tired of doing the same things over and over again. It could also have been because in the mid-fifties many other similar institutes mushroomed all over the U.S., whose goals were very similar to that of his. But no one can underestimate the great contribution that Lazarsfeld has made to mass communication study and research.

3.4 CARL HOVLAND (1912-1961)

Carl Hovland was born in Chicago in 1922. He took his doctorate at Yale and worked there most of his life.[57] At Yale he worked as Clark Hull's research assistant first and later became his co-investigator. He did not have an interdisciplinary training like the other founding fathers. He always remained a psychologist and his close colleagues were all psychologists. Some famous names were: Hull, Don Marquis, Spence, Hilgard, John Dollard, Neil Miller, Mowrer, Doob,

Sears, and John Whiting. But in the Yale Institute of Human Relations he had the good fortune to rub shoulders with renowned visiting professors like, Robert Yerkes from Florida, Walter Miles, Dusser de Barenne from France, and others from disciplines other than psychology.

By 1940 when he was barely 30, he was already one of the most famous experimental psychologists in the United States. He authored several important articles on the generalization of conditioned response. The book, *Mathematico-Deductive Theory of Rote Learning* fathered by Yale University was primarily his work. The "Yale studies" on *frustration and aggression* also profited from his contribution. In 1942 Hovland was appointed Chief Psychologist and Director of Experimental Studies for the research branch of the War Department in the information and education division. In that capacity he helped Sam Stouffer plan a series of studies about the nature of morale and its causes. This research provided much of the material for the later volumes of *The American Soldier*. He was specifically involved in the study of the effectiveness of a series of films produced for the purpose of increasing the morale of the soldiers. These films were entitled "Why we fight".

With his appointment as Director of Experimental Studies for the research branch of the War Department, Hovland found himself in communication research. He recruited a number of capable graduate students to work with him. Among those some big names could be found: Irving Janis, who later became head at Yale; Arthur A. Lumsdaine, who became head at Washington University; Fred D. Sheffield, who became professor at Yale; Nathan Maccoby, who later became head at Stanford; and M. Brewster Smith, a past president of the American Psychological Association.

The army was not interested in developing a theory of human communications but only in some practical guidance on its persuasive and instructional materials. However, no scientist could ignore the theoretical implications of such research and long after the war had

ended, Hovland continued his investigations about human behavior, in the same way he designed research at Yale. He managed to give the army useful advice. He found that contrary to common belief, a two-sided presentation was preferable to many, compared to a one-sided presentation that used the same argument again and again coupled with emotional appeals[58]. Persons initially opposed to the proposition, and the more educated needed both sides of the argument. He also found that for most of the soldiers it was more effective when they were told directly what they were expected to learn rather than try to teach them by implication.

After the war he returned to Yale with his IBM cards and questionnaires and became Chairman of Psychology there. Together with him Janis, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield also moved to Yale. Many graduate students joined this group. Some of the more renowned were: Keleman, Harold Kelley, McGuire, Rosenberg, Abelson, Mandell, Weiss, A.R. Cohen, Lesser, and Morriset. Gerry Lesser later became the intellectual parent of *Sesame Street*[59] and Lloyd Morriset became president of the Markle Foundation.

From 1946 to 1961 Hovland worked at Yale on communication problems in the spirit of an experimental psychologist. The studies were conducted with great scientific rigor. Some of the areas under study were: inoculation against propaganda, fear of appeals, group allegiance, the 'sleeper effect'[60], audience participation, nature of persuasion, cognitive reorganization, and consistency theory. Hovland also contributed to the development of computer simulation in communication study. He was a great organizer and director. About his style of functioning Schramm (1980) has this to say:

> What kind of program director was he? "The world's most non-authoritarian," his colleagues said. The kind of person you could call "Carl" with complete respect and without embarrassment to either person. "An uncanny ability to integrate and focus knowledge, and discern the central aspects of a problem." Gentle and supportive but highly demanding of quality. Always quiet, always calm. Always encouraging his students to try out *their own*

> ideas - but insisting on their planning the minutest details (p.81, emphases in original).

He developed cancer in the 1950s but carried on working calmly till the disease ended his life. In fact he carried on working to the last day; and then went home and quietly died.

4. THE PROCESS OF INSTITUTE FORMATION

The four great men mentioned above represent the great chapter in the history of communication research. Gradually other scholars picked up the trail traced by them and moved forward. Some of them created institutes where they could spend their careers in communication study. The process of institute formation marks the growth of any discipline. This process in the field of communication in the United States began, before World War I, with community studies, conducted largely by social workers. In the 1930s other types of institutes appeared that were interested not in problems but rather in data collection. Studies like commercial consumer studies, public opinion polling, radio audience surveys, etc. belong to this genre. A few social research institutes like the Bureau of Social Research of Lazarsfeld, came into existence with the scope of conducting social research for its own sake. After World War II another wave of institute building took place. In this category can be placed: Hovland's Program for the Study of Communication and Attitude Change at Yale, Stouffer's Harvard Laboratory of Social Relations, and the Michigan Survey Research Center.

In the late 1940s and early 1950s another wave of institution building took place. This was the time some universities felt the need to integrate social research into their existing departments, without creating new ones. They sought to appoint a director and a few key members of the faculty without entire new staffs. The University of Illinois started its Institute of Communication Research in 1947 and Stanford its Institute for Communication Research in 1955. Communication institutes were built close to existing programs in

journalism, broadcasting, film, rhetoric, etc. Journalism programs were expanded to include large communication research programs in the universities of Wisconsin and Minnesota. Formal research programs were added to large schools of communication like that of Texas and Syracuse. Among other important communication schools would come the Annenberg School for Communication at Pennsylvania and U.C.L.A.

George Gerbner took up the deanship of the Annenberg School at Pennsylvania in 1964, when the School had not yet decided on its specific course. Gerbner remained dean for more than two decades there. His career is closely linked to the development of the school. In the process, he has helped to define the field of communication as a discipline that has a right to exist independently.

5. CONCLUSION

We began our outline on the origins and development of communication research by mentioning that the history of communication research is of recent origin. In fact many talk about the lack of research in mass communications before 1930 (Weaver, 1980). But authors, like Carey (1980), trace the history of mass communications to the scholarly studies of journalism that began to appear in the late 1800s. Schools of rhetoric and journalism were the forerunners of communication schools and hence the approach of Carey (1980) makes sense. Accordingly we began this presentation with brief mentions about the early studies on the role of the press, propaganda studies, studies of group interaction, and persuasion. The arrival of the motion picture industry increased the interests of everyone regarding the possible negative influence of films. At about the same time radio and audience research also began. Content analyses came to be used extensively in media output research and audience research. The two occupations that developed around mass communications - that of the journalist and the film-maker - aroused interest and this led to research on media organizations. All along concern regarding the possible negative influences of the media was

present. Later research (especially after World War II) was predominantly concerned about the effects of the media.

The vast majority of research in mass communications is centered around effects research. The traditional effects studies were mostly laboratory research concerned with the immediate effects of particular programs. These were in a sense more scientific than others, due to the possibility of controlling the variables and creating the situations in the laboratory. But they had the weakness that since they were controlled experiments their universal application could not be always guaranteed. Gerbner laments the fact that during the last fifty years the effects of mass communications have been studied from the point of view of the media's influence and persuasion power (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a). He further adds that the bulk of research in television effects on society has been carried out from a marketing and attitude change point of view. The predominant aim of such research has been centered around the question of how the customer can be influenced to change his/her mode of consumption so that producers of consumer goods can reap the resulting economic advantage. Gerbner strongly feels (cf. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a; 1993) such effects research which have been often laboratory studies, comparing select groups with certain TV exposure with those who lack such exposure, are piecemeal and will not give the overall picture. Hence he advocates the cultivation approach which is concerned with the long-term overall effects of all TV programs taken together; not to any one section of the society but to the whole of it.

Thus cultivation theory proposes a shift in TV effects studies. The proponents of the theory affirm that the messages of TV are so redundant and stable; and since accumulated total exposure is what counts, even light viewers cannot escape its influence as the whole cultural environment is saturated with it. Unlike the traditional effects studies, the cultivation approach of Gerbner claims to be a more all-embracing total approach to the problem[61]. In the outline of the history of communication research we have provided in this

chapter, Gerbner's research would form part of the effects studies (though he himself prefers to use 'cultivation' instead of 'effects').

The methodology used by Gerbner is called the Cultural Indicators Strategy, which is a three-pronged analysis: Institutional Process Analysis, Message System Analysis, and Cultivation Analysis. In the Message System Analysis, content analysis is used and in the Cultivation Analysis part of it, survey techniques are made use of. In the Institutional Process Analysis part of it, participant observation, in-depth interviews, and other qualitative methods of research are also used. Thus the content analysis techniques used by Lasswell and others were extended to its limits by Gerbner with advanced statistics. The survey research methodology used in Cultivation Analysis suffers from the limitations of such type of research. Thus Gerbner makes use of a mixed methodology to achieve his aims and has drawn on the experiences of qualitative and quantitative research in the field of communications. In fact, he finds no dichotomy between the two methods. Gerbner made the following observation to Murphy (1985):

> As to quantitative vs. qualitative, I never understood that dichotomy. You cannot classify without distinguishing qualities, nor characterize something as more or less than something else without being quantitative. You cannot observe the addition of heat (quantities) to a pot of water without observing that at a certain point it begins to boil and change into steam (a different quality). Therefore I consider the two inseparable (Murphy, 1985, p.68).

Among the modern theories of communication, cultivation theory could be placed among the theories that talk about how the media content plays a part in the social construction of meaning. From Plato onwards philosophers, theologians, and scientists were concerned about how human beings construct meaning. Those who study the process and effects of mass communications believe that meanings and interpretations of reality are socially constructed (DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989). They feel that we are increasingly experiencing a mediated world rather than reality itself. Thus the issues regarding

how the media shape meanings and the implications these have on human conduct become central for such research. Gerbner's concern is the same. Walter Lippmann's meaning construction function of the press, McCombs & Shaw's agenda-setting function of the press, DeFleur & Plax's language-shaping function of the media, and Gerbner's cultivation theory are all concerned about how the media shape meanings and what implication this has on human behavior[62].

Gerbner's concern with the way culture is shaped and the way sub-cultures are often violated for the selfish interests of the conglomerates who own the networks, arises probably from the great value he attaches to freedom, democracy and sub-cultures. He often talks about resistance to change rather than change itself. The media, and especially television, portray the interests of the wealthy and the powerful. In this sense he calls TV the political arm of the government. This idea smells of the hegemonic theory of the Frankfurt School. As mentioned earlier, he is fond of the analysis of society put forward by the Frankfurt School. Besides he worked for a time with Lowenthal, and knew Adorno personally. But he did not follow the Marxian analysis; preferring rather to develop his own analysis.

In the development of any independent discipline, the process of institution formation is important. It is more so in the case of communication as a separate discipline. In the development of the prestigious Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania, Gerbner has an unforgettable part. In the process of the development of this school he has contributed to the creation of communication as a discipline in its own right. Thus it can be said that Gerbner has contributed much to communication research not only by his voluminous research findings but also through the development of theory and the nurturing of scholars. As this dissertation is concerned with him and his critical contribution to communication research let us proceed to a brief life sketch of Gerbner.

NOTES

[1] They are briefly mentioned in the first section of this chapter.

[2] See section 2 of this chapter. In this section the more important types of media effects studies along with their theoretical foundations, are briefly treated. The list is not exhaustive but the more diffused theories will be discussed. A selection has been made here based on the information given in the *International Encyclopedia of Communications* (see Gerbner 1988d). One can always contest the selection.

[3] Though their names are mentioned in connection with propaganda studies, persuasion studies, group interaction studies etc., the great degree of their influence on many later communication scholars and research institutions, warrants such a separate (though brief) treatment (see section 3 of this chapter). Gerbner never worked closely with any of them. But as a communication scholar and researcher, he could not possibly avoid their influence; he was fully aware of their research and theories. The content analysis first used extensively by Lasswell and others became a characteristic mark of Gerbner's later research.

[4] As mentioned already, communication, as a field and a discipline is definitely of recent origin. Gerbner (1984d) and others hold that communication is not only a field of research but has also become a discipline. The distinction between discipline and field is that in a discipline mass communication is pre-eminent as topic of study; whereas in the latter, mass communication is just a subset of a scholar's primary discipline of politics, law or social relations (see Sharp, 1988). Gerbner (1984d) also argues that mass communication is a discipline as it has something to say about every human and social situation. Just like the disciplines of history, economics, physics and others, communication has a unique contribution to make to the understanding of any human relationship or situation. But all need not agree with this view.

[5] The Annenberg School was founded by Mr. Walter Annenberg. Gerbner was not the first dean of the school. When he became the dean the School had not as yet decided on its course. Gerbner is the one who gave a direction to the School and hence I am attributing the qualification "practically the founder" to him.

[6] Hence it is deemed logical to treat briefly the process of institution formation in the United States, in section 4 of this chapter.

[7] This concept will be developed later on in this chapter when talking about Lewin.

[8] These researchers were part of the U.S. Army Research Branch.

[9] More details will be given about the theoretical foundations of persuasion in section 2.1 of this chapter, where persuasion will be treated as part of the effects studies.

[10] Gerbner has been (on his own admission) influenced greatly by the Frankfurt School. He has worked with Adorno and collaborated with Lowenthal. Gerbner's concern with the role of the media in maintaining and transmitting culture has its ideological basis in the teachings of the Frankfurt School.

[11] Gerbner's Institutional Process Analysis is tailored to such type of research. For details see Chapter 3.

[12] Here McQuail (1988) is complimenting Gerbner for his research. He sees it as a contribution to the study of the effects of the media on long-term institutional and societal changes (influences).

[13] The early propaganda studies of Lasswell and others, are strictly speaking persuasion studies. But normally such research is called propaganda studies in communication circles and hence a distinction between the two is made in this work as well.

[14] The descriptions of the three strategies given here, are summarized from DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989. For details read pages 272-294 of the said book.

[15] Modern psychologists talk about a fourth component, that of volition. Here DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989) are including this aspect in the cognitive component.

[16] An explanation of these terms is not attempted here since they do not strictly belong to this dissertation. They are actually basic psychological terms that can be found in any textbook of psychology. Only certain terms like need, drive, attitude etc. will be very briefly explained here to clarify this presentation.

[17] Modern definitions of "need" would use 'feeling' instead of 'state'. Thus a need would be seen as a feeling of deprivation, more than a state of deprivation.

[18] The practice of 'Sati' in ancient India, required the widow of the dead husband to throw herself on the funeral pyre of her husband and thus end her life. It was considered honorable. Legislation in modern India forbids such practice. Some sporadic cases of 'Sati' can be heard of today.

[19] Unlike psychodynamic strategy, far less research has been devoted to the sociocultural approach to persuasion.

[20] Here I am freely paraphrasing DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach, 1989.

[21] I do not intend to go into detail as the scope of this chapter is, only, an outline of the history of communication research.

[22] Gerbner's cultivation theory assumes that.

[23] Here I am freely paraphrasing Katz (1988).

[24] Here I am freely paraphrasing McQuail & Windahl (1987).

[25] For examples read McQuail & Windahl (1987), p.78.

[26] For details read Rogers and Shoemaker (1973).

[27] Here, as elsewhere when models or theories are presented, I am freely paraphrasing McQuail & Windahl (1987).

[28] I have no intention of presenting a criticism of the theory as it is beyond the scope of this work.

[29] For details see Thunberg et al. (1979).

[30] He did not call it by that name but this forms part of a broad social learning theory.

[31] DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989, p.217) argue that research showed that attitudes were often very poor predictors of possible behavior.

[32] DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989) rightly feel that long-term adoption of modeled behavior resulting from repeated exposures to mass communications cannot easily be studied in a laboratory. Some forms of behavior cannot be duplicated, simulated, or demonstrated with short-term laboratory-type studies.

[33] Here I am freely paraphrasing DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989).

[34] Albert Bandura and others may not agree with this.

[35] Gerbner too is interested in long term implications of the media. He is worried about the way marketing forces are

disseminating the messages of the media and cultivating the interests of the conglomerates; he too talks about no-change. He laments the lack of participative involvement of consumers in the decision making level.

[36] Personal communication with the writer of this dissertation on the fourth of August 1993 at the Annenberg School for Communication in Philadelphia.

[37] Here I am freely paraphrasing Katz (1988).

[38] Though Schramm (1980) has called them founding fathers, he is not the only one who would consider them so. In fact no one would grudge them that designation.

[39] The material for this section is taken mainly from Schramm (1980).

[40] Here I am freely paraphrasing Schramm (1980).

[41] Among his contributions to communications, one that no student can escape is his model of mass communication. It is a verbal model that runs thus: who, says what, in which channel, to whom, with what effect. According to him, to understand the process of communication one needs to study each of the five stages envisaged in the verbal model. This model has been one of the widely quoted early models. (cf. McQuail & Windahl, 1987, pp.10-11).

[42] The Zeigarnik effect is a phenomenon named after a pupil of Kurt Lewin by that name. In 1927, he showed that interrupted tasks are remembered more proficiently than uninterrupted tasks. Of course this will depend a lot on the person's involvement in the dynamic field.

[43] During the war when food supplies were in short supply, the U.S. Government was concerned about promoting the use of certain types of food still plentiful but not very popular. Studies were conducted to find out how such food items could be promoted. It was found that discussion between shoppers followed by a group decision was more effective than opinions of experts. (read Gerbner, 1988d - *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, Volume 2, pp.418-419).

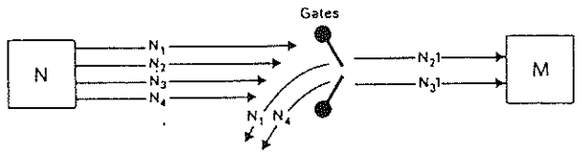
[44] This study showed that under an authoritarian leader, discontent, aggression, loss of originality, lack of cooperation etc. resulted. But under a democratic leader better group spirit and cooperation prevailed. This study was also inspired by Lewin. (read Gerbner, 1988d, *ibidem*).

[45] Lewin found the Gestalt Theory inadequate and hence developed the field theory. He drew on Einstein's definition of a field as the totality of existing facts which should be

conceived of as mutually dependent. In order to understand human behavior, it is necessary to have an understanding of the field in which it occurs. This field embraces the whole psychological life space of an individual; and this psychological life space consists of the total interaction of a person with his/her environment. Lewin holds that unless the entire field is known, an individual's behavior cannot be understood properly. (This explanation of field theory is taken from Wilbur Schramm, 1988, in *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, volume 2, p.418).

[46] Topology (according to Lewin) is the non-metrical geometry, with concepts inside, outside, and boundary. Lewin tried to express his psycho-logic through topology. He sees goal seeking behavior as locomotion symbolic or behavioral in a psychological life-space, and this behavior is more or less structured. The effects of motivation are represented by vectors and forces and the data themselves are ordered by topology. (For details read Eysenck H.J., Meili, R. & Wilhelm, A., 1972, eds., *Encyclopedia of Psychology*, Vol. 2, London: Search Press, p.202).

[47] The concept of gatekeeper originated with Kurt Lewin (1947) and later a model of communication was developed by White (1950) based on it. It is to be kept in mind that White was one of the students of Lewin. The concept of "gatekeeper" arose out of Lewin's study dealing with decisions about household food purchases. To quote McQuail & Windahl (1987): "He noted that information has always to flow along certain channels which contain 'gate areas', where decisions are made, either according to impartial rules or personally by 'gatekeeper', as to whether information or goods will be allowed to enter in, or continue, in the channel" (p.100). Lewin (1947) made a comparison with the flow of news in mass communication. White (1950) took up this idea and developed a gatekeeping model of communication in the case of the flow of news.



White's simple gatekeeping model as given in Mcquail & Windahl (1987), p.100.

In the model, N stands for the source of news item; N1,N2,N3,N4 the news items; N2',N3' selected items; M audience; and N1, N2 discarded items. The gatekeepers in the case of the flow of news in a newspaper would be the different editors who select and discard the news items. Although this model is a simple linear one, it influenced later research very much.

[48] Consistency theory has received various colorations at the hands of different individuals. In general these theories (different expressions of the same theory) hold that a person has a tendency to arrive at a consensus, which tendency calls for communication activity. When two persons do not have a consensus regarding a third object or person, a certain 'uncertainty' or 'discomfort' develops, which calls for communication for the purpose of arriving at a consensus. (Jack W. Brehm, 1988, in *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, vol. 1, pp.322-326).

[49] The theory of Cognitive Dissonance is the brain-child of the social psychologist Festinger, who was one of Lewin's students and an associate. This theory holds that decisions, choices and new information have a potential to create a feeling of inconsistency for an individual. Such a dissonance is psychologically uncomfortable; this situation motivates the individual concerned to seek information that supports the choice that has been made. For example, a new car owner normally reads advertisements about the car bought rather than advertisements of other cars. (source same as of the previous note).

[50] Psychologist Heider (one more of Lewin's students) formulated the theory of Cognitive Balance. The theory is concerned with the degree of consistency or inconsistency between two persons in relation to a third person or object. If two persons like each other and an external object or person, the pattern of relationship will be balanced. If one likes the external object and the other does not like, though they like each other, the pattern of relationship will be unbalanced. Where there is balance each person will resist change; where there is imbalance attempts will be made for cognitive balance. (source same as of previous note).

[51] Newcomb (1953) developed the so called A-B-X model of communication based on earlier work by psychologist Heider (1946). (Heider's position is explained in the previous note). The A-B-X model can be even termed an extension of the Cognitive Balance theory of Heider. While Heider was concerned with the cognitive process internal to either of the two participants having relation to a third person or object, Newcomb extended the theory to apply to communication between two or more people. According to him when a 'strain to symmetry' occurs, the area of agreement would be widened by engaging in communication. His basic assumption is that communication performs the essential function of enabling two or more individuals to maintain simultaneous orientations to each other and towards objects of an external environment. (I am freely paraphrasing McQuail & Windahl, 1987). In that sense, communication is a 'learned response to strain'; naturally, under conditions of disequilibrium and uncertainty, there will likely be more communication activity (information giving,

seeking, exchange). The model takes the shape of a triangle with two individuals A and B relating to themselves and a common environment X. Discrepancies between A and B in their orientation to X stimulate communication; and this communication will tend to restore balance. Later on Newcomb (1959) added some qualifications to his earlier theory. He noted that communication is likely to take place when certain conditions are present: 1) where there is strong attraction between persons; 2) where the object X is important at least to one of the persons; 3) where the object X has a joint relevance for both. (cf. McQuail & Windahl, 1987, pp.21-22).

[52] The Congruity theory of Osgood and Tannenbaum is based on the psychological tradition of attitude congruence. Its main assumption is that an individual has a tendency to avoid information incongruent with his/her image of reality. The reason for this can be that the individual may feel that such information is threatening. Based on this psychological tradition Donohew and Tipton developed a model of information-seeking. (For detail see Donohew & Tipton, 1973).

[53] The Consistency Theory of McGuire and others share the assumption that people have an inherent tendency to reduce the inconsistency among the items of information they have about themselves and the world. These items include attitudes, beliefs, opinions, affective responses (like and dislike), and behavior. They are called cognitions. When relationships among cognitions are perceived to be inconsistent, the individual initiates mental processes or changes of behavior to reduce the inconsistency. The Balance Theory of Fritz Heider, the Congruity Theory of Osgood & Tannenbaum, the Theory of Cognitive Dissonance of Leon Festinger, etc. fall under the general category of Cognitive Consistency Theory. These theories try to predict when people will be receptive or unreceptive to persuasion, and under what conditions. (cf. Jack W. Brehm, 1988, in *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, vol. 1, pp.322-326).

[54] Lasswell and Lewin were also influenced by Freud. In fact Lasswell as a young professor gave a series of public lectures where he tried to reconcile the positions of Freud and Marx.

[55] Gerbner worked for a time in collaboration with Lowenthal, who on Gerbner's own admission, was a great influence on him. More of it will be mentioned in chapter 2 of this dissertation where a short life history of Gerbner is provided.

[56] Among the four fathers of communication research, Lazarsfeld was closest to the media.

[57] Unlike the other founding fathers, Hovland never studied in Europe. So he could be termed a thorough-bread American.

[58] The Nazi propaganda used the one-sided argument coupled with emotional appeals without mention of any counter-arguments.

[59] "Sesame Street" is a famous TV serial in the United States, meant for children. Several studies have been done on this program .

[60] Carl Hovland and associates during World War II and later at Yale University, studied the influence of a communicator's credibility or prestige on the persuasive power of a message. It was found that when the message came from a communicator of little credibility, it had practically no effect on the audience. But it was noticed that after several weeks when the communicator's deficiency in this matter was normally forgotten, positive attitudes developed towards the message; so much so that after a time lag, low-credibility and high-credibility messages had almost the same effect. This unexpected change of attitude on the part of people who had been exposed to low-credibility messages is called sleeper effect. This concept is important in communication when dealing with propaganda, disinformation, advertising, and media ethics. (Read Wilbur Schramm, 1988, in *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, vol. 4, p.88).

[61] As a detailed explanation of the theory is contemplated in Chapter 3, there is no need to go into it here.

[62] For details read DeFleur & Ball-Rokeach (1989), pp. 228-269. Agenda-setting theory is explained earlier in this chapter as it is a popular theory. The other two (apart from the cultivation theory) are not so widely quoted or used and hence not treated in our outline.

CHAPTER 2

GEORGE GERBNER AND HIS GENERAL MODEL OF COMMUNICATION

After having a general idea about the history of communication theory and research in the U.S. let us proceed to a brief life sketch of Gerbner followed by his model of communication. Gerbner started his career in the 1950s when the field of communication was still relatively young and few universities entertained a separate course in communication. His academic life of nearly half a century did contribute a lot to the growth of communication as a separate discipline[1]. The scope of this chapter is to present a brief life history of Gerbner and then proceed to a presentation of his general model of communication. The cultivation theory and the Cultural Indicators Research are based on the model. Moreover his model is a dynamic one that can be used for several purposes, as will be seen later on in this chapter. Now let us proceed to a brief presentation of Gerbner the man[2].

1. LIFE SKETCH OF GEORGE GERBNER

George Gerbner is the owner of a checkered life that began in Hungary. His emigration to the U.S. was preceded by eventful sojourns in Italy, France, Mexico, and Cuba. When he finally managed to get a visa for the U.S., it was not the end of all his troubles as life was far from easy. With his characteristic determination he worked his way up and built for himself a distinguished career.

1.1 EARLY YEARS

George Gerbner was born in Budapest, Hungary in 1919. His father was a teacher and his mother a photographer.

> ... during the depression, she turned to dressmaking (in the European sense, Gerbner points out, meaning that she developed her own lines for regular clients), (Ledger, 1984, p. 16).

As a boy he was an active member of the Boy Scouts and very much interested in Hungarian literature and folklore. At the age of 19, he won first prize in a national essay competition on Hungarian literature and was able to publish a book of poetry in the Hungarian language. He collected songs and stories in villages with the intention of studying folklore and literature at the University of Budapest. When he had completed just one year of study, World War II interrupted his plans. In the year 1939, Hungary was preparing to ally itself with Nazi Germany and there was every chance that Gerbner would be drafted.

> "That was not the side I wanted to be on", he says, so he decided to emigrate. "My parents, while they were sorry to see me leave, were glad that I had an opportunity to get out while I could." (*ibidem*).

Young Gerbner's father lost his job as a teacher due to the political turmoil in Hungary at that time. Then he worked as a bank employee for twelve years. He disappeared during the war and presumably died in action. His mother died in 1981 but she had been able to visit him in the United States before that. He had a younger brother (four years younger) who practised medicine in Budapest. He died in 1991 and his children and grandchildren still live in Budapest. He had an older half brother (of the same mother) who helped him to emigrate to the United States. He had been a movie director in Hollywood and died in March 1992. Gerbner emigrated first to Italy and then to France, from where he applied for admission to U.C.L.A. He was given admission but had no visa to enter the U.S. So he took a visa for Mexico where he worked for six months as a tourist guide mostly for Americans. His English accent made people think that he belonged there.

> "My legitimacy as a guide in Mexico was only based on the fact that I couldn't speak English", he says. "They just

> believed me. I thought I was a pretty good guide." (*ibidem*).

1.2 EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES

When his Mexican visa was about to expire, Gerbner went to Cuba. The American Consul in Cuba, gave him a visa for New Orleans and informed him that he would need money to remain in the U.S. He went to New Orleans without much money and was ordered deported. When his hearing was over, someone told him that he could appeal. He did appeal and waited in New Orleans for two weeks until the verdict came from Washington. His half-brother in the U.S., Laslo Benedek, who was a movie director then, came to his aid. Gerbner stayed with Benedeck's friends. Benedeck borrowed money and put up 250 dollars for his visa. Thus Gerbner received his visa in two weeks' time. He then hitchhiked to Los Angeles and enrolled at U.C.L.A. He flunked several tests for basic English. With his characteristic doggedness, he decided to write a series of articles on his 7000-mile adventure. Each installment would be corrected by his remedial teacher before being submitted to the student newspaper. He did not attempt poetry anymore as he felt that certain artistic expressions like poetry was possible only in one's mother tongue. The following year he transferred to the writing program of the University of California at Berkeley from where eventually he graduated with a degree in journalism.

1.3 MILITARY SERVICE IN EUROPE

Immediately after his graduation, he joined *The San Francisco Chronicle*, as a reporter and editor. The U.S. Government classified him as an enemy alien. The reason was that during this time Hungary had joined the War on the side of Germany and declared war on the U.S. In 1943 he was allowed to become a U.S. citizen. He joined an air-borne division of the infantry and was recruited into the *Office of Strategic Services*[3] the wartime intelligence operation. He was supposed to have been dropped behind enemy lines in Austria so that

he could help prepare surrendering troops for the eventual armistice. But by mistake, he was dropped into Slovania, one of the federated republics of the then Yugoslavia. So he had to be reassigned to one of the partisan brigades. While they were not in flight, they tried to report on German troop movements from the hills[4]. Towards the end of the war Gerbner won a field commission as a first lieutenant. He was asked to help arrest Hungarian troops, and he had the personal satisfaction of arresting the Hungarian Prime Minister who was in Office when he emigrated to the U.S. He then joined the American military mission in Budapest which was overseeing the war trials there. Gerbner recalls that those trials had been genuine and no indiscriminate sentences were ever passed (Ledger 1984).

1.4 HIS MARRIAGE AND RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES

When Gerbner was attached to the American military mission at Budapest, during a party he met Ilona Kutas, an Austro-Hungarian actress who also taught theater.

> When they were introduced, Gerbner said, "I've seen you before" - a tired line that would have sunk him she says, except that it was true: he had seen the production of the topical Hungarian play she was performing in. Later that evening, when she declined his invitation to go to the American Officers' club after the party, he invited all of the guests. ("So you get an idea of how George Gerbner works," she says.) Not long thereafter, Gerbner received orders to go to Austria and knew that he would not be returning to Hungary. Ilona Gerbner remembers the statement that amounted to his marriage proposal, which was also their first discussion of marriage: "I found out", he declared to her, "that as a war bride, there is no problem getting you into the United States." (Ledger, 1984, pp. 16-17).

Thus they got married and stayed in Vienna for another six months. During this time he gained his discharge from the army and was employed by the US Information Service, as an editor in charge of a daily newspaper and news broadcasts. In 1947 they went to Los Angeles where Ilona enrolled for a Masters' degree in theater at

U.C.L.A. Gerbner looked for a newspaper job like the one he had with the *Chronicle*. One fine morning in 1947, he received a telephone call from his employment agency. They wanted to know whether he was interested in a stop-gap job as an instructor at John Muir College as their professor of journalism had been suddenly reassigned as Chairman elsewhere. Gerbner took it and thus began his academic career, and that too accidently. Up to this point Gerbner had never given a thought to an academic life. He realized that his interest in Hungarian folklore was no more relevant and discovered he could have much more freedom as a scholar. He wanted a more creative job and he had the possibility in the academic field more than in journalism. He enrolled in the School of Education at the University of Southern California for a Masters' degree, where he earned his degree in communication with a thesis on television and education.

During this time, a professor of his asked him to write a paper on what a graduate school of communication should be. This paper led him to his Ph.D. dissertation, in which he analyzed general theories and models of communication and proposed his own famous model of communication. This dissertation won for him the 1955 best dissertation award from the University.

> "What I was essentially doing," he says, "was inventing or pioneering the concept of communications as a basic concern with the production, nature, and role of symbols and messages of human and social life as a seminal approach to most, if not all, human problems - and, therefore, a basic academic discipline." (*ibidem*, p.17).

1.5 EARLY INFLUENCES AND DEVELOPMENT OF HIS THOUGHT

Gerbner did not have the leisure to attend only to his graduate study and research. He had to continue his teaching job as an instructor. Slowly he began to move away from classroom journalism. During this time he came under the influence of a social psychologist by name Franklin Fearing, who led him towards the social aspects of communication. Another author who influenced him during this time was Theodor Adorno[5] with whom he collaborated in studies on the

psychodynamics of television drama. This exercise taught him to look at cultural assumptions, and 'hidden agendas' that are inherent parts of stories; and understand them. Ledger (1984) clarifies this point using Gerbner's own words:

> Take, for instance, relationships among television characters: women rarely interact with women because, Gerbner says, men most often write the stories, and they are not interested in what women say among themselves unless they talk about men. Men express the greatest friendship as well as the greatest hostility when they talk to other men. And men and women typically go through tense negotiation about who dominates (the male usually wins). The regularity of such patterns in a sexist society makes them pass unnoticed, Gerbner suggests. They begin to stand out, however, when you sort events into categories and count the number of times they occur or when you encounter an individual story that violates the conventional relationships (a more interesting story, he says, "and usually a less salable one") (p.17).

In 1956 Gerbner was appointed assistant professor at the Institute of Communications Research at the University of Illinois at Urbana. The research work he was involved in at the time was more empirical in nature and long term[6]. He was involved in a study on the portrayal of mental illness in the mass media. Later he originated a study about the portrayal of education and schools in the media of about ten countries including the U.S. and Western and Eastern Europe. This study was conducted over a period of 10 years. He introduced his pet idea of the Institutional Process Analysis in this study. He was interested in finding out whether different policies produced different systems of messages. In studies of this sort single programs lose importance and what matters is the aggregate assembly line of programs. Once the messages were isolated by content analysis, he sought to see whether different systems of messages cultivated different habits of thought in the various audiences (Cultivation Analysis).

1.6 GERBNER AS DEAN OF ANNENBERG SCHOOL

By 1964 Gerbner had risen to the rank of an associate professor at Illinois, when he was invited to apply for the deanship of the Annenberg School at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia. According to Dr. Robert E. Spiller, who was acting dean of the school at the time, the School had not settled on whether it ought to prepare students for jobs in the mass media or for research and teaching in communications.

> The appointment of Spiller as acting dean no doubt helped to determine the direction the school would take, because his own work was scholarly and interdisciplinary. Spiller liked the way Gerbner's research branched into sociology and psychology, "in a general theoretical way". He also liked its moral direction. Along with the atomic bomb and biological research, Spiller feels, the mass media constitute one of the major influences on contemporary life, and he wanted someone who would help foster possibilities for good. Gerbner was his choice. "For an ax-cut into a basic situation, the appointment of Gerbner is about as good as any could be", says Spiller, who regards it as "one of the best things I ever did in my life." (Ledger, 1984, p.18).

When Gerbner came for the interview, he saw nothing but opportunity for the school. He met Gilbert Seldes who was the first dean of the school and Gerbner refers to him as one of those brilliant people without many advanced degrees but has produced influential books. Seldes reportedly told him that the school had several very good people but they had not determined any particular direction, which situation he was happy to present to Gerbner (Ledger 1984). Many graduate schools of communications in the U.S. have grown out of departments of journalism, speech, public relations, advertising, or television, and the existing faculties have tried to enforce their points of view on the graduate program of communications. The Annenberg School was a clean slate and that fact left Gerbner free to determine its direction. He tried to carry out the idea he had had in his mind. This idea he describes historically and its central points are given below.

According to him (Gerbner 1977), human culture was once a handicraft. Before industrialization, tribal leaders passed on culture through ritual stories which they interpreted to their listeners face-to-face. The listeners learned what pertained to their societies, the different social roles, the codes of conduct etc. from the elders. With the coming of the industrial era, human consciousness was packaged in books and dependence on tribal leaders diminished. This created notions of individuality and class consciousness. A new order of people - the literate - came to be and they shaped stories according to their own points of view. As a result stable tribal groups that were often made homogeneous also by geography broke up and formed 'mass publics' where people share a particular consciousness without ever meeting face-to-face. When the industrial revolution began to mass produce books (which are but cultural symbols), human consciousness gradually became the 'product of a system of symbol mass-production'. The telecommunications era is the latest stage of this development. People had to learn to read to come under the influence of books. But television does not need any literacy and in that sense TV is a tribal leader spinning out stories day after day. It imposes a point of view even before people (e.g. children) begin to develop one of their own. This symbolic environment produced by distant sources becomes a sort of state religion that represents an ideological structure of society. It gives an idea of how people view the world, the nature of the universe and what governs it and themselves[7]. Ledger (1984) uses the words of Gerbner to describe the direction of the Annenberg School:

> "We as a society, and perhaps most other societies, have not yet found a satisfactory solution to the management of our industrial culture." The problems which societies face because of the "industrialization of cultures", the application of sophisticated technology to forms of communication, are, he concludes, within the purview of the Annenberg School (p.18).

Hon. Walter H. Annenberg, the founder and benefactor of the school always gave a lot of rope to Gerbner and also unconditional academic freedom; the only requirement being excellence. Gerbner

established a faculty for the school drawing scholars from psychology, anthropology, sociology, education or history who felt themselves on the fringes of their own disciplines and were willing to use communications to test theories in their home subjects, or to apply those subjects to communications. It is reported that Gerbner was always fond of eccentrics to see what they can do against a larger ambition. Gerbner also oversaw the creation of the Annenberg Center for Communication Arts and Sciences. Its building was completed in 1970 and he withdrew from responsibility for the center in 1975. The workshops of art formerly housed in the school were gradually phased out. Though an artist himself and a patron of art, Gerbner did not want the school of arts to interfere with his school of communications.

As dean, Gerbner's style of running the school was more feudal than modern managerial and unlike other large schools, all the thirteen regular faculty members had to report directly to him without intermediaries. His colleagues saw him as an authoritative person who needed to be in charge. But this sometimes caused minor problems as the school has several faculty members who are learned and scholarly in their own right, and everyone feels that he/she is in control of his/her own field. Although authoritative, Gerbner is known to have an intrinsic sense of fairness that often prevented him from imposing his will on other people, even when he could have legitimately done that. An artist who used to conduct art classes was chided by Gerbner because on of his students was allowed to go into art professionally. Gerbner's objection was that the aim of the school was not to compete with design schools. The instructor replied that he was not going to discourage a student who turns out awfully good, just for keeping the direction of the school in course. Gerbner retorted that he did not agree as he had the responsibility to keep the school on course, but he perfectly understood the position of the instructor; nothing more was done to enforce his will. At yet another time, the artist had allowed a poster containing a dirty word to be hung in the hallway. The point of the project was to see whether

print in poster form could inflame viewers. Gerbner protested to that as many important people would be traversing the hallway, and the poster would cause him great embarrassment, but reminded him that he had the right to do what he wanted about it. The artist refused to remove the poster and Gerbner did not give a suppressive order (cf. Ledger 1984).

Although a hard taskmaster, Gerbner is acclaimed as a nurturer of scholars and a lover of arts. In fact many of his students have started to climb the ladder of success at several universities all over the United States and abroad. He wants the students to challenge him and not accept anything he says uncritically. In his well presented lectures, he puts forward his arguments persuasively and convincingly and students who are naive could be carried away. In fact, he is accused of making the class room, a pulpit to put forward his own ideas. But who can object to anyone putting forward his/her convictions! One could ask which professor does not do that? Gerbner is also accused of self-promotion. In fact he is an adept self-promoter, capable of making appearances on television to criticize the messages of television. Some scholars consider it cheap popularity that takes something away from the seriousness of a scholar. But Gerbner feels that since he has an important message to deliver, he should make use of every opportunity for people at large to listen to him.

Through the orientation he gave to the Annenberg School, Gerbner has helped to establish the field of communications and define it. In the process he has helped to establish communications as an independent discipline. How he did it is beyond the scope of this dissertation.

1.7 HIS FAMILY

Gerbner and Ilona have two sons. The elder son, John C. Gerbner, is an architect and the younger son Thomas J. Gerbner,

practises psychiatry. Ilona gave up an established career as an actress to marry Gerbner. Hating the vagaries of the employment possibilities for an actress in America, she refused to act in the U.S. She has built herself a career at Penn University, where she is a senior lecturer in theater arts and director of the College's theater laboratory. She takes her teaching seriously and ratings of students about her lectures border on the ecstatic.

1.8 CONCLUSION

Gerbner has now retired as dean of the Annenberg School but still teaches there. He is also active academically, conducting research, giving lectures all over the world and nurturing students and scholars. His curriculum vitae given in the appendix of the original work, will further enlighten the reader about his many achievements and activities. Waters, H.F.[8] (1982) paid the following tribute to him:

> The late Paddy Chayefsky, who created Howard Beale, would have loved George Gerbner. In "Network," Chayefsky marshaled a scathing, fictional assault on the values and methods of the people who control the world's most potent communications instrument. In real life, Gerbner, perhaps the nation's foremost authority on the social impact of television, is quietly using the disciplines of behavioral research to construct an equally devastating indictment of the medium's images and messages. More than any spokesman for a pressure group, Gerbner has become the man that television watches. From his cramped, book-lined office at the University of Pennsylvania springs a steady flow of studies that are raising executive blood pressures at the networks' sleek Manhattan command posts.
>
> George Gerbner's work is uniquely important because it transports the scientific examination of television far beyond familiar children-and-violence arguments. Rather than simply studying the link between violence on the tube and crime in the streets, Gerbner is exploring wider and deeper terrain. ...(p.136).

As a biography is not intended here, the above presentation is deemed sufficient to have an idea about the life and career of Gerbner. Now let us proceed to his general model of communication.

2. GEORGE GERBNER'S GENERAL MODEL OF COMMUNICATION

The cultivation theory and the Cultural Indicators Strategy have their foundation in the concept of communication as a basic concern with the production, nature, and role of symbols and messages of human and social life as a seminal approach to most human problems[9] (Ledger, 1984). In his Ph.D. dissertation Gerbner (1955) claims to have tried to invent or pioneer that concept. Naturally, he tried to propose a model that would satisfactorily define the field of communications and individuate areas for research and theory-building. His general model of the process of communication as well as his cultivation theory, are obviously based on certain philosophical assumptions. In his Ph.D. dissertation (1955) where for the first time, he proposes a general model of communication, he also explains some of his philosophical assumptions[10]. To understand his model of communication and his theory, it is necessary to be aware of them.

2.1 SOME PHILOSOPHICAL ASSUMPTIONS

Gerbner defines communication as social interaction performed through messages (Gerbner 1958, 1973, etc). He is concerned with the veracity of the content of the message, with perception, with the subjective element in perception, with the objective reception of messages, with the various influences on the sender and the receiver of the messages etc.

The physical world with its permanence through change fascinates him. In spite of change and motion, there is order.

> The quantitative, orderly process of motion and change were seen as continuous and deterministic, inferred mathematically and statistically from its isolated qualitative aspects (Gerbner, 1955, pp. 352-353).[11]

The way of transacting (with integrity) with the physical world is always through perceiving isolated qualities. According to him we

have to recognize the emergence of new qualities within a quantitative universe.

> While we were seen as existing in and through such a physical world, we could transact with it with integrity only through perceiving isolated qualities pertinent to the tasks of survival. We perceived such qualities in terms of time and space, and relationships isolated from total context. Thus we perceived constancy of shape, size, characteristics of objects, and we perceived change in space and time, and we were functionally sensitive to changing qualities. This was assumed to have permitted us to comprehend our world in terms that were discontinuous and qualitative, recognizable and endowed with value. And it permitted science to recognize the emergence of new qualities within a quantitative universe, and to formulate new theoretical approaches adequate to deal with each new transition of quantities and qualities (*ibidem*, p.353).

Phenomena can be isolated through the aspects of permanence and change, continuity and discontinuity, time and space. The paradoxes of permanence and change observed by modern science, are explained in transactional descriptions as occurring due to different levels of observation and different levels of isolation (Gerbner 1955). The nature of perceived qualities depend on the level of isolation and the position of the observer in historical time and space dimensions. In perception[12] we have everything in all dimensions at once. For example, the perception of a tree is both a process in time and a structure at the moment. Further, in the process of the levels of observation and isolation, free will of individuals enter. Free will enters the picture as different individuals have different perceptions of qualities as a result of which differences of response to the perceived qualities become possible. All kinds of creative interpretations are possible due to the presence of this freedom of perception. Gerbner (1955) sees this freedom as the basis of all cultural change, innovations and inventions.

He (1955) further argues that a scientist could not just be a 'collector' of facts of perception without also having a point of view, a way of looking at these facts. Thus scientific observation and

perception had to become social perception charged with social values.[13]

> Science dealt with the quantitative and "barren" universe through statistics, probability, and quantum mechanics. But it could not deal with them to the exclusion of perceptual qualitative aspects; it recognized that in dealing with his world, the observer depended on his recognition of qualities and values.
>
> So the scientist could not just collect "facts" without also creating a point of view, a way of looking at those facts and their diverse and changing - yet to all "appearances" discontinuous and constant - isolated qualities. Scientific observation and perception was thus social perception and a hopeful approximation of literal perception at the same time (*ibidem*, p.355).

In the above process of observation and communication, the observer's freedom to perceive and communicate depends on his/her freedom to know the realities on which his/her knowledge and survival depends. Hence it becomes of paramount importance to infer accurately the truth and value of one's perceptions in terms of what one could not perceive; in terms of the dynamics of the material and social world. Gerbner (1955) further asserts: "Man could ill afford either to mistrust completely, or to depend entirely on empirical sense data"[14] (p. 356). Thus 'truth' is the result of an interaction between the representation of the object as it exists in the physical world and the subject who selects, perceives, and interprets the representation of the object making use of the subject's context, education, background, point of view, prejudice, etc.

As he is interested in perception and reality from a communication point of view, Gerbner (1955) talks about the unity of man with environment. The unity of the human being with the environment is basic to the communication transaction. This unity is not a mythical fusion of self with nature nor an integration of man and society but composed of harmonic opposites (by no means always harmonious), mutually exchanging energy and information. This harmonic contradiction of existence is reconciled by scientific awareness of observation and communication. One has to keep in mind

also the fact that a message might contain more or less information than intended by the sender and at times it is possible that unintended and contradictory messages may be received by the audience.[15] From these philosophical assumptions, Gerbner (1955) tries to define the role of a student of communication.

> A student of communication was, therefore, seen as one aware of scientific requirements of self-consciousness and objective complexity, transacting with the process itself in order to extract the most pertinent multiple pattern of information representative of the states of the systems involved, and relevant to their objective needs (p.357).

An act of communication always involves some transaction. This transaction means that man acts through environment and the environment acts through man. Man evidently possesses the superior awareness but the process is reciprocal.

> ... the more man "controlled" nature the more he was controlled; the more freedom he eked out for himself the more he had to act in accordance with the information that made such freedom possible (*ibidem*, p.357).

If information makes freedom possible, all information in whatever guise becomes vital. Also man's awareness of the objective qualities of such informations (like assumptions, implicit points of view, accuracy and function of perception and interpretation etc.) become important for individual and social progress, for satisfaction and for human survival. In all this there is a lot of subjectivity but this should not lead to relativism. Gerbner asserts that in fact communication is both a science and an art.

> Self - and value - conscious observation, communication adequate to the demands of a real world perceived from a human (social, historical) point of view, was seen as placing the study of communication at the cross-roads of science and art, as uniting truth, fact and value (*ibidem*, p.358).

In physics the word 'observer' means a recording instrument that interferes with what it observes but which does not abolish

objective existence. In the same way, Gerbner (1955) sees subjective sensitiveness of perception as functional to the detection of objective significance.

> The subjective sensitiveness of perception and consciousness were thus seen as equally functional for a detection of "objective" significance as for its distortion. The view affirming the existence of an independent and objective material reality outside of consciousness made it mandatory that science increase, without prior methodological limitations on "meaningfulness", the range and accuracy of information on which man was dependent for such measure of independence as he could achieve. And at the "base of things", therefore, was seen neither sense-data alone, nor just organically and socially structured phenomena, but such natural and universal order and change as the light of science and rational comprehension was able to detect and reflect both in consciousness and in cultural imagery (*ibidem*, p.359).

According to Gerbner (1955, 1958, 1973, 1988) human communication developed in society through the coordinated use of hands and brain in cooperative labour[16]. Therefore essential meaningfulness of any communication content should be conceived in terms of social goals and functions. This is not limited to conscious common individual experiences. The reality of content of communication evidently does not depend on individual experiences or beliefs but more on the representativeness of the information which can be appraised quite independently of individual beliefs. It has also to be kept in mind that the truth quality of information is not identical to 'realism' or representativeness.

> Truth was regarded as a quality of statements in terms of their total meaning, taking into account implied or expressed value judgment as well as representativeness (*ibidem*, p.360).

Thus the idea of truth involves 'total meaning' including implicit and explicit value judgements[17]. This affirmation does not mean that the truth of a statement is relative or verified by its effects. Gerbner goes on to argue that the truth quality of statements can be scientifically assessable in the light of historical, social, ethical and

physical criteria. He sees truth as intrinsically meaningful reflections of objective human existence.

> Truth was thus considered the sum total of multiple qualities of a statement. These qualities included implicit assumptions, implied value judgment, validity of point of view, and adequacy of context, along with, and often overriding in importance. While these qualities could not always be appraised in general, they were considered concrete and measurable qualities as of the time and place and circumstance of a specific act of communication (*ibidem*, p.361).

Gerbner (1955) further argues that truth unites fact and value. Hence the principles of communication should specify not only concepts of reality and criteria for representativeness, but also criteria of value. Man is capable of shaping and transforming reality and thus capable of truth-making. He talks of an evolutionary process of shaping reality. The freedom of the individual should not be limited to choosing or rejecting a point of view but also controlling choice and selection in the direction of truth through adequate and universally valid social information. He affirms that such criteria should apply even to imaginary statements.

Akin to his idea of truth, Gerbner (1955) develops his notion of the 'good'. According to him, man evolved grappling and mastering problems, thus making progress towards 'good'. Such direction and such progress is reflected and embodied in human ideals. "'Good' then could be something in the nature of certain differences in productivity and ideals over periods of time" (*ibidem,* p.363).

Anthropology suggests that 'good' was always the actual direction of progress throughout man's existence. In that sense seeking the 'good' could be considered the absolute ideal of man. But with the passage of time the amount and quality of historical and scientific knowledge changed. Hence the ideals had to be continuously reformulated. Since reformulation was necessary, at least in that sense, 'good' is relative. Gerbner (1955) calls it "a relative absolute".

In **conclusion** we may say that, Gerbner sees sense perception as resulting from the transaction between objects in the physical world and the perceiver who has his/her context and background. Truth is not only the 'representativeness' of the object but the sum total of multiple qualities of a statement, which qualities include assumptions, points of view, and context of the perceiver. Thus value judgements form an integral part of the truth of messages communicated. The development and evolution of '*homo sapiens*' is very much connected with hand brain coordination which became necessary to survive and to progress. This progress was always in the direction of the 'good'. But due to the accumulation of knowledge the ideals of 'good' had to be reformulated continuously. Thus information of every type becomes vital to human progress and survival. In the humanizing process of the '*homo sapiens*' communication played an important part, as for survival '*homo sapiens*' had to seek the support of his own kind. That is why communication has to be seen and studied from a sociological and social aspect. These philosophical assumptions of Gerbner leads him to suggest some general specifications for an approach toward a theory of communication.

2.2 GENERAL SPECIFICATIONS FOR AN APPROACH TOWARD A THEORY OF COMMUNICATION

Based on his philosophical assumptions, Gerbner (1955) lays down some specifications for an approach toward communication theory[18]. They are enumerated below:

1. The approach toward a theory of communication should be fully self-conscious of the human standpoint of its observations and not exploit awareness of that standpoint for limiting or for negativistic purposes. It should make use of that standpoint as a historical and scientific source of significant insight about the communication transaction to further (unashamedly) the progress and welfare of mankind[19].

2. The said approach should be concerned with 'being'[20] as well as with 'transaction'. It should be supported by adequate theory that will provide the criteria for the adoption of relevant methodology. If an adequate theory is lacking, there is danger that the methodology dictates both value judgments and formulations of problems. This will result in the loss of the 'human value', save what is expedient.

3. He further argues that a scientific and concrete theory of truth and value[21], as well as being, together with socio-historical analysis, should guide the formulation of problems. The criteria of pertinence and selection of methods should be determined on the basis of the same scientific and concrete theory.

4. The purpose of the methods selected should primarily be the further development and investigation of problems, and application of the criteria to the specific tasks at hand. He holds that broad theory should be hospitable to contributions from whatever source[22], except of course interpretations and methodology hostile to human questions.

As mentioned earlier, Gerbner develops his model of communication and his Cultural Indicators' Strategy, keeping in mind the above mentioned philosophical assumptions and general specifications.

3. THE INTERACTION MODEL: PERCEPTION AND COMMUNICATION

Gerbner (1956) tried to put forward a general model of communication with a wide range of applications. One interesting characteristic of this model is that its parts can be used as building blocks, to describe simple as well as complicated communication processes. It can be called a perception-production-perception model. Before proceeding to the description of the model itself, it is relevant to keep in mind Gerbner's understanding of perception and communication.

3.1 PERCEPTION AND COMMUNICATION

In the previous section regarding the philosophical assumptions of Gerbner, his view of perception (in general) was clarified. For him the relationship between the observer and the object (event) is one of perception. This perception has a strong subjective element but reality is not merely a creation of the subject, as the physical world is real and capable of existing ontologically apart from the perceiver. Communication occurs when one transmits one's perception to someone else. In his general model of the process of communication he tries to represent this dynamic process that should take into account the objective reality of the physical world, the subjective interpretation of that reality (depending on the context of the perceiver), the coding of this perception into meaningful messages, the transmission of these messages making use of appropriate channels, and the reception of these messages by a receiver (or mass publics in the case of mass communications) who in turn is/are conditioned by both the messages and their own subjective contexts. Logically, Gerbner would see communication as social interaction through messages (Gerbner, 1956, 1958b, 1960c, 1963e, etc).[23]

> Let me define communication as social interaction performed through messages. Messages may be defined as formally coded or symbolic or representational events which are of some shared significance in culture, and which are produced for the purpose of evoking significance (Gerbner, 1963e, p.29).
>
> A *communication* is, then, a specialized, formally coded or representative social event which makes possible inferences about states, relationships, processes not directly observed. The *process* of communication is the transmission of such events and sharing of certain inferences. The *content* of communication is the sum total of warranted inferences that can be made about relationships involved in the communication event (Gerbner, 1958b, p.41, italics in original)

The reason why Gerbner sees communication as social interaction is because he sees communication as a humanizing process. He (1963e) argues that for the evolution of *Homo Sapiens* to the

human being of today, communication played an important role. According to him a hundred million years of evolution can be compressed in the word 'comprehend'. This word stems from the expression 'to grasp with the forehand'. The ability to reach out and hold as well as grasp things with the hand developed the mind as well.

> Life in damp tropical forests freed the forearms of a certain group of primates from the burden of carrying the body, and made them into hands - strong, sure, and delicate instruments. Exceptionally, deft manipulation required an exceptionally large and complex control system - the human brain. The needs of hand-brain coordination made it possible to develop the brain capacity necessary for holding an image long enough to reflect on it, store it, and retrieve it. This capacity is the prerequisite for the production and use of messages, and thus for human communication (Gerbner, 1963e, p.29-30).

The Ice Age with its invasion of glaciers robbed the hominoids of their tropical paradise. Forced to huddle together in cold valleys that used to be flooded even during warm spells, the *Homo Sapiens* was forced to develop resources of collaboration, community and communication to survive. This made him a "pretty accomplished artist, scientist, and organizer" (Gerbner, 1963e, p. 30). The hand-brain coordination helped *Homo Sapiens* to develop tool making abilities and also to put these abilities to communal use.

> This symboling ability is the capacity to produce messages; to record, represent, and re-create aspects of human condition; to encode, share, and decode significance: and thus, to extend the scope of consciousness beyond the reach of the senses, and to create a vision of human potentialities and requirements beyond that of any living species (*ibidem*, p.30).

Thus the uniquely human characteristics of collaboration and community sense is infused by communication. The shaping of language, magic, legend and ritual arose from the needs of survival through living and working together. One function of this communication was to make work easier, life more meaningful and also

developing a philosophy of life that explains the hierarchy, taboos, customs etc. of a culture; always with a view to passing on this knowledge to the new generation. Gerbner (1963e) calls this the *art* function of communication as a social enterprise.

> Man the communicator as artist informed and inspired, frightened and entertained as he helped all to bear the hardships, share the joys, avoid the dangers, and celebrate the accomplishments of communal life. He made the truths of the tribe - or of the culture - believable and compelling.
>
> From the taming of fire to the sowing of seeds man learned not only the arts of making truths believable, but also the importance of making beliefs truer. Man reached out, got burned, and fled in panic. But not always. For he could also reflect, and so he could contemplate an abstract proposition: Which end of a burning stick could be seized with impunity? Let me call this the science function of communication as a social enterprise. Man the communicator, as scientist, undertakes to assess the validity of propositions. His function is, therefore, to make beliefs truer (*ibidem*, p.30).

Man as communicator, has the third social function of organizer and administrator (governmental function). Here man is responsible for the structure of conscious reflective choices. His responsibility is to organize the energy and power of message systems to promote liberating ends and to make knowledge freer.

Thus communication is seen as a humanizing process. In this process the communicator as scientist is to make beliefs truer, as artist to make truths more believable and as organizer to make choices freer.

But with the mass production of communication products as well as the great technological advancement in the field, a certain communication revolution has taken place. This revolution has radically changed the humanizing process of communication.[24] Individuals, communities and even the governments discovered the

usefulness of the techniques of communication for propaganda and social control.

> Bigness, monopoly, costliness in cultural (as in other) industry brought centralization of control, standardization of product, stream-lined efficiency of techniques, and increasing penetration of influence into many spheres of life. These developments brought new delights into lives that seem drab in retrospect; they also raised new concerns about the meaning of freedom in contemporary culture (Gerbner, 1960c, p.5).

As a result, the study of communication processes and effects became a necessary part of policy-making at every level of the society. The overall quality and context of communication, as well as its cultural consequences became a point of concern and topic of investigation and study. Gerbner (1960c) feels that a general concern about a variety of vaguely related processes and practices is not sufficient reason for the existence of a discipline. For that, this general concern should translate into an effort to define tasks, to have an integrated approach to definite areas of problems, and provide a conceptual frame work for study and action. Such an approach should be hospitable to diverse interests, areas of specialization, and scientific points of view.

> They should accommodate the study of structure as well as of function; they should permit the analysis of inner and interpersonal processes as well as of social and institutional systems and relationships; they should allow for the existence of subjective appearances as well as of objective events; they should be suggestive of standards of judgement as well as analytical distinctions. Finally they should structure communication as a field and a process into manageable aspects, dimensions, and relationships (*ibidem*, p.6).

As no such paragon of a model of communication exists, Gerbner provides his own model[25].

3.2 THE INTERACTION MODEL: THE VERBAL FORM

Before arriving at Gerbner's graphic model of communication, the interaction model will be explained under the following heads:- The interaction model: the statement, the event, perception, aspects of the process, and the verbal form of the model.

3.2.1 The Interaction Model: The Statement

Gerbner (1960c) tries to define the process of communication. Strictly, anything by its own existence can be said to communicate at least its own existence. Such a broad definition of the process of communication is not useful as it does not help to isolate the process. The special ingredient of communication according to Gerbner (1960c) is the message or statement. Now what is a message? Gerbner (1960c) answers:

> A message or statement is a specialized, formally coded or symbolic or representative social event which makes possible inferences about states, relationships, processes not directly observed (p.6).

The message is what distinguishes communication from other processes. The fact that I look out of the window and notice a tree, is not in itself communication unless I say "There is a tree outside my window".[26] Communication thus involves the producer of the message, the message itself and the receiver. The message always has some form and content. This content can be understood in relationship to other things not in the message but inferable from the message. There is always the possibility to assess the adequacy or accuracy of the message in the light of independently existing criteria and observations.

3.2.2 The Interaction Model: The Event

In the communication process, it is important to emphasize the 'event' that the communicating agent or agency tries to describe and the 'receiver' tries to understand. That 'event' exists apart from the sender and the receiver and can be verified for adequacy, in relation to other independently existing events and points of view. Gerbner (1960c) gives the example of a writer who inquires into an event and produces a statement about the event which the reader reads. This is what is meant by communication.

3.2.3 The Interaction Model: Perception[27]

The above described example does not mean that the reader cannot directly inquire into the nature of the event the writer is describing. The writer perceives an event in his/her own way and produces a statement about it; and the reader perceives that statement in his/her own way. Thus the way of perception of both the agent communicating and the agent receiving, color the communication processes and effects.

3.2.4 The Interaction Model: Aspects of the Process

In the analysis of the process of communication, two basic relationships have been identified so far. They are the *perceptual dimension* and the *production response dimension* or *means and controls dimension*. The perceptual dimension betrays our relationship with the world of events and statements. This relationship evidently involves ways of observation, conception, inquiry; and it implies selection in a certain context. Communication events are produced when someone uses some means (channels, media, facilities) in some controlled (i.e. non-random) fashion to produce a signal. Gerbner (1960c, 1963e, etc.) calls it the 'means and controls dimension'. Communication events are nothing but messages or statements about

events. Apart from the above two aspects of the process of communication, Gerbner (1960c) mentions four other aspects. They are: a) the situation in which events are perceived and produced; b) the perceptual context in space and time in which messages are produced and perceived; c) arrangements made by legal, political or administrative agents to control the availability of the messages; and d) the consequences of communication acts apart from the immediate effects or desired effects.

3.2.5 The Verbal Model

On the basis of the process identified above, Gerbner (1956, 1958b, 1960c) constructs a verbal model of communication. In the verbal model, ten basic aspects of communication are given. In the 1956 version[28] of the verbal model, he also indicated some types of study and research associated with each aspect (Gerbner, 1956). Later he developed his 'Cultural Indicators' Strategy of research, based on this verbal model of the process of communication.[29]

Verbal model	*Areas of study*
1. Someone	Communicator and audience research
2. perceives an event	Perception research and theory
3. and reacts	Effectiveness measurement
4. in a situation	Study of physical, social setting
5. through some means	Investigation of channels, media, controls over facilities
6. to make available materials	Administration; distribution; freedom of acces to materials
7. in some form	Structure, organization, style, pattern
8. and context	Study of communicative setting, sequence
9. conveying content	Content analysis; study of meaning
10. of some consequence.	Study of over-all changes

The verbal model of communication (Gerbner 1956, p. 173).

3.3 THE GRAPHIC FORM OF THE VERBAL MODEL

Gerbner (1956) dramatizes in a diagram the above steps in the process of communication. He asks us to assume that someone notices a house on fire across the street and shouts 'fire' to someone else. This act of communication is illustrated below:

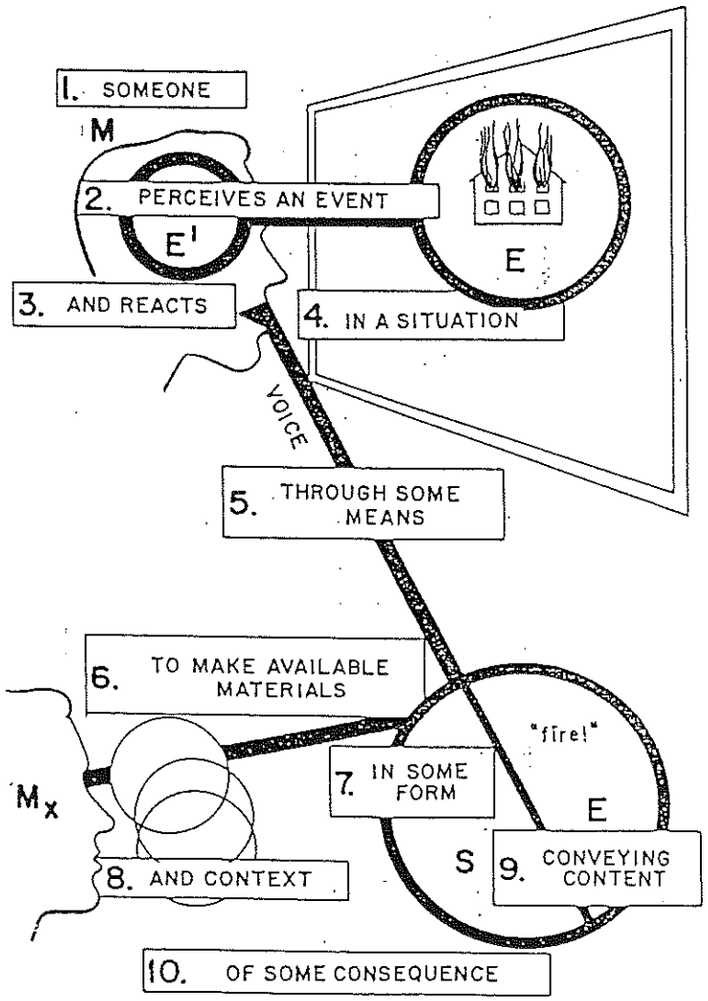


Figure 1: Steps in the construction of the graphic model (Gerbner 1956, p. 175).

It is not practical to schematize situations on a graphic model and hence all the stages and elements of the communication process are not depicted on the graphic model. Step 1 is illustrated in the diagram by a human head representing someone, labeled *M* to signify man or machine. In step 2 we have the event and its perception. The event here is a burning house (shown as circle *E*). It is perceived by *M* and this perception is indicated as step 2 (represented by a line leading horizontally from circle *E*, the event, to a circle inside *M* which circle is labelled '*E1*' to represent *E* as perceived by *M*). Step 3 consists in the reaction of *M* to the perceived event. This reaction is not represented in the model as it is not possible to be represented in a generalized communication model[30]. Step 4 emphasizes the fact that all these perceptions and reactions occur in a situation. In figure 1, *M* is shown as observing E from behind a window which indicates one nature of the situation. Normally Step 4 cannot be schematized in a general model as it involves often a general principle. The communicative nature of the reaction is given in Step 5, and it designates the *means*, that consists of mediating channels and controls transmitting a signal (here 'voice'). It is represented by a line leading downward from the communicating agent *M* to the communication product, *SE*.

Step 6 illustrates the availability for perception and is represented by a line leading horizontally from the communication product to another person, *Mx*. Thus the 'means' of Step 5 serve to make available materials to *x* destinations. The 'means' can become a signal containing a message, only if it has some form (i.e. it is not random). The formal characteristics of the use of the means, is indicated by step 7, represented as a half-circle attached to means, labeled *S* for signal or statement. In our example 'form' consists in the language sequence. No signal exists by itself but in a *context* of other signals and statements. This *context* is denoted by the three circles along the horizontal, perceptual dimension and this belongs to Step 8. The *context* is an ever-present feature of the perceptual aspect and hence is not practical to schematize it in a general model.

The signal thus produced has content qualities. The total communication product *SE*, means signal or statement *S*, about event *E* (in our example "fire"). Step 10 speaks of the consequences of this communication event. The consequences can be appraised only in terms of all other aspects plus time; and hence cannot be adequately represented in a graphic model.

3.4 GENERALIZED MODEL OF A COMMUNICATION EVENT

From the discussion so far, it is possible to present a summary diagram of the communication event. The summary diagram or the generalized model is given below.

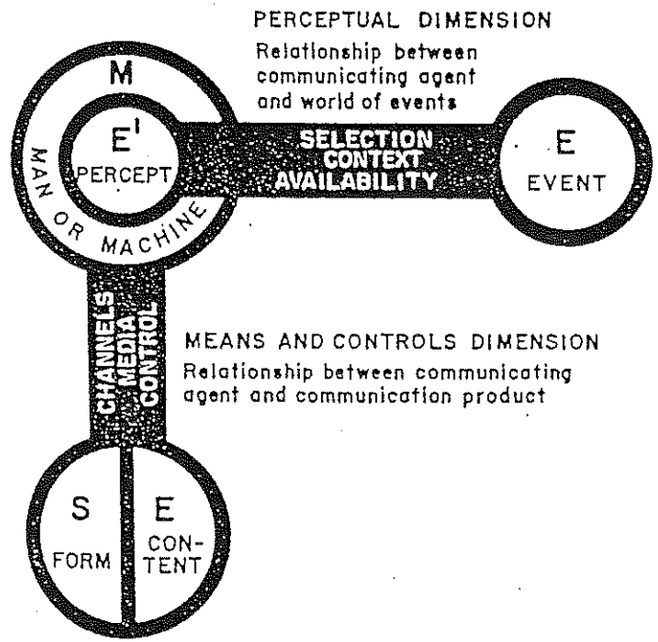


Fig. 2: Gerbner's general model of communication (Gerbner 1956, p. 177).

A communication event starts with an act of perception. What is perceived is marked *E* (event) and the perceiver *M* (man or machine)

perceives the event *E* as *E1*. In human communication *M* may be a man/woman and in a non-human context *M* may be a machine of some sort[31]. As explained earlier, the relation of perception between the perceiver *M* and the event *E* may be seen differently by different schools of thought. On one extreme there is the 'transactional' approach with its insistence on the subjective quality of perception[32]; and on the other extreme there is the 'psychophysical' approach where the event *E* itself is the most important factor. Gerbner seems to be avoiding the two extremes.

What is perceived by *M* (i.e. *E1*) is determined by his/her way of selecting, the context in which the *E* in question is to be found and the degree of availability of this and other events and statements. *M* wants to communicate about *E1* to someone else. For that *M* produces the message *SE* which is nothing but the statement about the event. The message always has a form and content. *S* stands for 'shape, form' and *E* stands for content. Gerbner (1956) holds that *S* never stands by itself (unless it signifies noise) but is always coupled with *E*, and *E* is nothing but the representational, content qualities of the signal. To send *SE*, *M* depends on channels - media. *M* has some degree of control over the media. This message *SE* produced can be perceived by another communication agent *M2*. Again *M2* will perceive *SE* not as it is but as *SE1*. The relationship between *SE - M2 - SE1*, is very similar to the relationship between *E - M - E1*, and the different ways of approaching perception is valid for both the relationships. Thus the model is built on a perception - production - perception, chain. This is exemplified in the following diagram in which the event - condensation of moisture in the air - is perceived by *M* as 'rain'. This gives rise to the statement by *M* about the event - "It is raining", which in turn is perceived or understood by *M2* as, "it is raining".

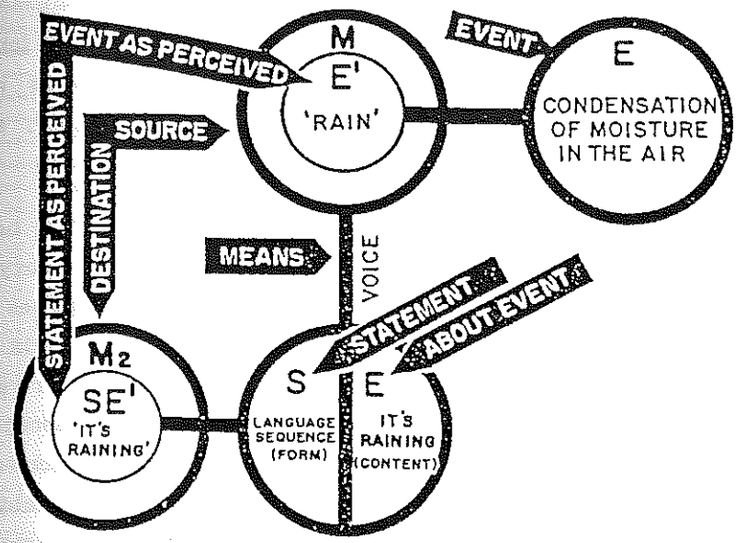


Fig. 3: Gerbner's model showing the communication sequence in the perception and communication of the 'fact of raining' (Gerbner 1956, p. 179).

Gerbner's model suggests that the human communication process may be regarded as subjective, selective, variable and unpredictable but at the same time these same systems are open systems. There is possibility of exemplifying in mass communication research, the two different approaches to perception - the transactional and the psycho-physical.

3.5 VALUE ORIENTATIONS ILLUSTRATED ON THE MODEL

The aim of Gerbner's model of communication was to present the process of communication and to provide a framework for the study of communications. This would involve critical choices. The acts of abstraction, recognition, and representation carry with them (often unwittingly) the seeds of judgement. Any theory of communication should have a scientific value orientation; the lack of which will make

it merely an elaboration of manipulative techniques. This calls for a value-conscious approach based on some normative standards and criteria[33]. Gerbner (1956 & 1960c) sees freedom, responsibility, and truth as the values to be sought in the field of communications.

As already mentioned, Gerbner (1960c) begins with the basic assumption that communication is a 'humanizing' process. A theory of communication should establish the ideal humanizing qualities of communication in social life. By applying these standards to communication functions, institutions, and practices we can arrive at some judgements and conclusions. In the model, the perceptual dimension represents the process of inquiry, the selection and perception of events, and statements in some context of availability. The ideal state of affairs in this dimension is "freedom". This freedom consists in the availability of a diversity of events, statements, and points of view[34], so that we might select freely in a representative context of pertinent evidence.

This freedom is neither absolute nor an end in itself; but rather, one that is physically, socially, and psychologically structured and determined. Its purpose is to provide the favorable conditions for the making of correct choices. In other words, the purpose of freedom in communication is to assure public availability of statements and points of view that are pertinent to decision-making and self-government[35]. Of course, one's freedom should not take away another's freedom[36]. That is the reason why freedom is assigned to the horizontal dimension of inquiry and perception; and not to the vertical dimension of the uses of means, channels, and facilities for the production of messages. To maximize freedom, the channels, media and other facilities of production should be systematically organized. That involves control. This control of means and facilities is for the purpose of promoting diversity of availability and freedom of selection. This is a major administrative and governmental responsibility in communications.

> The social responsibility to promote freedom in communications through the organization of means and facilities to that end does not imply that the structure of freedom is an absolute quality, or that it is diversity for its own sake. Freedom of public communication in any society can be considered an index of the extent to which the state of affairs in communication permits public insight to penetrate relevant realities of existence. It is an index of the complexity and diversity of a communications structure organized to enhance opportunities for learning, judgment, and decision-making serving the "humanizing" ends of survival and welfare (Gerbner, 1960c, p.14).

Another value of a communication event is its truth quality. It is actually a quality of content. This quality of truth does not exist apart from statements. The truth or the falsity of a statement can be judged by its correspondence to the event, its adequacy in emphasis, intensity etc. and its coherence with other statements about the event known to be true or false. The content of statements records not only a relationship but also a vantage point from which events are viewed. This vantage point is assessed by 'validity' which focuses attention not on the fidelity or accuracy of a statement but on the value attributes imparted by the specific 'point of view' apparent in the message. Gerbner (1960c) gives the example of the possibility of photographing the same face from two different angles making use of light and shadows. One photograph may make the face look evil and the other good. It is possible to make two equally factual accounts of murder give the impression of crime or heroism. In such cases judgement centers around the question of validity. The following figure (Gerbner 1960c) illustrates our discussion on the orientation of values in the general model.

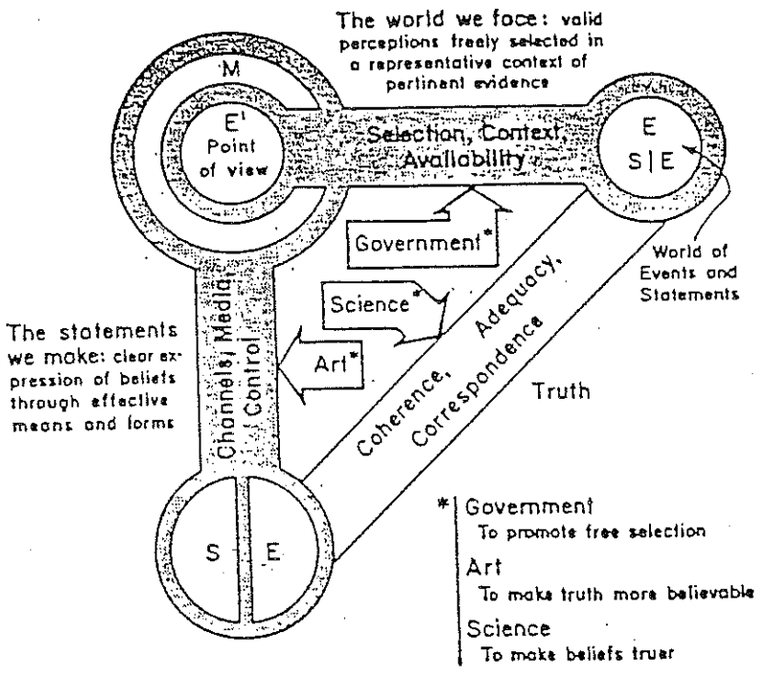


Fig. 4: Ideal qualities and functions in social communications (Gerbner 1960c, p. 15).

So we have to develop standards for the assessment of validity of approaches and the truth quality of statements in the light of current standards of reason and evidence. This activity is known as "science". Thus the humanizing function of science in communication is the formulation of true statements and valid approaches to inquiry. The human relevance of scientific beliefs should be communicated to the layman, in such a way that most people can understand, believe and even enjoy it. This is the art function of communication. In other words, the humanizing role of art in communication is to sensitize us to the perception of relationships and points of view whose appraisal is possible because of science. The ideal qualities in communication can thus be summarized as given in Gerbner (1960c):

> ... true beliefs reflecting valid points of view freely selected in a representative context of pertinent evidence and clearly presented through effective means and forms. Condensed into a briefer proposition: true beliefs freely acquired and believably presented (p.15).

When analyzing the content of the mass media in general and of television in particular, Gerbner noticed that the media of modern society does not meet the ideal qualities of communication. Media conglomerates have stifled the freedom of selection of the audience by presenting uniform types of messages. There is question about the truth quality of beliefs and these beliefs are not freely acquired. Television tends to offer uniform and relatively 'consensus' versions of social reality and their audiences are correspondingly "acculturated". This discussion brings us to the Cultivation theory of Gerbner.

4. CONCLUSION

In conclusion it may be said that Gerbner's model of communication forms the basis for the cultivation theory. The philosophical assumptions mentioned earlier in the chapter forms the basis for such a concept of communication. The objective reality that is present in the world of events and statements is perceived by the subject who has his/her points of view. There is thus always a subjective element in every perception. What is perceived is transmitted to others making use of appropriate channels. Valid perceptions can be had only when there is the possibility of free selection of what is perceived. It is necessary to have the possibility of selecting from diverse programs. If such diversity is missing, the freedom of selection does not have any meaning. Gerbner analyzed the programs of television, making use of the method of content analysis and found the menu offered by television lacked such cultural diversity. The networks were broadcasting homogeneous programs that did not take into account the rich cultural diversity that exists in the American society. Consequently sub-cultures, minorities, the aged,

women, etc. were being side-lined, affecting them adversely. Television through its hidden messages creates a symbolic environment that shapes the world-view of the viewers, thus gradually altering the way they see reality. This would be in a nutshell the meaning of the cultivation theory. The next chapter is dedicated precisely to a clear understanding of the cultivation theory and the Cultural Indicators Strategy that tested the theory.

NOTES

[1] Apart from what is said about the right of communications to exist as an indipendent discipline, the following observations of Gerbner may be interesting. He feels that what legitimates an academic field are the following characteristics: it has a budget and can hire people, it has journals, and it has professional organizations. Communication meets this criteria and hence it should be considered a field. He argues that it is also a discipline as it is addressed to the nature and role of human interaction through messages, in life and society, whose understanding can make a contribution to the understanding of every human and social situation. The implication is that its potential contribution to knowledge turns it from a field into a discipline (Ledger, 1984). All need not agree with it.

[2] A complete biography of George Gerbner is beyond the scope of this work and hence only a short life sketch of Gerbner is attempted here. For that, I have depended heavily on articles by Ledger (1984) and Waters (1982). The interviews that I had with Gerbner, furnished me with more details.

[3] The Office of Strategic Services was the predecessor to the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA).

[4] Ledger (1984) reports, "In those days, a cartoonist and friend of his depicted Gerbner in a caricature which hangs by Gerbner's bedside: parachuting under fire into enemy territory, Gerbner, his fountain pen strapped to his rifle, is shown nonchalantly reading Shaw" (p.16).

[5] Adorno is considered to be one of the founders of the Critical School of Frankfurt.

[6] To be distinguished from short-term laboratory research which is concerned with immediate effects.

[7] For further detail read Gerbner (1977a). Besides, this aspect will be developed further in Chapter 3 and Chapter 6.

[8] Harry F. Waters has written an article about Gerbner in the December 6th (1982) issue of Newsweek. 'Network' is the name of the film made by Paddy Chayefsky. In the film Howard Beale is the name of the anchorman character. Part of Beale's dialogue runs thus: "You people sit there, night after night. You're beginning to believe this illusion we're spinning here. You're beginning to think the tube is reality and your own lives are unreal. This is mass madness!" (p.136).

[9] Hopefully, this will become clear in the next chapter where the cultivation theory and the CI Approach are discussed in detail.

[10] A direct mention of the philosophical assumptions of Gerbner are found in his doctoral dissertation (1955). The concern regarding whether perception is subjective or objective or both, was a characteristic mark of that period and hence there is ample mention of it in his philosophical assumptions. Modern American academic philosophy is more pragmatic in character. Hence these philosophical assumptions, though still important in themselves, may be termed outdated by a modern reader of communication science. Added to that the language used in his dissertation is not so smooth and clear as can be seen from some of the quotations presented in this section. In his later writings, one will be able to notice the dramatic evolvement of a lucid and extremely clear style. Many attribute the popularity (or at least wide-spread knowledge) of his theory and research to his ability to write understandable English. He has turned out to be an excellent self-promoter and communicator. That is the reason why even the TV networks invite him to appear on their programs, though he is known to be highly critical of them.

[11] Here we have a glimpse of his later concern with the quantitative order existing in the universe, which order could be inferred statistically from isolated qualitative aspects. His Cultural Indicators' methodology is tailored to do that.

[12] Gerbner (1955) sees the relationship between the observer and the object (event) as one of perception. There are two different possible approaches to this relationship. On one extreme there is the 'transactional approach', in which perception is seen as a function of the observer's assumptions, point of view, experiential background and other related factors. Here perception depends on factors that are tied to the perceiver. On the other extreme there is the 'psychophysical approach'. In this approach the most important factor is the 'event' itself. The veracity of perception depends on fidelity and adequacy under favorable conditions. In other words, the value of perception is depending on the

degree of 'representativeness' of the object or event (see McQuail, D. & Windahl, S. 1981). Gerbner (1956, 1958b, 1960c, 1963e, etc.) seems to take a midway-stand between the two extremes.

[13] This concern with social values is a characteristic of a critical thinker and researcher. This aspect will be developed in Chapter 6.

[14] Here we have an eclectic view of perception. Gerbner takes a middle road. Perception does not entirely depend upon the object perceived or the perceiving subject. Empirical sense data cannot be mistrusted completely or depended on entirely. That is the reason why in his Cultural Indicators Strategy he makes use of quantitative methods to capture the reality as presented by the object and the qualitative methods to capture the reality from the point of view of the perceiver.

[15] In that sense there is never a failure of communication.

[16] This aspect of the *homo sapiens* becoming human is anthropologically explained by Gerbner, where he traces the development and evolution of man. A detailed explanation of it is provided later on in the same chapter.

[17] In fact the purpose of the content analysis in the Cultural Indicators' strategy, is to draw out the implicit value judgements and messages conveyed by media programs (especially television).

[18] Gerbner has tried to realize these specifications in his general model of communication and his cultivation theory.

[19] Gerbner seems to be holding the view that everything should be seen and judged from the human stand-point; and not any other value seemingly more absolute.

[20] Thus the study of being (man) is equally important for a theory of communication; as important as the process of communication itself. This study will act as guide and criteria for the theory.

[21] The value dimension as well as normative aspects are stressed by critical researchers. Gerbner's philosophical assumptions thus have strong critical leanings.

[22] Gerbner's openness to mixed methods of research is evident here. He strongly feels that methodology should be adapted to the problems at hand. That is the reason why he used mixed methods of research (both qualitative and quantitative) in his Cultural Indicators Strategy.

[23] More quotations of Gerbner on his definition of communication are given in Chapter 6.

[24] The communication revolution calls for new criteria that will provide the frame-work for study and research.

[25] Read Gerbner (1956); (1958b); (1960c); (1963e); etc.

[26] The example is used by Gerbner (1960c).

[27] Perception has been already mentioned earlier. Here it is given for completeness sake. In the verbal form of the interaction model the statement, the event, perception, and the aspects of the process, are all necessary elements. Hence this should not be seen as needless repetition.

[28] In the later versions of the verbal model, substantially no change is noticed except for the substitution of the word 'of' (in the tenth aspect) with 'with'. Thus the later versions of the verbal model reads "10. with some consequences" instead of "10. of some consequences".

[29] This will be treated later on in this dissertation.

[30] But this reaction should be represented under Step 5, if it involves some use of any means to initiate a message.

[31] Gerbner (1956) in his article "Toward a general model of communication", demonstrates how his model can be used for several purposes. M could be a thermostat in a heating system. The model could be built to describe mixed human and mechanical communication. Different areas of research and theory building can be also distinguished by making use of the model. Gerbner (1958b) makes use of his own model to illustrate and explain the main procedures of content analysis.

[32] McQuail, D. & Windahl, S. (1981) are of the opinion that today's research more readily accepts the transactional way of looking at perception.

[33] The concern with value orientations, manipulative techniques etc. are preoccupations of a critical paradigm of research. This will be made clear in Chapter 6. It may be interesting to note that Gerbner Gerbner always had such a slant in his theory and research.

[34] Gerbner used to repeat that the structure of freedom is organized diversity whether it is pleasing to one or not. Later on in this work, this point will be developed further.

[35] Gerbner considers the possibility of selecting what one is going to watch (in the case of television) as belonging to the fundamental freedom of choice promised by a democracy. For this

freedom to have any meaning, the availability of culturally diverse programs is a must. The consumer should also have the possibility of participating in the decision-making process when cultural decisions are made. Such responsible participation according to Gerbner will enable the consumer to ward off the undesirable consequences of cultivation. This aspect will be further developed in Chapter 6.

[36] That is the reason why Gerbner talks about 'organized diversity' as forming the structure of freedom. For detail read Gerbner (1956).

CHAPTER 3

GEORGE GERBNER'S CULTIVATION THEORY AND THE CULTURAL INDICATORS STRATEGY

Mass media and especially television has become part and parcel of the culture of modern man. With the tremendous development in mass media instruments and techniques, modern man is spending more and more time consuming what the media and especially television has to offer. Communication experts, governments and practically every section of the population, are taking ever greater interest in the effects of the media. Several theories to explain the effects of the media are available today. The cultivation theory is one of them and has found the light of day because of the dissatisfaction with the traditional theories of communication effects. Let us proceed to enumerate some of the questions posed by the cultivation theory.

As hinted above, George Gerbner finds the traditional studies of media effects inadequate and proposes the "Cultivation theory". But questions remain. Why are the traditional media effects' theories inadequate? What is meant by the shift from effects to cultivation? What do you mean by cultivation? How do we measure the extent of cultivation effects in the population? What is meant by Cultural Indicators? What is culture? What perspectives and relationships are expressed in message systems produced by large and diverse communities? How do these systems vary across cultures, in different societies, over time? How does the media structure compose these message systems? How is the production and distribution of messages managed, controlled and organized? What organizational decision making processes govern the production and distribution of these messages? What institutional and technological functions govern the production and distribution of these message systems? What are the common assumptions that these message systems cultivate over and

above those apparent in single or selected messages or individual or selective responses? How does the cultivation of the collective assumptions shape the conduct of public affairs and vice versa? (Gerbner, 1970a). Some of the other questions could be in the genre of the following. What is the relationship between message systems and the views and expectations of the consumers? How to formulate the questions based on the message system analysis? What are the themes under which cultivation analysis should be attempted? How to go about in the selection of sample consumers? How to collect and tabulate the answers? The list of questions seem to be endless. Some pointers to the possible solutions of the above questions will be the goal of this chapter.

1. CULTIVATION THEORY: AN INITIAL GLANCE

The term "Cultivation" is derived from a particular approach to the study of media effects developed by George Gerbner and his associates (Gerbner & Gross, 1976b; Signorielli & Morgan, 1990). To date, the most extensive and longest-running programme of research on the effects of television has been conducted by George Gerbner and his colleagues at the Annenberg School for Communication, at the University of Pennsylvania. They point out that the average viewers watch TV for four hours a day and heavy viewers even more (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a; 1993). At least in the case of heavy viewers the television virtually monopolizes and subsumes other sources of information, ideas, and consciousness (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980a; Signorielli & Morgan, 1990). *The effect of such exposure to the same messages produces what Gerbner calls cultivation or the teaching of a common world view, common values and common roles.* This contention is substantiated by research done on heavy and light viewers. The views of the heavy viewers lean correspondingly heavily on the television message. Some examples of the above are given below.

a) Opinion and attitude surveys conducted by the protagonists of the theory (Gerbner & Gross, 1976b) have asked respondents what percentage of the world's population lives in the U.S. The correct answer is 6% but the heavy viewers of TV often gave an overestimated percentage. The reason for this tendency, on the part of the heavy viewers of TV, to exaggerate is attributed to the fact that all leading actors of TV drama are Americans and since the TV drama is dominated by Americans, the heavy viewers tend to think that even in the real world situation, Americans constitute a correspondingly large percentage of the population.

b) Other opinion and attitude surveys have asked what percentage of Americans who are employed, work in law enforcement (Gerbner & Gross, 1976b). The factual answer is one percent but the heavy TV viewers tend to exaggerate. The reason is probably the fact that on TV 20% of the characters are involved in law enforcement.

c) Another question put forward by opinion and attitude surveys to heavy viewers was, what was the possibility of their being involved in some type of violence during any given week (Gerbner & Gross, 1976b). The true answer is only one percent but heavy viewers put it much higher. It is to be noted that on TV the answer would be about ten percent.

d) To the question whether people can be trusted, the heavy viewers of TV seem to suggest that one cannot be too careful regarding this (Gerbner & Gross, 1976b). Thus the TV seems to be projecting the view of a mean world where risk of violence and crime was high; at least much higher than the real state of affairs.

The media and especially television according to the above view, tend to offer uniform and relatively 'consensus' versions of social reality and their audiences are correspondingly "acculturated". According to the assessment of McQuail (1987), Gerbner comes down heavily in favour of media as powerful moulders of society. The main contention of the cultivation theory is that television among modern media has acquired such a central place in our daily life that it

dominates our "symbolic world[1]*"* (Gerbner (1973). As the few examples given above clarify, although the message of TV is distinctive and deviant from reality on a number of issues, persistent exposure to it, leads to its adoption as a 'consensus' view of society. The theory derives its main evidence from systematic content analysis of TV, conducted for several years in succession and showing consistent distortions of reality in respect of family, work roles, ageing, death, education, violence, and crime. The conclusions are not encouraging especially for the racial minorities, women, and the poor. Another source of evidence in support of the theory comes from surveys of opinions and attitudes which seem to show that higher exposure to TV goes with the sort of world view found in the message of television (Gerbner & Gross, 1976b). The examples cited above bear witness to it. This part has been challenged by several authors (e.g.. Newcomb, 1978; Hughes, 1980; Hirsch, 1980; 1981). We shall see about these later.

At this stage suffice it to say that Gerbner's cultivation theory, asserts that television acts as our society's high priest and teaches (cultivates) American society's values, myths and moral lessons (Gerbner, 1972c).

> Gerbner and his associates maintain that television may be a particularly strong -- and disturbing -- teacher when its messages differ from what other socialization agents assert. Gerbner's thesis is that heavy television viewers come away with a distorted version of life, believing among other things that there are virtually few if any Hispanic Americans, most older people are hostile and crotchety, few women work or hold positions of authority, most physicians are male and help people with their problems and that policemen frequently use their guns when at work (Jeffres, 1986, p.206).

Thus the proponents of the cultivation theory sound a warning gong at the possibility of television dictating the world view, values, and beliefs that our society should hold. To understand this, let us proceed to an analysis of the situation, beginning with an examination of the place of television in our society today.

2. TELEVISION IN SOCIETY

Saturation and viewing time of television is incredibly high and ever on the increase as more and more people in the society succumb to its spell. Television has taken the role of a state religion with its consistent and compelling images and messages and holds a cradle-to-grave primary influence on human beings. It must be affirmed at the very outset that TV, at least in the developed countries, has become an indispensable member of the family. Besides, the special characteristics of TV makes it an instrument of influence over man; an influence that lasts a life-time (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a; 1993).

2.1 THE CENTRAL PLACE OF TELEVISION IN THE FAMILY, AND IN THE SOCIETY[2]

According to Gerbner (1980b) Americans spend more time watching television than doing anything else except sleeping, and television has cut into that too. Basing himself on the 1984 Nielsen Report, Gerbner further argues that the television set in the typical American home is in use for about 7 hours a day and actual viewing by persons older than 2 years averages over 4 hours[3] a day (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a). It is estimated that heavy viewers of television spend much more time on television than anything else. Thus *TV has become a centralized system of story telling*, the one that tells most of the stories most of the time, as Gerbner repeats often. Children are born into the environment of the television world, grow in it, and die. It is a phenomenon that has come to embrace every facet of human life. No other medium of communication has reached the proportion of television in its influence on human beings. As Gerbner and his colleagues very well put it:

> As the number of people who have never lived without television continue to grow, the medium is increasingly taken for granted as an appliance, a piece of furniture, a story teller, a member of the family. Ever fewer parents and even grandparents can explain to children

> what it was like to grow up before television. Television is the source of the most broadly shared images and messages in history. Although new technologies transform business and professional communications, the public and much of the research community continue to be concerned with over-the-air television, and for good reasons. Saturation and viewing time, incredibly high for decades, continue to increase. The mass ritual that is television shows no signs of weakening its hold over the common symbolic environment into which our children are born and in which we all live out our lives. For most viewers, new types of delivery systems (e.g.. cable, satellite and cassette) signal even further penetration and integration of established viewing patterns into everyday life (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, p.17).

TV differs from other media in its *centralized mass production and ritualistic use of a coherent set of images for total populations.* Although specific programmes have their effects, to stop at them will be fatal as TV effects should be studied from its total pattern leading to cultivation of shared conceptions of reality among otherwise heterogeneous audience. Further, studies have shown that people hardly select programs but they view by their time (when they are able) all the available programs at a certain time of the day, the week, the season, regardless of the availability of the programs (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a; 1993). The number and variety of the choices presented when greater and greater number of audiences are available, are naturally limited because many programs designed for the same general audiences tend to be similar in basic make up and appeal. In other words *with so much time devoted to it no much selection is possible.* In fact most heavy viewers see everything of all programs but as said before different programs manifest the same basic features. Therefore from the point of view of cultivation what counts is the total pattern of programming to which total communities are exposed over long periods of time. Cutting across program types, the world of TV is defined. In this world many viewers are involved for a substantial time of the day and hence cannot avoid imbibing the values, messages and recurrent patterns. Thus the patterns central to cultivation analysis are derived from and often are the same as the central patterns of TV. So what really

matters is not what the individual viewer prefers but that which no one can escape.

When talking about the role of TV in society we should keep in mind the fact that the special characteristics of TV, set it apart from other mass media to such an extent that it is misleading to think of it in the same terms or to research it making use of the same terms and same methods. These special characteristics of TV are actually the forerunners of the prospect of an all-electronic organically composed and orchestrated total symbolic environment[4].

2.2 THE SPECIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF TELEVISION

In his article, "Television the New State Religion", Gerbner (1985e) elucidates the following six characteristics.

a) *The time and attention given to TV* by the majority of Americans, is much more than the time they give to other media and leisure time activities combined. The TV set is on, in the normal American home, for an average of 6 hours fifteen minutes a day and its images and sounds fill the living space and the symbolic world of most Americans.

b) *The total availability of TV* is another special characteristic of it . You do not need to wait for, plan for, or go out seeking for television. TV comes to your home and is always at your disposal. It has become perhaps the most important member of the family telling its stories day in and day out in a patient compelling and untiring manner. In fact the best of parents, the best of teachers, or even the best of priests, are no match to the TV when it comes to vivid demonstrations of what people of all kinds are like and how the society functions.

c) Yet another characteristic of TV is that *it requires no literacy*. The less educated, the non-reader, and the ignorant (i.e. those who have never shared the culture of the literate) all receive

instructions and demonstrations about the world from television. After the coming of the television era many people, at least in the U.S., do not read anymore. People get all their informations about the world from TV, often through the channels of entertainment. As in ancient times when the informations were transmitted through rituals, festivals, circuses, and the like, now the same is done through the entertainments provided by TV.

d) *The symbolic patterns put forward by TV are seen and analyzed as total systems.* In print there are sharp distinctions between news (information) and entertainment (drama). But in TV the distinctions of fiction and documentary no longer seem to apply. Besides it is noticed that viewers do not select programs but watch according to the hours of the day when they are free, and watch everything available during those hours. There is no dependence on individually crafted and selected stories, works, etc. as in the case of books, magazines, newspapers, and movies. In the case of TV, assembly-line production fills total programming formulas whose structure encompasses all groups but serves the overall perspective of story-telling. The drama and legends are at the heart of the TV symbol system. Real-life demonstrations of the same value structure, as in TV news, provide documentary confirmation to the mythological world of television. There is a general program structure under which all types of programs reinforce and complement one another. Hence it is of no use trying to study the content or impact of one type of program in isolation from others. All the programs are seen by the same viewers and as a result the system as a whole is absorbed into the mainstream of common consciousness and not isolated messages of individual programs.

e) Another important characteristic of television is the fact that *it has become a cradle-to-grave experience.* Children are born into the ambient of a TV home and start learning from its sounds and images before they can even speak. By the time an average child reaches school age, it will have spent more hours before the TV than

it would ever spent in a college classroom. At the other end of the life cycle, the aged and the retired sections of the population totally depend on TV for regular human contact and engagement in the larger world. Further it has been gauged that only a minority of the children and the aged watch programs specially designed for them. In actuality the TV tells its stories to all sections of the population at the same time, unlike other media.

f) Besides *TV is a business and seeks to assemble heterogeneous audiences.* It tries to make money by selling its time to advertisers and other institutional sponsors. The audience thus includes everyone of all ages, sexes, ethnic, social and other groups. All are exposed to the same repetitive messages with the result that the concepts of autonomous publics and authentic group or class consciousness, are diluted. It provides an organically related synthetic symbolic structure which presents a total world of meanings to all consumers. In fact TV has taken the role of the ancient Church when it comes to its relationship with the state.

Some may argue that with the various technological developments such as cable and VCRs, more choice about the selection of programs, is available. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1993) feel that it is not the case. It may be true that the major broadcasting networks have suffered erosion in audience share and revenue. But there is no evidence that proliferation of channels has led to substantially greater diversity of content. What has happened is that people started recording favorite network programs and viewing them over and over again, thus reducing further the otherwise available diversity. The availability of pre-recorded cassettes and films have in theory, given an unprecedented range of potential choices. But unfortunately, there is no evidence that such choice and power has changed the viewing habits of people or that the content to which regular VCR users are exposed, has fundamentally changed from that of what is available from network-type programs (See Morgan, Shanahan & Harris, 1990).

Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1993) further argue that because of the tight links between the various industries involved in the production and distribution of electronic media content, and also because most of them are trying to capture the same market, they go for the most popular programs which in turn present consistent and complementary messages. They, often reproduce those programs that have been found to be profitable. A study by Waterman & Grant (1991) has found that "broad-appeal programming" already aired accounts for "a major proportion of cable television menus, and a still higher proportion of cable viewing (p. 138). It has been found that what is most popular tends to reflect and cultivate the dominant cultural ideologies. Dobrow (1990) claims that the VCR allows selective (mostly light) viewers to seek out specialized material. But it has to be affirmed that regular viewers use the cable and VCR to watch more of the most popular favorite programs (see Morgan, Shanahan & Harris, 1990; Morgan, Alexander & Shanahan, 1990).

In **conclusion** it may be said that an increasing number of people are spending much time before the television set and total societies seem to be under the spell of television. The special characteristics of television when compared to other media make it a *sine qua non* for our existential society. If TV has such a central place in our society, to the extent of becoming a state religion, serious research into the phenomenon of TV is a necessity, for our own survival. In spite of the television explosion, very little is known about its impact on human lives. One reason for this may be the fact that there is little agreement about what is known already, and the lack of consensus is often due to institutional resistance[5], including political and economic interests, clumsiness of research, and relative youth of the field (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a). This inadequacy has to be evidently overcome. But when attempting to do it one thing that should be kept in mind is the fact that the traditional approach to the studies of communication effects may not apply to television. The special characteristics of TV set it apart from

other media and demand a special approach. May be a shift from media effects to cultivation effects is what is required.

3. THE SHIFT FROM EFFECTS TO CULTIVATION RESEARCH

Traditional communication effects research has been laboratory studies. Select groups who have been exposed to agenda-setting, propaganda or to other media, are studied and compared to those who lack such exposure. This conceptualization of immediate change of behavior will not apply to television medium which addresses itself not to groups but to the whole society. Because of the distinctive characteristics of television, what matters is the long term effects on the whole society that is involved head over heels in the symbolic environment created by television. Through the symbolic environment the cultivation effect of TV takes place. Hence in the study of communication effects of TV there should be a shift from the traditional research approach to cultivation analysis which is concerned with the whole society. Our discussion on this point, is summarized under the headings: television as the ritual story teller and the inadequacy of traditional effects' studies in the case of television.

3.1 TELEVISION AS THE RITUAL STORY TELLER

Gerbner (1985e, 1988b) develops the concept of TV as a ritual story teller, a brief summary of which is given in the following sentences. From the beginning of mankind, apart from parents, the duty of bringing up the young members was assigned to the elders who tried to socialize them and make them fit for their culture. Insights into the world around them were given with the help of ritual stories. The first things taught were usually connected with how to make fire, which plants and animals were edible, how to make a hut and the like. Other lessons like the respective behavior patterns of men and women, what was good and what was bad, which gods were to be honored, and the like were taught. As the

communities became large, socialization came to be more and more institutionalized. Religion, especially in the middle ages, and later education, played an important role in socialization. An explosive change took place with the invention of print. Stories that were passed around orally (for the survival of which the transmitters of the stories became indispensable factors) came to be printed. People could read and re-read on their own and the role of the typical elder became less significant. Mass media which appeared after that - film, radio - kept up the pace of development. Finally TV entered the scene and broke down all barriers. *TV became the ritual story teller dressed in modern outfit, with everybody at its feet.* It accompanies man from cradle to the grave. Naturally the traditional media effects approach was not sufficient to study the phenomenon of television[6].

3.2 INADEQUACY OF TRADITIONAL EFFECTS STUDY IN THE CASE OF TELEVISION

Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1986a) hold that during the last fifty years the effects of mass communications have been studied mainly from the point of the media's influence and persuasion power. Even the bulk of research in television effects on society has been carried out from a *marketing and attitude change point of view.* Often the predominant aim of such research has been centering around the question of how the customer can be influenced to change his mode of consumption and accept your commodity with the resulting economic advantage for yourself. The topic of how individual, group, and mass persuasion works, has been a favorite research theme. These effects research studies have been, as said before, often laboratory studies, comparing select groups with TV exposure, with those who lack such exposure. But the main characteristic of television is that its effects embrace the whole society and not any particular group and hence such an approach will not produce the desired results. Besides media other than television and especially the print culture, works on the assumption of such ideals as freedom, diversity and an active electorate producing and selecting entertainment from a healthy variety of competing and

conflicting interests. These people claim that even in the case of television, viewers are selective and program selections make a difference. But in point of fact viewing behavior is non-selective as people watch by hour all what is available. The non-selective nature of viewing was noticed not only in the U.S. but in Western countries as well (Goodhardt, Ehrenberg & Collins, 1975). This does not advocate the view of a passive viewer approach[7] of cultivation that claims that the person is programmed from birth by TV. Other circumstances do intervene, diminish and even neutralize the cultivation effect of television but it is never insignificant.

The analytic strategies of the cultivation researchers take into account the possibility of other variables intervening and minimizing the cultivation effect. But the protagonists of the theory (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980a; 1993) argue that *concentrating on individual differences, miss the main point of TV,* which is the absorption of the common mainstream . Unlike other media, in the case of TV, there is a common mainstream of messages and world view that is consistently, patiently, and compellingly transmitted to its viewers. In fact cultivation theory studies how TV gives the dominant current (mainstream) to society. Naturally, the theory is concerned about the overall effects of all TV programmes taken together; not to anyone section of the society but to the whole of it and the effect is studied in the long run.

> By and large, however, this conceptualization of effect as immediate change among individuals has not produced research that helps us understand the distinctive features of television: the massive, long-term, and common exposure of large and heterogeneous publics to centrally produced, mass-distributed, and repetitive system of stories (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, p.20).

Thus cultivation theory marks a shift in the TV effects studies. Since TV messages are so redundant and stable; and since accumulated total exposure is what counts, *even light viewers cannot escape its influence* as the whole cultural environment is saturated

with it. The communication researchers frown at the simplistic, unidirectional ideas about effects that is the landmark of the traditional communication effects studies but few have concrete alternatives to offer. As McQuail (1976) noted: "Television is to stimulate, involve, trigger off, generate, induce, suggest, structure, teach, persuade, gratify, arouse, reinforce, activate" (p.347).

But this variety in fact is a cover for vagueness in the attempts to characterize media effects. It is in effect a *piece-meal approach to the problem, leaving aside the whole.* In this context the cultivation approach would be a more *all-embracing, total approach* to the problem.

To sum up, Gerbner holds that the singular characteristics of television that makes it something special when compared to other media, necessitates a special approach to the study of its effects as well. As seen above, the traditional effects' studies tend to be piecemeal, laboratory made, unidirectional and simplistic; hence a shift from the effects of TV, to its cultivating influence, is suggested by the protagonists of the cultivation theory. Now it is a question of deciding and selecting the methodology for studying the cultivation effect and that brings us to the topic of the "Cultural Indicators"[8].

4. THE CULTURAL INDICATORS

It has been established in the previous section that in the case of studying television's influence in society a shift from the traditional media effects approach, is necessary and a cultivation approach is to be adopted. Now the question is how this cultivation approach can be adopted. The methodology suggested by Gerbner and his colleagues, is called the Cultural Indicators' Approach. This project is historically grounded, theoretically guided and empirically supported. Originally this project was launched as an independently funded enterprise in an applied context but based on earlier theoretical considerations (Gerbner, 1969a).

As mentioned before, the term "Cultural Indicator" was introduced by Gerbner (1969a) and since then he and his colleagues have maintained a regular monitoring activity of American television, developing and applying a number of Cultural Indicators, the most famous of which is the "Violence Profile" (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980a; 1980c). The efforts of Gerbner has drawn worldwide discussion and criticism (cf. Hirsch, 1980; Hughes, 1980a; Pingree and Hawkins, 1981; etc). We shall talk of it later. Now, suffice to say that the indicators we are talking about here are indicators of culture and the same indicators can be called "cultural". The Cultural Indicators are *measures for studying cultures and comparing different cultures*[9]. The indicators can be also used to study changes in a culture and to compare the different states of the same culture at different times. The Cultural Indicator is then used as an *indicator for a symbol system*[10]. Weber (1984) sees Cultural Indicators as time series which describe changing states of a cultural system like that of moral values or political ideology. A danger would be the tendency to restrict culture to cultural problems. It is true that content analysis produces cultural indicators always, or at least most of the time. But this should not lead us to the temptation to use cultural indicators for content analytic outcome. Cultural indicators can be economic, sociological or communicational. We are concerned about cultural indicators, solely from a communication effects point of view. Thus the Cultural Indicators developed by Gerbner have the *sole aim of isolating the symbolic environment created by television in society and seeing to what extent the TV viewers are adopting the world view, values and informations supplied by the said symbolic environment.*

Many of the earlier studies undertaken by Gerbner and colleagues were on TV and violence. Of course they had the broad view of studying violence as a demonstration of power relationships in society[11], with serious implications for the confirmation and perpetration of minority status (Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli, Morgan & Jackson-Beeck, 1979a; Morgan, 1983). Broader topics of different concerns were also studied (Gerbner & Gross, 1976b). The extent to

which television viewing contributes to audience conceptions and actions in such realms as sex and age-role stereotypes, health, science, family, politics, religion, education etc., were some of the topics studied. Now let us proceed to the clarification of a few terms.

4.1 CLARIFICATION OF TERMS

Before presenting the Cultural Indicators Strategy[12], it may be useful to clarify what is meant by quantitative and qualitative methods of research and what is meant by the term 'culture'. In the Cultural Indicators methodology both quantitative and qualitative methods of research are envisaged; hence let us begin with a brief presentation of the differences between the two, after which an effort will be made to clarify the term 'culture'.

4.1.1 Quantitative and Qualitative Methods of Research

The methods used in research are many. But they can be broadly categorized under the headings of quantitative and qualitative[13] methods of research. Although these two methods are different it is possible that sometimes the boundaries between the methods get blurred. To understand the differences between the methods, juxtaposition of the two may be helpful.

Quantitative methods of research are concerned with how often a variable is present and generally uses numbers to communicate this amount.

> Quantitative methods of research are generally associated with systematic measurement, experimental and quasi-experimental methods, statistical analysis, and mathematical models. Qualitative methods on the other hand, are associated with naturalistic observation, case studies, ethnography, and narrative reports. It should be recognized, however, that the boundaries between the methods sometimes get blurred (Linn, 1986, p.92).

Thus, although the methods used in both categories seem to exclude each other, the boundaries are not clear cut. Nevertheless the emphases, traditions, and ideals of the two categories are different. The researcher making use of quantitative methods will have to inevitably make many qualitative decisions regarding the questions to pose, the analytical procedures to employ, and the interpretations to emphasize. On the other hand the person making use of qualitative methods will have to make use of quantitative summaries to express his/her findings. In fact many qualitative researchers make use of quantitative statistical analyses to express and explain their findings.

4.1.1.1 Differences between the Quantitative and Qualitative Methods

The two methods of research have different understanding (philosophies) of reality. For a quantitative researcher, reality is objective, apart from the researcher, capable of being seen by all. It is objectively 'out there' for all to see. For a qualitative researcher, on the other hand, there is no one single reality. Each observer creates reality as part of the research process. The reality is subjective and exists only in reference to the observer. The quantitative researcher believes that reality can be divided into component parts and an accurate knowledge of the whole can be had by looking at the parts. The qualitative researcher, on the other hand, examines the entire process and believes that reality is holistic, and cannot be sub-divided. Another difference between the two philosophies of the two categories, is their view of the individual. For the quantitative researcher human beings are basically similar and hence he/she looks for general categories to summarize their behaviors or feelings. The qualitative researcher on the other hand, is convinced that each human being is unique and fundamentally different. As a result, persons cannot be pigeonholed. Yet another distinction between the two methods, is regarding their aims. The aim of the quantitative researcher is to generate general laws of behavior and explain many things across settings. The qualitative researcher,

on the other hand, attempts to produce a unique explanation about a given situation or individual. One may assert that while quantitative researchers strive for breadth, qualitative researchers strive for depth (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991).

Wimmer & Dominick (1991) discuss five major research areas where significant differences between the research methods can be noticed. The areas include: *the role of the researcher, the design, the setting, the measurement instruments, and theory building.*

1. **Role of the researcher.** The concern of the quantitative researcher is to strive for objectivity and he/she remains separated from the data. But the qualitative researcher remains as an integral part of the data and in point of fact without the active participation of the researcher no data can exist.

2. **Design.** In the case of quantitative methods, the design of the study is determined before it begins. But in qualitative methodology, there is no pre-fabricated design. The design is supposed to evolve during the research and there is a lot of flexibility here with the possibility of adjustment and changes as the research progresses.

3. **Setting.** In quantitative methodology, the researcher tries to control the contaminating and/or confounding variables by conducting his/her investigation in laboratory settings. Qualitative researchers on the other hand, conduct their investigations in the field in natural surroundings. They make an effort to capture the normal flow of events, without trying to control the extraneous variables.

4. **Measurement instruments.** In the case of quantitative research these instruments exist apart from the researcher. In the absence of the researcher, others could collect the data. But in the case of qualitative research, the researcher himself/herself is the instrument and no other individual could substitute him/her.

5. **Theory building.** In the quantitative methodology, research is used for testing theory and ultimately to support or reject it. In the qualitative methodology, theory evolves during the process of research. In fact, theory is data-driven.

4.1.1.2 Advantages and Disadvantages of the two Methods

Although a thorough discussion of the two methodologies is beyond the scope of this dissertation, for the purpose of having a clear idea about the two, the advantages and disadvantages of the two categories are very briefly presented below.

The most important advantage of the quantitative methodology of research is precision. For example, the Violence Index of Gerbner is a quantitative measuring device and it is possible to report exactly the increase or decrease of TV violence from one season to another, if one makes use of that instrument. A qualitative research could only say that violence went up or down but not exactly how much. Another notable advantage of the quantitative method is that it permits the use of powerful methods of mathematical analysis. The measurement expert, Guilford (1954) argues that the progress and maturity of a science can be judged by the extent to which it has succeeded in the use of mathematical analysis.

Qualitative methods also have certain advantages. First of all, it allows the researcher to investigate in natural setting without any artificiality, as can be the case sometimes in quantitative methods. Secondly, this category of research can increase a researcher's depth of understanding of the phenomenon under study. This is especially true when the phenomenon is not previously studied. Thirdly, this methodology allows the investigator to pursue new areas of interest. It is flexible. For example, a questionnaire will not give information about what is not asked, but often field observation or focus group investigation can do that.

But the qualitative methodology has certain disadvantages. Some of them are the following: Firstly, sample sizes are often too small. This makes generalization difficult. To arrive at generalization, further quantitative analysis has to be conducted. Secondly, reliability becomes a problem as single observers do the coding. There is possibility of the loss of objectivity as the researcher is personally involved. Thirdly, If the qualitative research is not properly planned, it may not produce anything of value (Wimmer & Dominick, 1991).

From the brief exposition above it is hoped that a clear distinction between the two categories of research has been established. The advantages of the quantitative research methods become the disadvantages of the qualitative research methods and vice versa. This calls for a combination of the two methods of research to achieve both 'breadth and depth' in the research[14].

4.1.2 Culture and Cultural Indicators

The term Cultural Indicators can be a possible source of confusion especially because 'culture' has different meanings. Of the legion of definitions of culture, the following have been more universally accepted. They are: the one presented by Tylor (1871); the one of Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952); and the one by Kroeber and Parsons (1958). Tylor's (1871) definition runs like this:

> Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (quoted from Melischek, Rosengren & Stappers, 1984, p.13).

The definition of Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) goes like this:

> Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievement of human groups, including their embodiments in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically derived and selected) ideas and especially

> their attached values; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other as conditioning elements of further action (*ibidem*).

Kroeber and Parsons (1958) have the following version of the definition:

> We suggest that it is useful to define the concept *culture* for most usages more narrowly than has been generally the case in American anthropological tradition, restricting its reference to transmitted and created content and patterns of values, ideas, and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behavior and the artifacts produced through behavior. On the other hand, we suggest that the term *society* - or more generally, *social system* - be used to designate the specifically relational system of interaction among individuals and collectivities. To speak of a "member of culture" should be understood as an ellipsis meaning a "member of the society of culture X". One indication of the independence of the two is the existence of highly organized insect societies with at best a minimal rudimentary component of culture in our present narrower sense (*ibidem*, pp.13-14, italics in original).

As seen, the definitions of culture tend to be lengthy and enumerative rather than criterion oriented. Vermeersch (1977) attempted a more criterion oriented definition and it is given below:

> The class of cultural objects is the class of forms determined by man; *form* being every class of states of a material or energetic substratum which (states) are identified with one another and discriminated from other classes of states (p.47).

The niceties and different shades of meanings that the above definitions imply would be a study by itself and we do not propose to do that. Here what we need to remember is that all definitions point to *culture as a class of abstract phenomena having material embodiments.* The different material embodiments can be observed and described in detail but culture in itself being abstract cannot be directly observed. Hence the need of studying culture by means of indicators (Rosengren, 1984).

After the above clarifications, let us proceed to a detailed explanation of the three prongs of the Cultural Indicators Strategy.

4.2 THE THREE PRONGED ANALYSIS

The Cultural Indicators Approach has a three-pronged research strategy (Gerbner, 1973).[15] They are the *Institutional Process Analysis, the Message System Analysis* and *the Cultivation Analysis*. The first one is concerned with the investigation of the formation of the policies directing the great flow of media messages. Due to its direct policy orientation, it is difficult to get sponsors for it and so this prong is the least developed (Gerbner, 1969e, 1972e). In Message System Analysis week-long samples of net-work television drama are recorded every year and rigorous content analysis is conducted. The purpose is to get at the type of themes presented by the TV world. The potential lessons that TV teaches are isolated and used as questions for the next analysis. In the third prong of Cultivation Analysis, questions prepared on the basis of the Message System Analysis, are presented to the people with varying degrees of TV exposure. Since the absolute non-viewers are an insignificant unidentifiable number, the comparison is between heavy viewers and light viewers. Television answers often differ from real world answers but heavy viewers tend to adopt the typical TV answers, revealing the presence of cultivation. Let us proceed to the detailed examination of the three prongs.

4.2.1 The Institutional Process Analysis (IPA)

No enterprise is free from those who run it although, often there is an air of freedom. Mass communication production is no exception. There is always some selection from the vast amount of potential messages and in this selection and suppression, the policies of those who run the enterprise have the decisive initiative[16]. All major powers, roles and relationships that have a systematic and generalized influence on how messages will be selected, formulated

and transmitted, are to be considered by the Institutional Process Analysis (Gerbner, 1973). The studies of Gerbner (1961a, 1964b) show that *systems of messages produced by institutions, always have some ideological orientation implicit in the decision.* Bowers & David (1967) found that three out of four publishers are active in directing news decisions with mainly the profit motive in mind. The studies of Warren Breed (1960), Pool, Desola & Shulman (1964), White (1964) and Geiber (1960, 1964) show that newsmen generally submit to pressures and expectations of the newsroom than public interest or good of the audience. Thus the process of decision making, with the major power roles involved, requires our attention. In order to analyze the major power roles, types of leverage and typical functions directing the formulation of mass produced message systems, Gerbner (1973) designed the following scheme:

POWER ROLES (Groups)	TYPES OF LEVERAGE	TYPICAL FUNCTIONS
1. AUTHORITIES. Make and enforce legally binding decisions	Political and military	Arbitrate, regulate, legitimize power relations; demand service
2. PATRONS. Invest, subsidize	Control over resources	Set conditions for the supply of capital and operating funds
3. MANAGEMENT	Control over personnel	Set and supervise policies; public relations
4. AUXILIARIES. Supplement and support management	Access to specialized services	Provide supplies, services
5. COLLEAGUES.	Solidarity	Set standards; protection
6. COMPETITORS.	Scarcity	Set standards; vigilance
7. EXPERTS. Talent, technicians, critics, subject specialists	Skill, knowledge, popularity, prestige	Provide personal creative, performing, technical services, advice
8. ORGANIZATIONS.	Pressure through representation, boycott, appeal to authorities	Demand favorable attention, portrayal, policy support
9. PUBLICS. Groups created or cultivated (or both) by media	Individual patronage	Attend to messages; buy products

FIGURE 5: Major power roles, types of leverage, and typical functions directing the formation of mass-produced message systems (p. 560).

The figure outlines 9 types of powers and let us proceed to a short explanation of each.

1. **AUTHORITIES:** They possess legal powers to make and enforce legally binding decisions as well as impose sanctions on communicators. Judicial bodies, public administrators, the police, the military, legislative and executive wing of the government, and regulatory commissions have such authority. These authorities also may at times subsume the powers of the patrons and in some measure they depend on the support of communicators for much of their authority.

2. **PATRONS:** They invest in or subsidize media operations in exchange for political, economic, or cultural benefits. Banks, advertisers, other bodies, or governments can act as patrons. With their control over resources, authority is exercised, and thus influence the decision making of the communicator.

3. **MANAGEMENT:** The administrators and executives who make up the chain of command in the organization, together form the management. Basing on the terms of the patrons and other power group support, the management formulates policies and supervises the implementation of these policies. The employment and control of all personnel depends on them. Great care is taken to cultivate client relations and public relations, and they see that the messages that the institution transmits, satisfy the above two types of relationships.

4. **AUXILIARIES:** Groups of distributing organizations, like networks, agencies, syndicates; suppliers of raw materials, talent, artistic properties and logical services; wholesale and retail outlets; related manufacturing and trade concerns, associations, unions; and the holders of patents, copyrights, or other property rights, are the auxiliaries referred to and they supplement and support the management (Gerbner, 1973).

5. **COLLEAGUES:** Those communicators whose status, sense of direction or standards, and solidarity with one another can exert influence on the formation and selection of messages are called colleagues.

6. **COMPETITORS:** They are other professionals in the field who exert influence on the institution as they force a constant vigilance on the part of the organization to keep standards up and see that they do not lose out on public relations, or to use a more economic term, to prevent the loss of market.

7. **EXPERTS:** The services of experts are necessary to keep up standards and be on the vanguard. The knowledge, critical abilities and personal skills of these experts are used to boost up markets, among other things. Researchers, consultants, subject matter specialists, technicians, writers, etc. form the group of experts.

8. **ORGANIZATIONS:** For any institution, public attention is necessary for patronage and continued existence. Thus large organizational investments in public relations through the media, exert pressure on media content and make media dependent on freely available and self-serving organizational resources. Political, religious, business, civic, fraternal or professional associations pressurize the institution through boycott, representation or appeal to authorities.

9. **PUBLICS:** They are the products of media output; groups created and cultivated through the messages, by the media, consisting of heterogeneous persons and groups. The management seeks to have good relationships with the publics to ensure primarily economic advantage[17].

The type of leverage each of the above groups exercise on mass media is evident. *The power roles and the leverage of influence though analytically distinct, are in fact overlapping and existing together.* The possibilities of leverage and the accumulation of power roles give certain institutions dominant positions in the mass communication process. Through depth interviews, participant observation[18] and the study of records, the institutional process analysis seeks to amplify this scheme of power roles, functions and leverage, and to apply it to the investigation of decision making in communications[19] (Gerbner, 1959c, 1969b, 1972e). Critical incidents like a clash of powers or when things go wrong, often set the lines of

powers and influence, for more routine control of media content. For some examples of Institutional Process Analysis, see Gerbner (1972e, 1988e).

The Institutional Process Analysis thus reveals the motives and the processes of how certain messages are selected and distributed by the media. This knowledge is important in the message system analysis and the cultivation process.

4.2.2 The Message System Analysis (MSA)

Through the Message System Analysis, the symbolic environment created by television in society is isolated. The target of the analysis is the total system of messages rather than individual programs.

> The "system" is that of institutional design and purpose. The systematic functions of and trends in the composite "message" can be made visible through the "decomposition" of the presentations into units and categories relevant to investigative purpose, and their "recomposition" in the form of social symbolic functions (Gerbner, 1973, p.564).

The analysis in itself is designed in such a way as to investigate aggregate premises, presented in samples of material. The purpose is not to draw conclusions about artistic style or merit of any one program or programs taken together. The findings should represent what large and heterogeneous communities absorb. The multiple coding and the measured agreement of trained analysts guarantee the reliability of the analysis. *The effort is to draw out as objectively as possible the intentions of the policy makers and the conceptions (or perceptions) of the audience.* Giving 'weightage' to impressions of casual observers, however sophisticated, would reduce the value of the analysis.

The reliable observation of the record of institutional behavior in message mass-production for large and heterogeneous communities,

reveals collective and common instead of individual and unique features of public image formation and cultivation. The methods of analysis and the scheme are designed to inquire into selected dimensions of the process of composing and structuring message systems. The figure below summarizes the questions, terms and measures of analysis relevant to each dimension (Gerbner, 1973):

Dimensions:	EXISTENCE	PRIORITIES	VALUES	RELATION-SHIPS
Assumptions about:	WHAT IS?	WHAT IS IMPOR-TANT?	WHAT IS RIGHT OR WRONG, GOOD OR BAD, ETC.?	WHAT IS RE-LATED TO WHAT, AND HOW?
Questions:	What is avail-able for public attention? How much and how frequently?	In what con-text or order of importance?	In what light, from what point of view, with what as-sociated judg-ments?	In what overall proximal, logi-cal or casual structure?
Terms and meas-ures of analysis:	ATTENTION Prevalence, rate, complex-ity, variations	EMPHASIS Ordering, ranking, scal-ing for promi-nence, central-ity, or intensity	TENDENCY Measures of critical and differential tendency; qualities, traits	STRUCTURE Correlations, clustering; structure of action

FIGURE 6: Dimensions, questions, terms, and measures of message system analysis (p.565).

The purpose of message system analysis is to describe the symbolic world which is presented by TV. The *analysis would try to trace the currents, identify the functions, and sense the climate of the symbolic world.* To put it in other words, the analysis extracts from media discourse its basic presentation of elements of existence, importance, value, and relationships and then re-aggregate these elements into larger patterns along lines of investigative purpose. The figure given above explains this.

Message system analysis deals with common elements of discourse such as thematic distribution, propositional context, characterization and action structure, social typing, fate of character types, and other reliably identifiable representations and configurations. Perceptions and impressions, can provide a reliable standard for comparison with the intentions and claims of policy makers as well as the perceptions and conceptions of the audiences. Thus message system analysis is *concerned with general questions rather than selective ones* and hence not interested in analyzing media discourse on the level of information, entertainment or high culture and low culture, the style of expression, quality of representation, artistic excellence or the nature of individual experience. The interest is only in general questions about the presentation of what is, what is important, what is right, and what is related to what, in mass produced message systems (see figure 6).

The collective and common features and functions of public image formation emerges as a result of the message system analysis. Figure 6, shows the scheme and methods of analysis, designed to inquire into those dimensions of mass media discourse that identify elements of *existence, importance, values* and *relationships.* The questions, terms and measures of analysis relevant to each dimension is summarized in the figure (Gerbner, 1973).

Now, let us proceed to a brief explanation of the dimensions. The dimension of *existence* deals with the question of *what is?* i.e. what is available, what can be attended to in public message systems, how frequently and in what proportions. The measure of *attention,* indicates the presence, complexity, rate, frequency, and varying distribution of themes, topics etc. presented in message systems. The question of *what is important* is the concern of the dimension of *importance.* Measures of *emphasis* are used to study the context of relative prominence and the order of centrality, importance, and intensity. Measures of *emphasis* and *attention* together would indicate the focusing of attention in a system apart from the allocation. The

point of view from which things are presented is the concern of the dimension of *values*. Measures of *tendency* are used to assess the direction of value judgements observed in units of attention; and the traits and connotations of themes, events, persons, groups etc., are evaluated (Gerbner, 1973).

The focus of attention in the dimension of relationships is on the associations within and among measures of attention, emphasis, and tendency. The underlying structure of assumptions about existence, importance, and values represented in message systems are illuminated by this dimension. Thus these four dimensions yield measures of attention, emphasis, tendency and structure respectively. Under *attention* the units of discourse are classified into categories of existence like subject themes, demographic characteristics etc. Within the context of the discourse the relative importance given to each unit would be the *emphasis*. *Tendency* is the evaluative and other qualities attributed to each unit of attention, and *structure* is the way in which categories of attention are related to the other dimensions of *importance* (emphasis) and *values* (tendency). All the four dimensions should be included for a satisfactory analysis (Gerbner, 1970a, 1973).

The analysis decides on the appropriate samples and develops the instrument of analysis[20] (coding and recording scheme). Naturally the samples should be sufficiently representative to ensure the veracity of the general patterns. The units of analysis should always correspond to actual units of production of mass media and the instrument of analysis should be as explicit as possible, so as to facilitate reliable coding and recording of observations. If followed meticulously, these directions would establish the 'scientificity' of the analysis (Gerbner, 1970a, 1973).

After the general explanations, it is useful to examine in greater detail the four measures of attention, emphasis, tendency and structure.

a) **ATTENTION:** The *aim is to identify what is available in the message system.* For this purpose one or more of the following can be done: a list of themes or a subject of classification can be prepared; a 'typology' of characters or any other category scheme relevant to the purpose of investigation can be adopted. The issue is to determine what is in the system to which people can attend and how frequently does each element appear in the system. Generally, content analyses use the measure of attention to determine the occurrence of relevant items, themes, and other characteristics in press coverage, thematic studies of magazines, and the like. Some examples of content analyses could be, the study of trends in media attention to mental illness (Gerbner, 1959c), the relative amounts of attention that the press systems of different countries devoted to the outside world (Gerbner & Marvanyi, 1977), the representation of teachers, schools, and students in the mass media of 10 countries (Gerbner, Gross & Melody, 1973), the image of the "film hero" in one year's feature film production of six countries (Gerbner, 1969c), the demography of the dramatic character population of the U.S. television drama (Gerbner & Signorielli, 1982), and the like. Attention item should have subject titles like foreign news, occupation, character's age, character's success or failure, etc; and several answers including uncertain, mixed, cannot code, etc.

b) **EMPHASIS:** It is the *directing of attention to some units at the expense of others.* Prominence given to some units by such means as duration, focus, detail or the title or headline of a story, its size and placement, the intensity of the mode of communication like tone, loudness, the order of presentation, etc. are examples of emphasis. Frequency of occurrence of any unit or units (which is strictly a measure of attention) may also denote emphasis by repetition. But there are elements of discourse that are prominent for their relative rarity while others receive emphasis by repetition; therefore measure of emphasis that is separate from frequency is often desirable. After establishing that something worthy of our attention is present in the system, the next step is to see how important it is. In the Message

System Analysis, concentration is directed to those units that receive the highest emphasis. Gerbner (1961a) made a study of headlines in a comparative investigation of national press perspectives. Another example of the above would be the investigation of leading characters in television drama (Gerbner & Signorielli, 1982). The researchers have found that separate and independent measures of attention and of emphasis can reveal different facets of the system. For instance, Gerbner & Signorielli (1979) have found that one general feature of the representation of women and minorities on American television is that even when their numbers exceed their proportion of the real population (a rare occurrence), they are more likely to play minor or secondary than major or leading roles.

c) **TENDENCY:** The *measure of evaluative or other qualitative characteristics attributed to a unit of attention is called tendency.* It is often constituted by a scale defined by such adjectives as good-bad, right-wrong, positive-negative, active-passive, strong-weak, smart-stupid, etc. After the measures of attention and emphasis in the system have been identified, the question "in what evaluative, qualitative, judgmental light is each unit presented?", is answered by the measure of tendency. Whether something is good or bad does not depend on its frequency or prominence and hence the measure of tendency is clearly different from the measures of attention and emphasis. But all the three, work in combination. As for example the frequency and prominence of good things impress us differently from the frequency and prominence of bad things. Thus tendency is an element of the structure of message system. Presented along with other measures it can even become the principal feature of the investigation. The classical example for this is the following. Gerbner's (1964b) study of ideological tendencies in the French press showed that different political organs reported a criminal case in different light even when shifts of attention and emphasis were considered equal.

d) **STRUCTURE:** The underlying relationships among other dimensions, is revealed by structure. The structural characteristics of the system are also called *stereotypes.* An example for this would be the following: A story may present a violent criminal as an ex-mental patient, a politician as an opportunist, and a doctor as authoritative and wise. But in a majority of presentations, if politicians are opportunistic, doctors are omniscient and mental patients are violent, we are dealing with structural characteristics (Gerbner, Gross, Eleey, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox & Signorielli, 1978a). These structural characteristics give us an inkling to the messages that the media is trying to cultivate. Most of the studies cited in the bibliography concerning cultivation theory, investigate the underlying structure of the message system. It is worth repeating that the message system analysis will not tell us what individuals think or do but they tell us what most people think or do and suggest reasons why. They will help us to judge, understand and even shape the symbolic environment that affects our way of thinking and acting.

4.2.3 The Cultivation Analysis (CA)

The Cultivation Analysis is the third prong of the three-pronged research strategy. Culture provides the distinctive characteristics of groups of people. People acquire these characteristics by living, growing up and learning in one culture than in another. Individuals cultivate personal images, tastes, and preferences basing on the trends available in the culture. Thus patterns of conformity within the group is supplied by culture. Patterns of alienation and rebellion are also provided by culture, as its affirmations highlight the issues most likely to be the targets of symbolic provocation or protest. The message systems of culture provide the boundary conditions and overall patterns within which the process of personal and group-mediated selection, interpretation and image-formation can go on (Gerbner, 1973). The Institutional Process Analysis and the content analysis (Message System Analysis)

provide the questions (or at least the basis for framing the questions) that can be used for Cultivation Analysis. In the first two, the message systems (or the world views) projected by television are isolated. In Cultivation Analysis, the degree to which these views have been adopted by the TV viewing public is studied. One point to be remembered about the message systems projected by television is that they need not correspond to reality. Often no distinction is made between factual presentations and imaginary presentations. This does not mean that they do not attach more credibility to a presumable factual news report than to a fairy tale. It only means to say that the role of fables cannot be ignored and in fact, at least in the case of TV, facts and fables play interrelated and significant roles (Gerbner, 1973).

4.2.3.1 The Problem of Effects

As mentioned earlier, the bulk of research in communication effects has been concerned about processes other than the cultivation process and hence has contributed little to its cause. These researchers were worried about the influence of media to move the electorate and other assorted tactics of manipulative behavior. Such an approach with concern for tactics at the expense of strategy, neglected the steady cultivation of issues, conceptions and perspectives that give meaning to all ideas and actions of man (Gerbner, 1973). *The effect of communication should be studied not from the point of what they make us do, but more from the point of their contribution to the meaning of all that is done.* This approach is definitely more fundamental and ultimately more decisive than just studying the effects. The effects of mass communication should be observed in the relationships that exist between mass mediated message systems and the broad common terms of image cultivation in a culture. When messages of TV conflict the established world view and values of a culture, if the TV message is gradually adopted,

making adjustments necessary in the value system of the culture, the presence of cultivation is evident.

4.2.3.2 The Question of Change

In the study of communications the question of who will buy what, is not so important as the study of *how media messages contribute to the ordering and defining of issues*, the latter being more fundamental.

> The principal effect of mass communications is to be found in coming to terms with the fundamental assumptions and premises they contain, and not necessarily in agreeing or disagreeing with their conclusions or in acting on their specific propositions at any one time. Communication is the nutrient culture and not just the occasional medicine (or poison) of mental life. The most critical public consequences of mass communications are in defining and ordering issues, and not just in influencing who will buy what in the short run (Gerbner, 1973, p.568).

The concept of change has a special significance in the study of communication effects, and Gerbner (1973) clarifies the point, making use of an example. He argues that we cannot compare the measure of the progress of swimmers, - swimming upstream, drifting downstream or pulling in other directions - without relating all speeds and directions to the current itself. If the current were to change, all directions and even the meaning of progress would change without any change in behavior on the part of swimmers. In the same way, *the meaning and measure of communication effects must be seen relative to the general flow*, composition and direction of the message-production and the image-cultivation processes. Seeing effects in this light, changes the concept of "change" itself. Even a lack of change may be in fact a startlingly effective result of communication, sustaining a belief contrary to the cultural current.

The images of a society are cultivated by culture, and these image patterns are reflected in the message systems of the dominant

communication agencies. The media, structure the public agenda of existence, values, priorities, and relationships, and people make use of this structure to support their mode of behaving and their ideas. But when there is a change in the ownership, technology, or clientele of the media institutions, there occurs a change also in the nature and functions of the process referred to earlier.

> Decisive cultural change does not occur in the symbolic sphere alone. When it occurs, it stems from a change in social relations that makes the old patterns dysfunctional to the new order. Such a change changes the relative meanings and functions of the existing images and practices even before these are actually altered. When altered, the new cultural patterns restore to public communications their basic functions: the support and maintenance of the new order (*ibidem*, p.569).

The approach of the protagonists of cultivation theory, is concerned with an understanding of the mass cultural process, instead of other aspects of human behavior and it is the principal criterion of relevance. What they are interested in is not the dynamics of change but the dynamics of continuities which they try to isolate, when examining the mass-produced message systems and their symbolic functions. Such examination will naturally be longitudinal and comparative in its analysis.

Gerbner (1973) in the same vein, argues that there is *no such thing as a communication failure*, because we often communicate more than what we intend. The receivers probably understand the messages better than those who designed them and hence are able to read between the lines and even draw out some nuances of the messages that the designers were not aware of. The message systems often perform symbolic functions that may be apparent to neither parties engaged in communication. The purpose of research is to reconstruct these functions and discover their contributions to meaning and knowledge.

4.2.3.3 Symbolic Functions

While talking about the analyses of message systems and cultivation, the term *symbolic function* is often used. Before going further, a word on the term. Human activity is often guided by *symbolic functions*.

> Symbolic functions are intimately involved in and govern most human activity. The human meaning of an act stems from the symbolic context in which it is embedded. The significance of a person's life or death rests in some conception of role, personality, goals, and fate. When the symbolic context changes, the significance of acts changes. A structure may shift to accommodate the change and to preserve - or even enhance - the symbolic functions of the act. For example, in the TV violence study we found that as the proportion of violent characterizations was cut, the imbalance in the risks of victimization between groups of unequal social power increased, thereby strengthening the symbolic function of violence as a demonstration of relative social powers (Gerbner, 1972a). Such observations enable us to ask questions about what that message might cultivate in public conceptions and behavior (Gerbner, 1973, p.570).

The symbolic world is created by the media and it is often very different from the real world. But *the symbolic world often decides the nature of the society, the fate of the people and the course of life*. Fiction, drama, and news present actions in comic, tragic, fantastic, or realistic ways and these provide the most symbolic significance that could not possibly be presented or enjoyed in other ways that are direct.

4.2.3.4 The Cultivation Process and its Analysis

The Cultivation Analysis starts with the patterns found in the world of public message systems. Once these are isolated, the next step is to see how far they are present in the views and expectations of the publics. For this, instruments of projective techniques[21], depth interviews and periodic questions and sample surveys are made use of.[22] Especially projective techniques indirectly reveal the views, values and expectations of the people. To isolate and highlight views,

expectations, values, etc., depth interview techniques are also used. These findings are then compared to media exposure patterns, demographic patterns and other such characteristics to discover the amount of agreement of the two. Cultivation is tested on the heaviest viewers of any sample of respondents. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1993) accept that the observable evidence of cultivation is likely to be modest in terms of absolute size. But the presence of even a small systematic pattern of pervasive differences discovered, between heavy and light viewers may have far-reaching consequences. They further argue that it takes but a few degrees shift in the average temperature to have an ice age or global warming. The research of Gerbner et al. reveals often a typical three to fifteen percent margins in the "cultivation differentials"[23]; which can signal a landslide, a market takeover, or an epidemic and it certainly tips the scale of any closely balanced choice, vote, or other decision.

For most people television has become popular culture and since they are subjected to its influence from childhood, social concepts are cultivated through it. Generally social symbolic patterns established in childhood, continue to be cultivated throughout life. Cross-cultural and longitudinal research is necessary to see how the messages of the media influence popular culture. It is therefore important to be aware of the cultivation of assumptions that is being continually fed by mass media (especially the television), if we want to know and understand the society in which we live. Gerbner (1973) insists that technological developments in communications hold out the possibility of enhancing greatly, culture-power on behalf of the existing social patterns. This situation makes it all the more important to examine critically the symbolic mass production that is continually invading our homes.

4.3 THE MODES OF CULTIVATION

George Gerbner and his colleagues (Gerbner & Gross, 1976b; Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli & Morgan, 1980; Morgan, 1983; etc.) *conducted much research to see the extent of cultivation in real world*

situations, viz., how TV teaches various facts about the world, how TV affects personal expectations and assumptions of people, how TV relates to the value system of the people, and the like. The tool, made use of, for this study was the Message System Analysis, the content of which supplied the basis for framing the questions that were to be put to the respondents. The margins of difference (called cultivation differentials) between the responses of heavy and light viewers,[24] who are also demographically matched, define the extent of the cultivation. For determining the light and heavy viewers of TV, the number of hours of viewing was the criterion. Thus light viewers would be those who view TV less than two hours a day and the heavy viewers, those who watch TV for more than 4 hours daily. When researches done for other purposes were of significance and suited the purpose, they were taken up. Gerbner enumerates some of the demographic variables used by the researchers (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a). They include sex (men, women), age (typically 18-29, 30-54, and over 55), race (white, nonwhite), education (no college, some college), income (under $10000; $10000 - $24999 and over $25000 per year) and political self-designation (liberal, moderate, conservative). Some other controls like urban-rural areas, newspaper reading, party affiliation etc are also used.

To assess the extent to which television influences actually existed, the *difference between symbolic reality and objective reality was observed.* For example, TV under-represents the old people (at least the TV of the U.S.). People over sixty-five in the U.S. actually constitute the fastest growing real-world population. TV heavy viewers seem to think that the old are a vanishing breed and that compared to twenty years ago they are fewer in number, worse in health and do not live as long, all contrary to fact (Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli & Morgan, 1980). Another example could be the following - half of the characters on TV are involved each week in some form of violence. The FBI statistics is very much lower, as they indicate less than one percent of the population in an year are victims of some form of violence in the U.S. TV heavy exposure seems to mislead

people in this regard (Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli, Morgan & Jackson-Beeck, 1979a; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980).

The research is concerned not only with the factual and non-factual representation of TV but *also regards the symbolic transformation of message system data* into hypotheses about more general issues and assumptions. The facts learned well become the basis for general values, ideologies, perspectives, specific assumptions, beliefs, and images. This extrapolation beyond the specific facts derived from message system analysis is seen as a "second order" of cultivation. Hawkins & Pingree (1982) call this the "cultivation of value system". The mean-world syndrome could be an example - heavy viewers seem to think that our world is a mean, dangerous world where everyone is after selfish-interests and no one can really be trusted (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980). But in point of fact, the research can say nothing definitely regarding the altruism of people. Yet another example may be the "hierarchy of fears" which tends to perpetuate the dependent status of women and minorities (Morgan, 1983). This happens as a result of the differential ratios of symbolic victimization among women and minorities on TV which in turn cultivates varying levels of insecurity among real-life counterparts.

A further example of extrapolation relates to the image of women. The greater percentage of men on TV does not make viewers consider women as fewer in number than men, but they lead to assumptions that women are weaker, more limited in abilities and interests than men (Gerbner & Signorielli, 1979). In point of fact, most heavy viewers score high on the sexism scale. Yet another mode of cultivation noticed is the fact that TV to cater to the myth of impartiality in politics, tend to keep a middle course (neither left nor right) and heavy viewers are seen to identify themselves as moderates rather than liberal or conservative (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1982a; 1984a). A further finding of the research is an indication that TV produces an exaggerated notion of violence in the

world but the possibility of one personally being victimized depends on the neighborhood of the viewer (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981d).

The cultivation of general conceptions of society like violence or place of women in society, may lead to certain position on public issues or to some marketing decision but this need not result in other behavior consonant with that decision. Things like career expectation, likelihood of victimization etc. depend more on demographic or personal situations than TV mainstream (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a).

As a **conclusion** to this discussion, it may be said that, Gerbner is seen as the founding father of Cultural Indicators' thinking. He was dissatisfied with the prevalent media effects research that stressed short term effects and matters of secondary importance. He sees media and especially TV as the "*socialisators*" and cultivators of our modern society. The values and attitudes of all individuals are built up, maintained and changed by the exchange of symbols. This task is completely assigned to mass media.

> The cultural transformation of our time stems from the extension of the industrial - technological revolution into the sphere of message-production. The mass-production and rapid distribution of messages create new symbolic environments that reflect the structure and functions of the institutions that transmit them (Gerbner, 1970a, p.69).

Gerbner sees in TV the *inauguration of a new cultural era* and hence concentrates his Cultural Indicators research exclusively on it. Every year a Violence Index is compiled on the basis of content analysis. Violence is defined by Gerbner (1972e) as "... the overt expression of physical force against others or self, or the compelling of action against one's will on pain of being hurt or killed" (p.30).

Gerbner (1973) argues that this *violence has symbolic functions in the world of television* as they cultivate dominant assumptions about how things work in the world and more particularly, about how

conflict and power, function in the real world. The research on violence revealed a difference in the world view of heavy and light viewers. The heavy viewers were found to be more pessimistic about the world, more suspicious of authorities and fellowmen, more anxious about the future, and more afraid of being involved in some kind of violence as compared to light viewers. The heavy viewers got this view from television (Gerbner & Gross, 1976b).

Themes other than violence are also studied, some of them being sex, age, profession, race of the person in the TV world, etc. Of the types presented on TV, the vast majority are those who dominate the social order; 3/4 are men from middle and upper class American homes, in their prime of youth, usually unmarried, and well off. Thus those at the bottom of the social order like those who have less power, lead a family life, are under-represented. Women represent the romantic aspect in the world of TV; nearly 1/2 of the women in TV belong to the sexually desirable category (viz. young adults), whereas only 20% of men belong to that category. The aged, adolescents, and children together constitute only 15% of the TV population (Gerbner & Gross, 1976a). The following quotation from Gerbner (1984a) gives a synthesis of the research done, making use of the Cultural Indicators:

> In recent years we have used our cumulative data bank of detailed observations, based on the analysis of over 1600 programs and 14000 characters, and the extensive archives of survey data available for analysis, to investigate television portrayals and related viewer conceptions of women and minorities, aging, scientists and other professions, health and medicine, sexual depictions, family images and impact, educational achievement and aspirations, and other issues. (See Gerbner and Signorielli, 1979; Jeffries-Fox and Signorielli, 1979; Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli & Morgan, 1980; Gerbner, 1980a, b; Morgan 1980b; Morgan and Gross, 1980; Gerbner et Al., 1981c; d). Our data collection has been broadly conceived from the beginning so as to permit the analysis of many different trends and features of the world of television and their relationships to the conceptions and attitudes of various groups of viewers (p.331).

After having seen the processes involved in the Cultural Indicators Approach and also having a general idea of the areas and themes which were subjected to the three-pronged analysis, let us proceed to a brief exposition of the nature of cultivation.

5. THE NATURE OF CULTIVATION

The patterns of cultivation among the publics are not homogeneous. Research has shown that children who are more integrated into cohesive peer groups and in whose viewing habits there is some sort of parental control and influence, show less receptivity to cultivation. On the other hand adolescents who watch cable programming show significantly stronger cultivation patterns. This implies that probably cultivation is both dependent on and a manifestation of the extent to which mediated imagery dominates the viewer's source of information. Another characteristic of cultivation is that it is not a unidirectional process but more similar to a gravitational process where the TV mainstream forms the center of gravity and different groups of viewers are placed around it. The angle and direction of the "pull" depends on the viewers and their life styles. The characteristics of the world of television as revealed through the "cultural indicators" approach, make interesting study and some of them are enumerated in the pages that follow.

5.1 THE PATTERNS OF CULTIVATION DIFFER

From the early 1970s Gerbner and his colleagues have been subjecting many topics to cultivation analysis. It was found that the *assumptions, views, and beliefs of heavy viewers differed considerably from the light viewers*, and the differences often reflected both the dominant patterns of life in the television world and the characteristics of different groups of light and heavy viewers. Cutting across cultural and social barriers, heavy viewers of TV were found to give television answers to questions put to them. But in

most cases the patterns were more complex. An increasing number of aspects of life were subjected to cultivation analysis and it was found that TV viewing usually related in different but consistent ways to different groups' life situations and world views (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a).

Further, it was found that *personal interaction made a difference to the cultivation effect*. Teenagers and adolescents whose parents were more involved in their viewing, showed smaller relationships between amount of viewing and perceiving the world in terms of television portrayals (Gross & Morgan, 1985). Rothschild (1984) found from research that children who were more integrated into cohesive peer groups were less receptive to cultivation. Morgan & Rothschild (1983) discovered that adolescents who watch cable programming showed significantly stronger cultivation patterns. The implication that can be derived from this is that probably cultivation is both dependent on and a manifestation of the extent to which mediated imagery dominates the viewer's source of information. A sense of belonging, personal affiliation, and personal interaction reduce cultivation; probably cable TV increases it (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a).

Apart from this, for cultivation to take place, personal, day-to-day experience also plays a role. Research studies revealed that the relationship between the amount of viewing and fear of crime was strongest among people who had good reasons to be afraid (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a). The studies of Morgan (1983) seems to establish that the relationship between amount of viewing and the tendency to hold exaggerated perceptions of violence are much more pronounced within the real-world demographic subgroups whose fictional counterparts are most victimized. Thus if the blacks are seen as often victimized in TV drama, the real world blacks develop greater insecurity than the whites. The different system analyses, in fact, have revealed that there are consistent differences

in the relative likelihood of different demographic groups, to be portrayed as victims or as perpetrators of violence[25].

5.2 CULTIVATION: A MULTIDIRECTIONAL PROCESS

With all our explanations, it is to be kept in mind that cultivation is *not just a fancy word for communication effects, nor is it a monolithic one way process*. The effects of TV are intermingled with other influences; cultivation actually is an interaction between the medium and its publics (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, 1993). As hinted earlier, the effects of TV depend on the one hand, upon the viewer's age, sex, social class and demographic, personal and cultural contexts. On the other hand TV also helps to define for e.g. what it means to be an adolescent female member of a given social class. Taken this way TV neither simply creates nor reflects images, opinions and beliefs but rather it is an integral aspect of a dynamic process (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, 1993).

In addition, the objectives and needs of institutions, influence the creation of mass-produced messages. The needs and objectives of the publics as well as common ideologies are also part of the cultivation process. The other side of the coin shows the picture of the publics as acquiring distinct identities as publics through the ongoing flow of messages supplied by TV. In other words, the *TV has come to be a shaper and a stable part of certain life styles and outlooks*. The individual is linked to the synthetic world produced by television. In fact, most use the TV as the major vehicle of their cultural participation in society. As TV dominates their source of information and entertainment and to that extent, its messages tend to reiterate, confirm and nourish (cultivate) their values and perspectives (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, 1993).

When talking about cultivation we should *not confuse it with reaffirmation* though the latter is significant in the process of

cultivation. Cultivation also involves change. Studies have located change in the first television generation (Gerbner & Gross, 1976a). Changes have been noted with the spread of TV to the different parts of a country (Morgan, 1986). TV seems to effect changes in life style as well (Morgan & Rothschild, 1983). Exposure to television has maintained the *status quo* in some publics and caused change in others. Studies in attitude changes over time have been noted especially in adolescents (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980d; Morgan, 1982).

It has to be affirmed that cultivation is *not a unidirectional process but more similar to a gravitational process.* The central gravity is the "TV mainstream" and groups of viewers are placed all around it in varying distances from the center, but the pull to the center is felt by all. The more or less conformity to the current messages of TV, for each group thus varies. The angle and the direction of the pull will depend on the viewers and their life styles. Each group will be pulling in different directions but all will be affected by the central current. Thus it is evident that cultivation involves a dynamic, continuous interaction between messages and contexts (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a).

As new generations grow up, traditional versions of the world fade and are slowly supplanted by TV view of the world. Thus it will not be wrong to say that *cultivation provides confirmation for the believers and indoctrination for deviants.* Previous beliefs and world views are systematically changed and new orientations belonging to the world of TV, become entrenched. This is the process of mainstreaming, which will be explained later. The manifestations of the process vary, depending upon the environment, context and attributes of the viewer. To understand these variations, the central components of the symbolic environment composed by TV has to be analyzed. That brings us to 'the world of television'[26].

5.3 THE WORLD OF TELEVISION

By the world of television is meant the *central components of the symbolic environment composed by TV.* To assess the most representative, stable and recurrent aggregate patterns of messages to which total communities are exposed over long periods of time, the tool of "message system analysis" is used. Thus content analysis reveals the patterns of messages put forward by TV and establishes the base for cultivation analysis. Gerbner and colleagues were analyzing prime time and weekend day time network television drama since 1969. They claim (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a) that by 1984, they had analyzed 2105 programmes (1204 prime time and 901 week-end day-time) 6055 major characters and 19116 minor characters.

> The world of prime time is animated by vivid and intimate portrayals of over 300 major dramatic characters a week, mostly stock types, and their weekly rounds of dramatic activities, conventional and normal though that world may appear, it is in fact far from the reality of anything but consumer values and the ideology of social power (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, p.25).

The authors then proceed to the following *statistics.* The studies revealed that men outnumbered women by at least 3:1. The women of TV drama are younger, and age faster than the men. Young people form 1/3 and the old (over 65) 1/5 of their true proportion in the population. Blacks on television represent 3/4 and Hispanics 1/3 of their share of the U.S. population but they are disproportionately minor characters. There is no reason to argue that television characters should be proportionate to their actual numbers in society but the prevalent and consistent disproportion, provides a clue to the existing social types, groups, and values, and indicates the presence of cultivation. For example, the consistent over representation of well-to-do white men in the prime of life dominates prime time TV and indicates a restrictive view of the rights and opportunities of the minorities and women. The American TV also projects the myth of the middle class as the all-American norm; an average of seven out of ten

TV characters are in the middle class of a five way classification and most of these are depicted as managers or professionals. Service work and blue collar jobs enlist 67% of the working population of America but in TV they are only 25%. The job of the state according to TV depiction seems to be enforcement of law in a mean dangerous world and three times as many persons are engaged in this job as there are in blue collar and service jobs.

> The typical viewer of an average week's prime time programs encounters seemingly realistic and intimate (but usually false) representations of the life and work of 30 police officers, 7 lawyers, and 3 judges, but only 1 engineer or scientist and very few blue-collar workers. Again, nearly everybody appears to be comfortably managing on an average income of the mythical norm of middle class (*ibidem*, p.26).

But there is *no dearth of violence*. Criminal activities depicted on TV are ten times more than in real world situation. Over half of the characters are affected by an average of five or six acts of physical violence per hour, but pain, suffering and medical help do not follow proportionally. The deviant white young man is likely to be victimizer than victim and the young boys, minority women and the old and young, tend to be victims of conflicts. Such representation by TV makes us consider these acts in context, representing social relationships and the distribution of the power structure[27] according to TV. A consistency over the years of the same basic patterns can be noticed in the case of television. There has been changes in television especially in the field of production, distribution etc. but these changes are superficial. The authors (Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli & Morgan, 1980b) further noticed that despite the social changes that have occurred during the years of their study, there has been but insignificant changes regarding the underlying values, demography, ideology and power relationships, as represented by TV. The patterns of uniformity, durability and recurrence of the aggregate messages of prime time network over the years, explain the cultivation of both stable concepts as well as a resistance to practically all kinds of major changes (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a).

In **conclusion**, it may be said that the Cultural Indicators' Approach to the study of the effects of TV, reveals the special characteristics and nature of TV. The patterns of cultivation are by no means homogeneous and cultivation is dependent on personal, informational, and other cultural and demographic factors. Besides, cultivation is not a unidirectional process. Some of the patterns of cultivation that emerged from the application of the Cultural Indicators' Approach to the longitudinal study of Gerbner and his colleagues, reveal the mainstream of the American TV. That brings us to the concept of mainstreaming.

6. MAINSTREAMING AND RESONANCE

The process by which TV brings various groups into the mainstream of American values is called mainstreaming. The contention of Gerbner is that heavy viewers within various subgroups of the population, develop common outlooks or viewpoints that differ from those of light viewers of the same subgroup. For instance, since crime may be extremely persuasive in certain extremely low-income backgrounds, mainstreaming would not expect low-income heavy viewers to be more likely than other individuals from extremely low-income backgrounds to be concerned about crime. But, when treated to heavy dosages of TV's distorted views of violence and crime, this might exert different effects on high-income individuals, bringing them into the mainstream. It has to be kept in mind that most affluent individuals have little direct experience of crime and therefore TV may be the critical agent that causes those individuals to develop unrealistic fears about crime. Resonance occurs when heavy viewers are more fearful than light viewers among a particular subgroup of the population. A more detailed explanation is given below.

6.1 OBJECTIONS TO CULTIVATION THEORY

Researchers like Paul Hirsch (1980a) have *criticized*[28] *Gerbner for not doing an adequate job of controlling other variables.* Hirsch

(1980a) conducted further analyses and concluded that if one controls a number of different variables all at the same time, the remaining effect that can be attributed solely to television becomes very small and even negligent. Hirsch (1980a; 1981a; 1981b) tries to go beyond Gerbner's division into light, moderate and heavy viewers by isolating two additional extreme groups of non-viewers and very heavy viewers (about 4% of the sample in each case). It was found that non-viewers were more fearful, approving of violence and alienated than light viewers, while extreme heavy viewers were seen to be less fearful, less approving of violence than heavy viewers. Thus the logic of cultivation theory does not seem to apply to non-viewers and very heavy viewers. These results were taken by Hirsch as contradicting the cultivation hypothesis. In response to this criticism, Gerbner revised[29] the cultivation theory (Gerbner, Gross, Signorielli & Morgan, 1981c). The two concepts of mainstreaming and resonance were added to the cultivation theory.

6.2 MAINSTREAMING

A wide variety of factors produce systematically and theoretically meaningful variations in cultivation. The most general and important of these factors are referred to as "mainstreaming". TV tends to cultivate a relative 'commonality' of outlooks and values and this is actually what is called mainstream. In other words, *by mainstreaming is meant the expression of that 'commonality' by heavy viewers in the demographic groups whose light viewers hold divergent views* (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, 1993). Thus the differences found in the responses of different groups of viewers - differences that can be associated with other cultural, social, and political characteristics of these groups - may be diminished or even absent from the responses of heavy viewers in the same groups.

> Mainstreaming represents the theoretical elaboration and empirical verification of our assertion that television cultivates common perspectives. Mainstreaming means that

> television viewing may absorb or override differences in perspectives and behavior that stem from other social, cultural and demographic influences. It represents a homogenization of divergent views and a convergence of disparate viewers. Mainstreaming makes television the true 20th century melting pot of the American people (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, p.31).

The *mainstreaming potential of TV derives its power from the way the television media institution is organized* with its competition to attract audiences from all regions and classes and the consistency of its messages[30]. From all the research available, the indication is that mainstreaming is the strongest and most consistent explanation for differences in the strength and direction of TV's contributions to the formation of viewer conceptions. Thus for example, data from NORC (National Opinion Research Center) 1975, 1978, 1980 and 1983 together with the findings of General Social Surveys, indicate evidence for mainstreaming at least in the case of "Mean World Index" (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a).

> These analyses have revealed that the overall amount of television viewing is significantly associated with the tendency to report that most people are just looking out for themselves, that you can't be too careful in dealing with them and that they would take advantage of you if they had a chance. The relationship is strongest for respondents who have had some college education - those who are otherwise (as light viewers) the least likely to express interpersonal mistrust. (The correlation between education and the Mean World Index is -.25, $p<.001$.) Interesting specifications emerge for whites and nonwhites. As can be seen on Fig. 7, nonwhites as a group score higher than whites on the Mean World Index[31], $r = .21, p>.001$. Yet there is a slightly negative association among nonwhites between viewing television and this index, suggesting that television may play an ameliorating role in their anxieties. The relationship for whites, however, is the opposite. For the majority of (white) viewers, therefore, television plays an exacerbating role. Moreover, an analysis of variance of scores on the Mean World Index by television viewing and race reveals significant main effects and a significant interaction. Thus, the heavier viewers of those groups who otherwise are least likely to hold television-related views of suspicion and mistrust are most likely to be influenced toward the relatively suspicious and mistrustful mainstream television view. In general, those who are most likely to hold a view already in the

mainstream show no difference, whereas those who hold views more extreme than the television view may be brought back to the mainstream position (*ibidem*, pp.31,34).

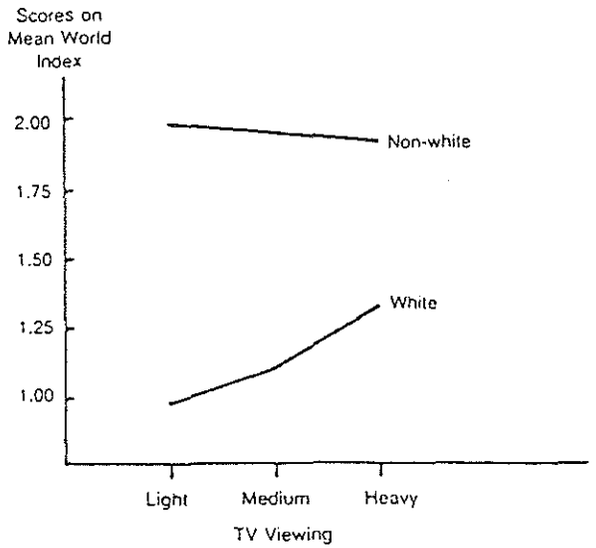


Fig. 7: Scores on the Mean World Index of Apprehension and Mistrust for white and nonwhite light, medium, and heavy viewers.

From: GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1986a), "Living with television", in J. BRYANT & D. ZILLMANN (Eds.), *Perspectives on media effects*, Hillsdale, NJ: Earlbaum, p.31.

Television for the purpose of appealing to the largest number of the population possible, *always avoids extreme positions even in politics*. Thus traditional political differences are blurred by television. Table 1 and Fig.8 show that significantly more heavy than light viewers of all political affiliations call themselves moderate. The tendency among heavy viewers is to say that they are moderate, or to put it in another way, heavy viewers are less likely to say that they

are conservative or liberal, except among Republicans where a change is noticed. In a typical mainstreaming pattern, there is an extremely low number of liberals among light viewers, whereas among heavy viewers, the level approaches that of the mainstream.

Table 1

Relationship Between Amount of Television Viewing and Political Self-Designation

	Percent Who Say They Are								
	Liberal			Moderate			Conservative		
	%L	CD	Gamma	%L	CD	Gamma	%L	CD	Gamma
Overall	29	− 2	−.031	34	+11	136***	37	− 9	−.120***
Controlling for:									
Sex									
Male	30	0	.001	31	+ 9	.119***	39	− 9	−.121***
Female	29	− 4	−.050	37	+11	.132***	35	− 8	−.107***
Age									
Under 30	39	− 3	−.045	32	+12	.150***	28	− 8	−.136***
30-54	29	− 4	−.074*	32	+12	.160***	39	− 8	−.103***
Over 55	19	+ 3	.065	40	+ 6	.080*	41	− 9	−.126***
Education									
No College	23	+ 2	.040	41	+ 6	068**	36	− 8	−.117***
Some College	36	− 2	−.034	26	+ 8	.110***	38	− 6	+.067*
Income									
Low	34	− 5	−.056	36	+ 7	.094**	30	− 2	−.051
Medium	29	− 4	−.062	32	+13	.162***	36	− 9	−.127***
High	28	− 1	−.043	32	+12	.154***	40	−10	−.120***
Race									
White	29	− 5	−.064**	34	+12	.148***	37	− 7	−.105***
Nonwhite	37	+ 4	.076	32	+ 6	.087	32	−11	−.194**
Region									
Urban	35	− 3	−.028	32	+ 9	.115***	33	− 6	−.095**
Non-urban	25	− 1	−.025	35	+12	.147***	40	−11	−.140***
Party									
Democrat	36	− 5	−.063*	36	+ 8	.095**	28	− 3	−.048
Independent	33	− 6	−.093**	36	+11	.146***	32	− 6	−.078*
Republican	14	+ 6	.126*	29	+12	.163***	57	−18	−.216***

* p<.05
** p<.01
*** p<.001

Data Source: NORC General Social Surveys (1975, 1977, 1978, 1980, 1982, 1983)

Note: %L (percent light viewers) refers to the percent of light viewers giving the "television answer." CD or Cultivation Differential refers to the percent of heavy viewers minus the percent of light viewers giving the "television answer."

From: GROSS, L. (1985b), "E pluribus unum? The cultural indicators approach to the study of media and culture" in Massa Communicatie'85, p.152.

TABLE 1. Television Viewing and Political Self-Designation, in the 1990 General Social Survey (N=885)

	Percent who call themselves											
	Liberal				Moderate				Conservative			
TV viewing:	L	M	H	Gamma	L	M	H	Gamma	L	M	H	Gamma
Overall	28	29	25	-.04	33	35	45	.17	40	36	30	-.14
Males	24	31	23	-.03	32	32	43	.12≠	42	37	34	-.09
Females	30	27	27	-.05	32	38	47	.20	38	35	27	-.17
Young	38	27	21	-.26	30	38	47	.23	32	35	32	-.00
Middle	26	34	28	.05	32	34	42	.11≠	42	32	30	-.16
Older	18	15	25	.21≠	39	33	49	.19≠	43	52	26	-.32
Lo Educ.	19	29	22	-.00	42	39	49	.12≠	39	32	29	-.13≠
Hi Educ.	33	30	31	-.04	27	31	38	.15	40	39	31	-.11≠
Lo Income	27	26	22	-.08	34	35	49	.21	39	39	29	-.16
Hi Income	31	31	28	-.04	30	34	40	.13≠	39	35	33	-.09
Democrat	42	36	33	-.11	33	38	45	.15	25	26	22	-.06
Indep.	25	31	22	-.04	44	42	58	.18	32	28	20	-.19
Repub.	18	20	17	-.00	24	25	32	.13	59	55	51	-.10

≠ p<.10 * p<.05 ** p<.01

Notes: TV Viewing: Light = 1 hour or less daily (N=224); Medium = 2 or 3 hours daily (N=418); Heavy = 4 or more hours daily (N=243). Gender: Males (N=394); Females (N=491). Age: Younger = 18 to 30 years old (N=203); Middle = 31 to 64 years old (N=515); Older = 65 years or older (N=167). Education: Low = 12 or fewer years (No college; N=449); High = 13 years or more years (at least some college; N=435). Income: Low = less than $25,000 yearly (N=368); High = $25,000 or more yearly (N=433). Party: Democrats (N=320); Independents (N=268); Republicans (N=287)

From Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1993), p.27.

At the first look mainstreaming appears to be a centering of political and other tendencies. But a closer look at the actual positions taken on a number of political issues, reveals that the mainstream does not always mean the middle of the road. Gerbner and colleagues (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a) analyzed responses to questions in NORC and General Social Surveys about attitudes and opinions on such topics as homosexuality, abortion, minority rights, social segregation, etc. that have traditionally divided liberals and conservatives and found that such a division existed

mainly among those who watch little television. It was seen that the self-styled moderates were actually closer to conservatives than they were to liberals. Liberals and conservatives were seen to be closer to each other among heavy viewers when compared to light viewers. Fig.8 illustrates these findings.

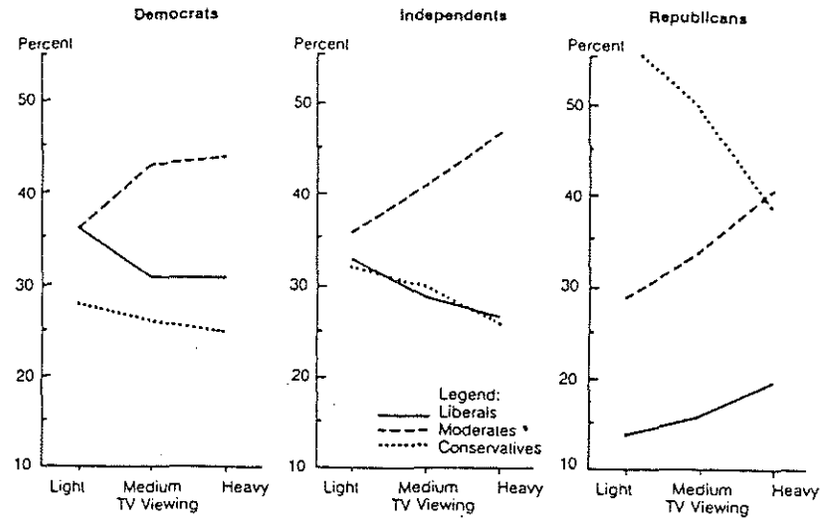


Fig.8: Comparison of political self-designation by amount of television viewing, within parties.

From: GROSS, L. (1985b), "E pluribus unum? The cultural indicators approach to the study of media and culture", in Massa Communicatie'85, NO. 3-4, 153.

Regarding opposition to busing, as seen in Fig.9, the heavy viewing conservatives are more liberal and heavy viewing liberals are more conservative than their respective light viewing counterparts. In the second example, figure 9 (2), regarding opposition to open housing laws, viewing is not associated with any difference in the attitudes expressed by conservatives but among liberals it is seen that heavy viewing goes with greater likelihood of such opposition. Figure 9 (3) in the same pattern shows that in response to a question about laws against intermarriages between blacks and whites, heavy viewers in all groups are more likely to favour these laws than are

light viewers of the same categories; and further, this phenomenon is more pronounced for liberals.

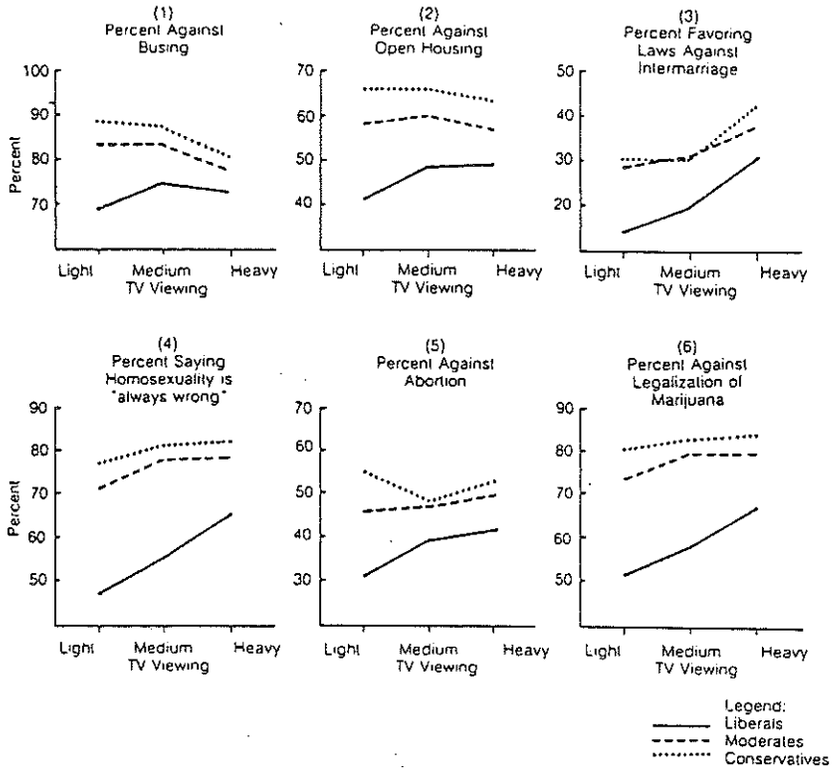


Fig.9: Television viewing and position on racial and personal rights issues, by political self-designation.

From: GROSS, L. (1985b), "E pluribus unum? The cultural indicators approach to the study of media and culture", in Massa Communicatie'85, NO. 3-4, 154.

In examples of 4, 5 and 6 (i.e. cases of homosexuality, abortion and marijuana) there is a *considerable spread between light-viewing liberals and light-viewing conservatives* but again in the case of heavy viewers of both categories similar attitudes are noticed. The phenomenon is attributed to the virtual collapse of the typical liberal opinion among heavy-viewing liberals. The studies of Gerbner, Gross,

Morgan & Signorielli (1982a) and Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1984a) have established that although the mainstream runs towards the right on political issues, it leans towards a populist stance on economic issues, resulting in volatile conflicts of demands and expectations.

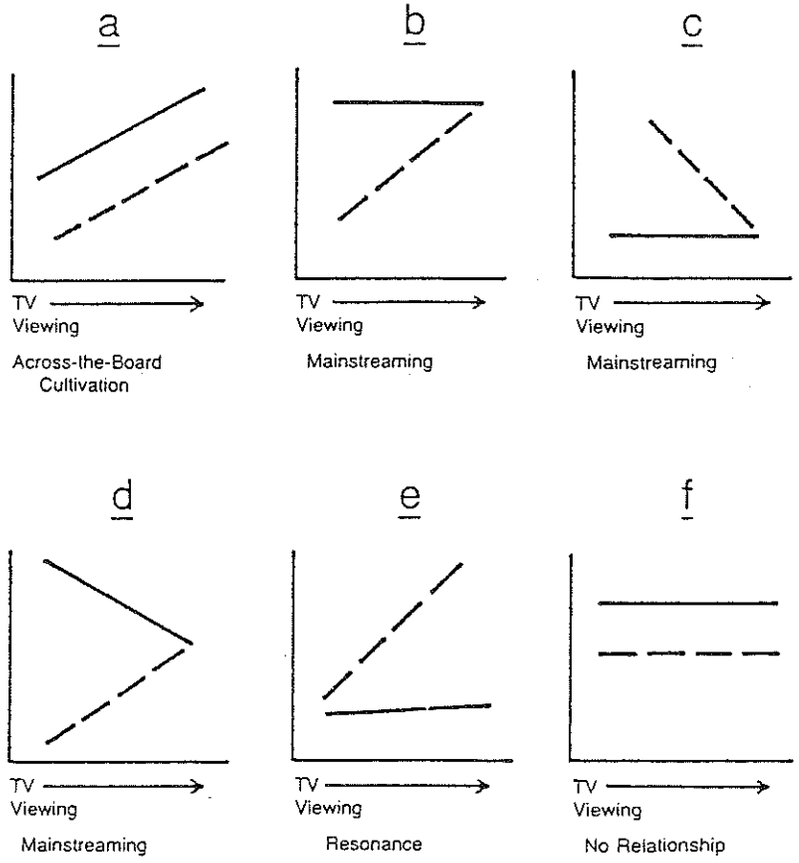
In topics like, cultivation of images of violence (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980d), conceptions of science and scientists (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981b), health-related beliefs and practices (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981a; Gerbner, Morgan & Signorielli, 1982b), sex-role stereotypes (Morgan, 1982; Signorielli, 1979), adolescent career choices (Morgan & Gerbner, 1982), views of racial and sexual minorities (Gross, 1984), ways in which TV relates to academic achievement (Morgan & Gross, 1982), etc., *mainstreaming has been found to explain differences in within-group patterns*. The variations in the intersection, reflecting different modes of cultivation, such as in the distinction between general assumptions about the prevalence of violence and perceived personal risks (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981d) are also explained by mainstreaming.

Several *independent investigations both in the U.S. and abroad have contributed to the development and refinement of cultivation theory*. Bonafadelli (1983), Bryant, Carveth & Brown (1981), Hawkins & Pingree (1982), Pingree & Hawkins (1981), Singer & Singer (1983a, 1983b), Tan (1979, 1982), Volgy & Schwarz (1980), Weimann (1984), William, Zabrack & Joy (1983), etc. are a few who have contributed to research studies in cultivation theory. Such research revealed a number of mainstreaming patterns. Two common characteristics are noticed in the emerging models:

a) Heavy viewers in any subgroup, are more likely to reflect the TV message than light viewers.

b) The greatest difference between heavy and light viewers' conceptions are the farthest away from the television mainstream.

Fig.10: Models of Cultivation.



From: GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1986a), "Living with television", in J. BRYANT & D. ZILLMANN (Eds.), *Perspectives on media effects*, Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, p.38.

In the illustration of different models of the cultivation process (see Fig.10, graphs a through e), it is seen that the differences between light and heavy viewers need not point in the same direction or involve all subgroups. Only graph f is an exception. The others

reflect the cultivation process and relate to the television mainstream which is actually its center of gravity (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a).

6.3 RESONANCE

When the *cultivation effect is boosted for a certain group of the population, resonance occurs.* For example, it is noticed that heavy viewers among both males and females are more likely than light viewers to agree that fear of crime is a serious problem. But among the males and females, the group that agrees the most strongly, is the females who are heavy viewers because their particular vulnerability to crime is said to "resonate" with the portrait of a high-crime world pattern presented by television. "When one's everyday environment is congruent with and reinforces television's message, the result is a phenomenon we call resonance" (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, p.30).

A further example of the above could be the fact that the cultivation of insecurity is strongly felt among those who live in high crime urban areas (Doob & Macdonald, 1979; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980b). In cases such as these there is a double dosage of messages both from television and everyday life and that situation resonate and amplify cultivation.

> In general, television appears to cultivate relatively homogeneous "mainstream" conceptions of life. Traditional differences of perspective among different social groups remain mainly among light viewers. Those members of the same groups who watch a great deal share much the outlook of other demographic groups. In most groups, heavy viewers, compared to their light viewing counterparts, tend to converge upon the television "mainstream", particularly in those concepts that reflect the most pervasive "facts" of the television world. Real life circumstances may sensitize certain groups and make them particularly susceptible to a television message even when that message is inaccurate or exaggerated. In general, our studies have advanced and supported with cumulative data the most sustained and coherent effort in social science to build a theory of television and its

role in modern society (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1992, p.5).

Thus with the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance Gerbner revised the cultivation theory (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980a). Through the introduction of these concepts, the fact that heavy TV viewing has different outcomes for different social groups, is accounted for. For example, heavy viewers in both low and high income categories share the view that fear of crime is a very serious personal problem. But light viewers in the two categories do not share the same views. The low income light viewers tend to agree with heavy viewers in both categories, that crime is a personal problem whereas the high income light viewers tend not to agree that crime is such a major personal problem.

7. THE FINDINGS OF CULTIVATION ANALYSIS

During the course of the presentation of cultural indicators, some findings of cultivation analysis, have already been explained. They are not going to be repeated here. But some other findings are going to be highlighted in a brief manner, under this heading.

Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1993) argue that the facts of the television world are evidently learned well, whether or not viewers profess a belief in what they see on TV or claim to be able to distinguish between fact and fiction in the programs. Most of what we know or think we know, according to the same authors, is a mixture of all the stories we have absorbed. Fact and fiction are more questions of style than function within a total framework of knowledge. (Facts can be highly selective and fiction can be highly realistic). *Beginning with infancy, we learn repetitive lessons from television and these are likely to become the basis for a broader world view, making television a significant source of general values, ideologies and assumptions.* Hawkins & Pingree (1982, 1990) call this the 'cultivation of value systems' or a 'second order of cultivation'.

The 'mean world syndrome' is an example of this (see Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1980a, 1993; Signorielli, 1990a).

The image of women have suffered from similar extrapolated assumptions. The fact that in the television world men outnumber women, does not mean that heavy viewers underestimate the number of women in the real world. Rather, this underrepresentation of women makes the heavy viewers give a stereotyped and narrow range of roles to women. Signorielli (1989) making use of data from NORC General Surveys, shows how heavy viewers score relatively high on a 'sexism scale' when compared to light viewers.

Assumptions regarding gender-roles have been examined by some researchers. For example, Morgan (1982) found that television cultivated such notions as 'women are happiest at home raising children', and 'men are born with more ambition than women'. In the study of Rothschild (1984) it was found that children of 3rd and 5th grade who watched more television, were more likely to stereo-type (along traditional gender-role lines) both gender-related activities like cooking or playing sports, and gender-related qualities like warmth or independence. Morgan (1987) and Signorielli & Lears (1991) noticed that while viewing seemed to cultivate adolescents' and children's attitudes about gender-related chores, there was no relation between viewing and actually doing these chores. The research of Signorielli (1990b) dealing with assumptions about marriage and work found that television seemed to be cultivating rather realistic views about marriage and contradictory views about work. Heavy viewing adolescents seemed to be wanting high status jobs that would bring them a lot of money, but at the same time they wanted their jobs to be easy with long vacations and free time for other activities.

The extrapolations from content patterns involving political views have been already presented in the preceding section of this dissertation. The General Social Survey data of 1990 once again confirms this. (See Table 2). Mainstreaming bends toward the right on political issues and leans towards a populist stance on economic

issues. So mainstreaming always does not mean the 'middle of the road' (see Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, 1993).

Lewis, Jhally & Morgan (1991) made a study of attitudes toward the war in the Persian Gulf. Some implications of cultivation for foreign policy emerged. They found that heavy television viewers were more familiar with the military terminology used and more supportive of the war when compared to light viewers. But they were less informed about the issues and the Middle East in general, in comparison to light viewers. It was also revealed that overall amount of viewing was far more important than specific exposure to news.

8. INTERNATIONAL CULTIVATION ANALYSIS

Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1993) claim that cultivation analysis is suited to multinational and cross-cultural comparative studies[32]. System-wide similarities and differences across national and cultural boundaries can be ascertained through such studies. Gerbner (1958b, 1969a) is convinced that the television system of every country reflects the historical, political, social, economic and cultural contexts within which it has developed. The research of Varis (1984) shows that U.S. films and television programs appear on the screens of several countries. But often they combine with indigenous productions to compose 'synthetic worlds' that are culture-specific. All the countries need not have a stable, coherent, and homogeneous portrayal of images as in the U.S. and hence cultivation may not apply to such countries in the same degree as in the U.S. (Gerbner, 1990a; Morgan, 1990; Tamborini & Choi, 1990).

The research of Pingree & Hawkins (1981) found that young Australians who watched more U.S. programs (especially crime and adventure) were more likely to see Australia as dangerous and mean. The viewing of Australian programs was not seen to be related to such conceptions. Weimann (1984) found that high school and college students in Israel who watched more U.S. programs, had an idealized 'rosier' picture of the standard of living in the U.S. Wober (1978)

found little support for cultivation in England[33]. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1993) claim the reason for that may be because there is little violence in British programs; and U.S. programs screened in Britain accounted for only 15% of British screen time. But Piepe, Charlton & Morey (1990) found evidence of political mainstreaming in Britain, that were similar to the findings in the U.S.[34] Morgan & Shanahan (1991b) found such congruence in Argentina.

Regarding the relationship between the amount of viewing and perceptions of violence, victimization, and mistrust, the findings of Bouwman (1984) was weak in Netherlands. Much of the programs on Dutch television was found to be imported from the U.S. and content analyses showed a good deal of similarity between the two countries (Bouwman & Stappers, 1984; Bouwman & Signorielli, 1985). In spite of that, both heavy and light viewers in Netherlands were found to see equal amounts of fictional entertainment, with heavy viewers watching more 'informational' programs; quite unlike in the U.S.[35]

> Cultivation analyses about conceptions of violence, sex-roles, political orientations, "traditional" values, social stereotypes, and other topics have been conducted in numerous other countries, including Sweden (Hedinsson and Windahl, 1984; Reimer and Rosengren, 1990), Argentina (Morgan and Shanahan, 1991), the Philippines (Tan et Al., 1987) Taiwan and Mexico (Tan et Al., 1987), Japan (Saito, 1991), and Thailand (Tan and Suarchavarat, 1988). These studies show the complex ways in which the viewing of local or imported programming can interact with distinct cultural contexts. For example, in Korea, Kang and Morgan (1988) found that exposure to U.S. television was associated with more "liberal" perspectives about gender-roles and family values among females. At the same time, more viewing of U.S. television among Korean male students correlated with greater hostility towards the U.S. and protectiveness towards Korean culture, suggesting a "backlash" of nationalism among the more politicized college students (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1993, pp.16-17)[36].

The research studies cited above concern single countries. Recent studies have attempted comparative cultivation analyses.

Morgan & Shanahan (1991b) compared adolescents in Taiwan and Argentina. It was found that in Argentina where U.S. programs abound and television is supported by commercials, heavy viewing cultivated traditional gender roles and authoritarianism. On the contrary, in Taiwan where overall viewing is much lighter and with fewer U.S. imported programs, cultivation was much less apparent. Morgan (1990) compared the cultivation of sex-role stereotypes in five different countries.

In the early 1990s large-scale comparative cultivation analyses were planned. One of the first to be concluded was a study of U.S. and Soviet television conducted in 1989, 1990. Television was found to play different roles in the two countries. May be because of lower frequency of violence on Soviet television, such anxieties about neighborhood safety found in the U.S., was absent. But in both countries (more so in the Soviet Union) the more people watched television, the more they were likely to say that housework was primarily the responsibility of women. General satisfaction with life was found to be low in the Soviet Union without significant difference between light and heavy viewers. In the U.S. on the other hand, heavy viewers consistently scored high on general dissatisfaction with life, in comparison with light viewers. The television systems in both countries reduced social and economic differences in attitudes but this was more marked in the U.S. where such differences are greater. There was greater mainstreaming consequences in the U.S. than the Soviet Union. The television fare in the Soviet Union is relatively more diversified due to the presence of different cultural and language programming for the needs of the different republics. The lack of regular prime-time dramatic series and the presence of more movies, theater, documentaries, classics, etc., made the Soviet television more diversified than the U.S. television (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1992, 1993).

In **conclusion** it may be said that in countries where television programs are more diversified and less homogeneous and predictable, the cultivation may be less pronounced or even absent compared to

the U.S. The extent of cultivation depends on various structural factors like the number of channels available, overall broadcasting time, the amount of time spend by audience in actual viewing, etc. But, the most important factor is the diversity in the available content. Even a single channel with a balanced diversified programming[37] can compel a healthy and more diversified viewing than many channels competing for the same audience. Also, depending on the degree of importance of television in the culture and the degree of coherence of the total system of messages, cross-cultural variations in cultivation can occur. When television has more coherence, importance, and consistency in a culture, greater cultivation effect can be expected (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1993).

9. CONCLUSION

The pervading symbolic environment in which we live, is provided by television. The purpose of the cultivation theory and analysis, is to understand and explain the dynamics of television as the distinctive and dominant cultural force of our age. It is not a substitute for traditional approaches to media effects, but rather a complement. Traditional research is concerned with change rather than stability, and with those processes more applicable to media that enter a person's life at a later stage, whereas cultivation research considers resistance to change[38] a major consequence. As people are born into an ambient where television is already present, one cannot speak about a 'before and after' situation. Hence, cultivation analysis studies the enduring and common consequences of growing up and living with television. These consequences are in fact the stable, resistant, and widely shared assumptions, images, and conceptions expressing the characteristics and interests of the medium itself and its owners.

> Television has become the common symbolic environment that interacts with most of the things we think and do. Exploring its dynamics can help develop an understanding of the forces of social cohesion, cultural dependence and

> resistance to change, as well as the requirements of developing alternatives and independence essential for self-direction and self-government in the television age (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1993, p.19).

As noted already, the terms mainstreaming and resonance modifies the cultivation theory considerably. A uniform across-the-board effects of TV on all heavy viewers is no more claimed. The theory now claims only that TV interacts with other variables in ways such that TV viewing will have strong effects on some sub-groups and not on others. Thus Gerbner seems to be admitting that Hirsch was right at least on one point: when one controls many variables simultaneously, the remaining effect attributable solely to TV is rather small (read Severin & Tankard, 1988). But even then, according to the proponents of the cultivation theory, because of the cumulative effects of TV over time, the effects might not be negligible as people (at least in the U.S.) are treated daily to hours of indoctrination by TV.

The cultivation theory and the Cultural Indicators Approach were elaborated and clarified during the period of intense dialogue that occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. As mentioned in the introduction of this work, to understand the growth of the theory and research an understanding of the dynamic situation in which such dialogue took place, is necessary. Hence it is deemed necessary to examine in detail the main criticisms and the overall responses. A mere presentation of the theory without the dynamic debate that accompanied the first publications of the Violence Profiles, would not capture the intricate concepts of the theory and research. So in the following two chapters the main criticisms and the overall replies will be treated in detail.

NOTES

[1] "The symbolic world" is the artificial world created by mass media and it is often very different from the real world. (For further explanation, read chapter six).

[2] When talking about the place of television in society, the society referred to here is the one of the U.S. Gerbner and his colleagues have done extensive research about the role of television in the United States and hence their findings naturally apply to that society more than elsewhere. Of late similar studies have been attempted in great Britain, Sweden, Holland, Japan and Australia. But since our authors primarily researched in the U.S., unless specified all our references will apply to the U.S.

[3] Sun (1989) claims that actual viewing by persons over two years old averages more than three hours a day; and adds that the more people watch the less selective they can be.

[4] "The symbolic environment" here, refers to the symbolic world presented by mass media and especially TV.

[5] One of the basic concerns of Gerbner has been to study the power roles present in the production and distribution of the media. Such concern smells of a critical attitude in the study of mass media; and in chapter six, we will be arguing that such concern demonstrates Gerbner's profound critical thrust in his theory and research.

[6] For a fuller description see Gerbner (1985e and 1988b).

[7] Some critics (e.g. Voort, 1984) feel that the cultivation theory advocates a passive viewer who is helpless before the powerful television. Cognitive psychology does not advocate such a stand. A closer look at the cultivation theory also will reveal that it is not advocating a passive viewer approach but saying that no one can escape the powerful cultural environment created by television. More detail can be had from the next chapter.

[8] "Cultural indicators" refer to the study began in 1967-68 by Gerbner and his associates; it began with a study for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence. Sponsorships by the U.S. Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on TV and Social Behavior, The National Institute of Mental Health, The White House office of Telecommunications Policy, the American Medical Association, the U.S. Administration on Aging, and the National Science Foundation, enabled the researchers to continue their work for a long time. In 1987 under a grant by the W. Alton Jones Foundation, began a

cross-cultural comparative extension of the project. This work has continued with the support of the International Research and Exchanges Board (IREX), the Carter Center of Emory University, the Hoso Bunka Foundation of Japan, the Finnish Broadcasting Company, the Hungarian Institute for Public Opinion Research, Moscow State University, the National Center for Public Opinion Research of the U.S.S.R., and the Universities of Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Delaware. (see Gerbner, 1969a; Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a, 1993; etc.)

[9] Some examples of comparative cultivation studies are given towards the end of Chapter 5.

[10] For further explanation, see Rosengren et al. (1977).

[11] Gerbner's understanding of violence as a demonstration of power in society, comes from a critical attitude. More will be said in Chapter 6, where he will be established as a critical thinker and researcher.

[12] By definition, a strategy consists of a series of processes and methods that together contribute to the realization of a specific goal. The cultural indicators of Gerbner is called a strategy as it involves the three separate prongs of analysis that together would enable the study of culture. One gets the impression that Gerbner calls his CI approach a strategy as it is in point of fact his 'research design' to study culture through the study of television.

[13] Some authors prefer to use 'interpretive method' instead of qualitative method (cf. Erickson, 1986). To quote him: "... it avoids the connotation of defining these approaches as essentially non-quantitative (a connotation that is carried by the term qualitative), since quantification of particular sorts can often be employed in the work, ..." p. 119.

[14] For further detail refer, Jensen & Jankowski (1991); Sharp (1988); Wimmer & Dominick (1991); Rosengren (1981); Hirsch, Miller & Kline (1977); etc.

[15] This section is predominantly taken from Gerbner (1973) and hence repeated references will not be made during the presentation. Incidentally, the whole chapter, being a presentation of Gerbner's cultivation theory and research, contains his views.

[16] The critical concern of Gerbner is that in the decision-making process of cultural production, the ordinary consumer should have a say, as it is going to affect him/her. Such participation is guaranteed by the constitutions of democratic

countries but seldom respected. This point will be developed further in Chapter 6.

[17] For further explanation of the concerned points, refer Gerbner (1969c; 1973).

[18] Depth interviews and participant observation are specifically qualitative methods of research.

[19] Later on in Chapter 6 (in the initial part of the chapter) we shall establish that the concern with the exercise of power in the organization and decision-making process of the media structure, is fundamentally that of a critical paradigm. Gerbner's concern in this sphere is evident here.

[20] See Appendix C, for an example of the '**recording instrument**' used in message system analysis.

[21] Some of the questions used are semi-projective, some use a forced-error format, and others are framed to measure beliefs, views, attitudes, or behaviors. Respondents' views about television itself are never asked directly. (see Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1993 for further details).

[22] See Appendix D, for a sample questionnaire used in cultivation exercise.

[23] Cultivation differentials are the margins of difference between demographically matched light and heavy viewers' response patterns. These patterns reveal the extent of cultivation (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1986a).

[24] Jackson-Beeck (1977) has found that the non-viewers are too few and demographically too scattered for serious research purposes. (see also Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1993).

[25] For further explanation refer Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, (1986a, 1993).

[26] For more details read Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1986a).

[27] Again the critical concern inherent in the cultivation theory is evidenced.

[28] These criticisms are elaborated in the next chapter.

[29] Gerbner himself does not admit a revision of his theory but rather he calls it 'refinement' or 'elaboration'. See Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1986a).

[30] For an elaboration of this point see Hirsch (1979) and Seldes (1957).

[31] The figure number in the original is 2.2. Here it is changed to 7 to assure continuity in numbering, in this work.

[32] See also Gerbner (1977b; 1989a); Morgan (1990); Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1992).

[33] See also Wober (1984; 1990); Gunter (1987); Wober & Gunter (1988); Gunter & Furnham (1984).

[34] See also Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1982a).

[35] See Bouwman (1982; 1983; 1987); Bouwman, Nelissen & Meier (1987); Stappers (1984).

[36] The page numbers are from the pre-publication manuscript. It could change in the published book. The book has come out very recently and hence I have not been able to procure one yet. I have avoided direct quotations from this source so far. In this work, when Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1993) is quoted, the page numbers will be from the manuscript.

[37] To avoid the undesirable consequences of cultivation, Gerbner suggests that there should be more diversification in programming. The diversification refers to cultural diversity. The cultural domination by the media conglomerates can be broken if such diversity can be assured (according to Gerbner). This further highlights his critical interests. This will be further developed in Chapter six.

[38] The critical paradigm of communication research holds that the media is a tool in the hands of those in authority to advocate conformity and avoid any resistance to change, as such resistance might undermine their authority. Gerbner also seems to hold such an opinion.

CHAPTER 4

THE CRITICS OF GEORGE GERBNER

The cultivation theory and the Cultural Indicators Project of Gerbner and his associates came under torrential criticism beginning from the 1970s. In the initial stages, a number of debates focused around the methodology and findings of the Message System Analysis particularly in the area of violence. Critiques over definitions of violence, how violence can be unitized, sample size, reliability, validity, etc., appeared regularly. Immediately after the first cultivation results were published (Gerbner & Gross, 1976a), Cultivation Analysis became the focal point of the Cultural Indicators Project. As yearly message system analysis continued to be conducted, the critiques abated a little and there was a lull in the Cultural Indicators (CI) storm, but it was brief. The early 1980s brought new, massive and unprecedented round of attacks, responses and rejoinders.

> Fierce, prolonged battles (occasionally acrimonious and vaguely ad hominem at times) consumed hundreds of pages of scholarly and research journals; their repercussions were vividly felt at academic conferences and the controversies even spilled over into such popular media as *Time* magazine. The conflicts grew harsher and louder, and the rivers ran red with dead data and mutilated statistical techniques (Morgan & Signorielli, 1990, p. 24).

The fact that the CI Project provoked criticism from a large number of critics, testifies to the importance and scope of the project. In this chapter, I propose to present the positions of the principal critics of Gerbner. The subject matter will be organized under the headings: general criticism, technical criticism, humanistic criticism, criticism from the sympathizers of a critical approach, and replication of research outside the U.S.

1. GENERAL CRITICISM

Under this heading I propose to discuss in a very brief manner the theoretical objections of Percy Tannenbaum, Tom van der Voort, Jennings Bryant, and W. James Potter. This does not mean that the other critics of Gerbner did not have theoretical objections, but rather the criticisms of the above mentioned are of a general nature and they normally do not try to affirm their positions with some counter research.

1.1 PERCY TANNENBAUM

Tannenbaum[1] (1984) comments on the Cultural Indicators (to use his own words) as an 'interested outsider'. He asserts that the work on Cultural Indicators is nothing distinctly new but a new label to what has been done in mass media research all along.

> In a real sense, the work on cultural indicators is not that distinctively different from what preceded the current activity under a different set of labels, and one cannot help but wonder at what has been gained by the "cultural indicator" label. It is "catchy" enough and might even attract added credibility and funding potential by its not so implicit association with work on "economic indicators" and "social indicators" (Tannenbaum, 1984, p.97, emphases in original).

He further feels that if the work has to be taken seriously by those in other disciplines, something more than a snappy title is needed. According to his evaluation, there is little evidence of acknowledgement by other disciplines; the little acknowledgement the research has received can be termed more disdain than acceptance. The problem with the label itself according to Tannenbaum (1984) is that: "There are some who see little that is cultural in what these procedures measure, and others who fail to see anything being truly indicated, let alone measured" (pp. 67-68). He is willing to allow for the freedom of academic scholarship to define phenomena like culture, but this freedom has limits of acceptability; and Gerbner's research output has breached it and hence is an obscure candidate for the

cultural label. So he would see the CI of Gerbner as 'popular indicators' rather than Cultural Indicators.

Tannenbaum (1984) further feels that the message system analyses do not sufficiently represent the range of activities that comprise the popular cultural stream. He is unhappy not only with the sampling that is used, (which he considers not sufficiently representative) but also with the methodology. The basic assumption that one week's programs can represent the whole year[2] and that people watch non-selectively,[3] are not justified, according to our critic. He asserts that the differences in programs are not trivial and hence cannot be dismissed by mere statement to that effect. Also a great deal of selectivity is exercised by viewers. According to him (1984), only 10% or so of a program's audience actually watches all the episodes of a favorite 10 week series but the aggregate audience remains the same, as for everyone who drops out from viewing there is another one much like him/her to fill the vacancy.

The CI research and its methodology according to our critic can be appraised in the context of its explicit and implicit aims. The five goals of the CI research in Tannenbaum's (1984) view are: 1) for their own sake, 2) reflecting the culture, 3) inference about message productions, 4) anticipation of possible effects, and 5) political ways and means.

1) **For their own sake**: Much of message system analyses are done because of some personal interest of the researchers themselves. For example, if there is a concern with the role of women in society, the concerned people will be happy to see how women are portrayed on television. But such research has limited utility according to our critic. On the other hand, if some normative standards of society have to be inferred from such research, the methodology has to be much more rigorous than normally applied.

> ... the sheer diversity of media, specific content foci, and methods of assessment hardly make for useful aggregate body of data, let alone of information and

> knowledge. Hopefully, some degree of methodological uniformity can be introduced so as to have a more consistent range of coverage. Until then, it would be wise not to read too much into such data lest "The Emperor's Clothes" syndrome take over (*ibidem*, p. 100).

2) **Reflecting the culture:** Tannenbaum (1984) further challenges the basic assumption of the CI approach that mass media is a faithful reflection of society's underlying culture, its values, and its fundamental aspirations. The full array of the cultural environment cannot be presented by media as it has to select, distort and present only a few elements. A highly selective sampling process takes place and the owners and producers of the media willingly admit that they knowingly distort and transform that which they select. So Tannenbaum (1984) asks:

> Under these circumstances, it becomes particularly difficult to seriously consider such work as valid cultural expressions, more artifice and artifact than the genuine article. If the creators admit this is so, why persist in trying to show the obvious, let alone hold them accountable for so doing? (p.101).

3) **Inferences about message production:** Those responsible for selecting and editing programs do so because of certain motives and intentions. Most of the Message System Analyses try to find those motives after laborious content analyses. But often the producers are willing to explain their selective behavior if asked directly. Tannenbaum (1984) proves this with examples[4]. If that is the case why all the fatigue of research. The research is needed only where such revelations are not readily available due to unwillingness to reveal them or lack of awareness of any explicit intentions. But in such research one should be careful not to jump into conclusions. Again the patterns that may evolve from such research can be deliberate or incidental. It can happen that often they are accidental. The author then narrates an example. Saturday morning children's programs (animated cartoons) in the U.S. were noticed to have an inordinate male/female ratio. When a study was made to see the reason it was found that those half hour programs were produced independently by different people and presented together. The

inordinate ratio was purely accidental and once pointed out, the producers were only too ready to correct the imbalance. There was no intention on anyone's part to depict male domination.

4) **Anticipation of possible effects:** According to the proponents of the cultivation theory, for most of the regular audiences of TV, the symbolic environment created by TV constitute their major cultural experience.

> Thus according to the cultivation hypothesis, those so dependent on TV will form their images of the world around them from what the medium has chosen to feature and to neglect; where TV distorts the world so should their perception be correspondingly distorted (*ibidem*, p.102).

While admitting that Gerbner and his collaborators have rich data to support the hypothesis, Tannenbaum (1984) finds inherent methodological problems. "I for one, happen to believe that social science methods are quite inadequate to ever "prove" such an hypothesis" (p.103). So he calls for tighter controls in both data-gathering and data-analysis. He further feels that provocative theories like that of Gerbner should be tested rigorously instead of sticking to modest circumstances where the feasibility and tenability of the theory can be merely demonstrated. In his opinion the methodology used by Gerbner helps him to support his theory but does not test it rigorously. He suggests the use of multiple regression techniques like Logit and Probit. Further, for rigorous testing of the theory, more cross-national and cross-cultural studies are needed.

5) **Political ways and means:** Although Tannenbaum (1984) does not explicitly accuse the Annenberg School researchers of conducting research for political motives, he warns about the danger of mixing personal politics in research and thus diluting the scientific worth of the research, a danger that all mass media researchers should be careful about.

1.2 TOM H.A. VAN DER VOORT

Tom H.A. van der Voort (1984) from Holland has several objections to the theory and research of Gerbner and his associates. In his article[5] he has articulated twelve different objections. They are presented below in a brief manner.

1. In the violence analysis, Gerbner includes comical violence as well as violence presented in films that are totally outside reality. Accidents and natural calamities are also counted as violence. Van der Voort (1984) feels that such inclusion gives an exaggerated evaluation of the frequency of violence in television drama. This is against common sense.

2. The Violence Index[6] of Gerbner is arbitrary and hence cannot give neither an absolute nor a relative value.

3. Gerbner repeats often that he is not interested in effects of TV on individuals as such, but is concerned about the cultivation effect of the whole message system of TV. This is on the theoretical level. But when he elaborates his theory by making use of empirical research, he takes into account the effects of TV on individuals and his cultivation effect is in point of fact an "approximation effect".[7] Voort (1984) supports the view of Bouwman (1984) that there is a discrepancy between the theory and research of Gerbner. Bouwman (1984) holds that the theory is correct but the research is defective.

4. The coherence that Gerbner finds between TV message and the world view of heavy viewers is slight and as such insignificant. That does not justify him to talk about any cultivation of social reality through TV.

5. Gerbner does not realize the fact that TV violence should seem to be real or possible to the viewer to have any influence on him/her.

6. Gerbner argues that when exposed to TV violence, the heavy viewer develops a "dangerous-world syndrome". But according to Voort (1984) this does not hold good for the people of Holland. As most of the violent TV programs are imported from the U.S., the viewers seem to understand that, for example, New York is a dangerous place to live in (if the scene of violence is taking place in New York).

7. The cultivation effect according to Voort (1984) arises from informational programs rather than violent drama. This is true in a special way in the case of adults. But Gerbner seems to think the opposite.

8. The perception of violence in the society is cultivated not only by TV, but in a greater measure by information diffused through the press and radio. According to our critic, this especially is true in Holland.

9. All that is said above does not mean that TV drama has no influence at all on the viewers. When the viewer sees reality or possibility of reality in the drama and when the viewer's own predisposition makes him/her accept the television message, there is possibility of cultivation effect taking place. But this cultivation does not depend only on the TV message but many other elements. But Gerbner attributes to TV a predominantly major share of the blame.

10. Gerbner presents the viewer as someone who is more or less at the mercy of TV and the cultivation effect. Voort (1984) calls this a "syringe theory". He argues that cognitive psychology has proven that any knowledge is filtered by the perceiver and hence reality is to an extent filtered and created by the subject. Even TV violence (and drama) should be perceived in the same way.

11. The concept of 'mainstreaming' and 'resonance' introduced by Gerbner are not really refinements[8] or corrections of the theory but an attempt at explaining away the problem. This has arisen out of fear when Gerbner realized that his theory did not have universal

application. The situation becomes more complicated as Gerbner cannot predict when mainstreaming and resonance will take place.

12. Bouwman (1984) in his effort to replicate the cultivation research[9] found no evidence of it in Holland. From that he concluded that may be, the cultivation theory did not apply to Holland. Voort (1984) goes a step further and argues that the lack of evidence of cultivation in Holland puts the theory into discredit also in America.

1.3 JENNINGS BRYANT

Jennings Bryant[10] (1986) appreciates the value of cultivation research and claims that scholarly investigations into television's 'cultivation process' has flooded the communication journals in the 1980s. Equally abundant have been the critiques of the approach. He attempts a constructive[11] critique.

> Since there is no dearth of complementary critiques of cultivation research, the present review will be selective. The tone of the present critique will be positive, and the intent is constructive (Bryant, 1986, p.231).

Bryant begins his review with some brief comments on the present status of research on the cultivation process. Then he proceeds to an examination of some of the subtle things that the advocates of the research have done very well to warrant such a high profile for the research. He then gives some suggestions for new directions and means of improving cultivation research. For obvious reasons the cultivation research has received great attention from scholarly, political, economic, and media quarters. Even academic disciplines recognize the importance of cultivation research.

> Widespread recognition of cultivation research can be documented in many ways and for various publics. Systematic examination of more than 100 syllabi from Mass Media and Society courses taught in U.S. colleges and universities revealed that cultivation was one of only three topics receiving detailed examination in more than half of the classes. Nor is the influence of cultivation

> limited to the communication discipline. An informal examination of basic textbooks currently used in social psychology and sociology indicated that cultivation research is one of the few contributions by mass communication scholars to infiltrate these kindred disciplines with some regularity (*ibidem*, p.232).

The popularity of cultivation research is due (according to Bryant) to its 'common sensical' approach. Besides, cultivation has a cognitive and cultural dimension and of late, great interest in cognitive sciences as well as cultural studies, has been generated. Added to that the CI team has an excellent public relations program with the famous *Journal of Communication* at its command. Also articles in such reviews as *TV Guide, Psychology Today, Newsweek, The New York Times,* etc. add to the recognition factor.

After a positive assessment of the cultivation research, Bryant (1986) spells out his difficulties and objections. The proponents of the cultivation approach do not take account of viewer selectivity and program diversity; they in fact claim that there is a great lack of both and this is one of the strong causes of cultivation. But Bryant (1986) feels that with the advent of heavy VCR use, a change has definitely come.

> However, the audience of few choices has changed dramatically during the past 3 or 4 years - from a "television audience" to "video users". Manifold-channel capacity is in their hardware, genuine diversity is in their broadcast plus nonbroadcast software, and that marvelous little apathy-destroying device called the "remote control" is in their hands (permitting selectivity without exertion). Today's video users are emerging as tomorrow's "sovereign media consumers". The point has been made that notions of the cultivation process were "in tune with" the times in which they were developed. But "the times the are a-changin'"(*ibidem*, p.233).

Hence Bryant (1986) feels that as a result the cultivation researchers should accommodate, instead of subordinating, notions of program diversity and audience selectivity. He also suggests that more attention should be given to a few weak spots in the cultivation

organism, if the approach is to achieve lasting impact and respectability. He feels that increasing attention must be paid to some very basic elements of conceptualization. Questions like 'does television's cultivation process produce effects on the personal and societal level?', should receive attention.

> More correctly, and again, only as an exemplar case, considerations of whether exposure to violent television fare cultivates fearfulness should be carefully delineated into potentially discrete but multidimensional considerations concerning acute short-term versus long-term fearfulness, trait versus state anxiety, apprehensions for personal safety versus societal malaise, perceptions of the likelihood that others versus self will be harmed, etc. If these "effects" should occur, is it via the same cultivation process? Moreover, constructs must be more rigorously defined so as to more readily permit testing by outsiders. Although I may be being myopic, I do not find that notions such as "resonance" lend themselves readily to falsification; therefore, I do not know how to demonstrate the validity of such a construct to my scientific-minded peers. It is not to say that concern for conceptualization has been absent; it has not. Rather, this is a plea for more emphasis to be given to this bailiwick. Specificity seems to be an earmark of a mature theory. I hope the next generation of cultivation research will provide such (*ibidem*, p.234).

Further, Bryant (1986) feels that most of the cultivation research has been concerned with "what's", "who's", and "where's". The intellectual maturity of the theory can be attained only by focusing on the "why's" and "how's". It is time that the concerns with impact should grow into a greater concern with the processes.

Yet another suggestion on the part of Bryant (1986) is that the proponents of cultivation research should seek theoretical integration with other theories. It may be interesting to study, for example, how the mechanisms of cultivation relate to those of social learning theories. Another research question may be to find out whether the mechanisms of cultivation are independent of those involved in "affective memory". Theoretical integration according to Bryant (1986) is a sign of intellectual maturity.

Bryant (1986) is a little cynical about the "helter-skelter, nontheoretical examination of the potential cultivation impact of consuming heavy versus light doses of specified television programming..."(p.234). He considers such insistence would perpetuate theoretical adolescence and calls for the maturation of cultivation research on the lines he has suggested.

1.4 W. JAMES POTTER

Although W. James Potter[12], cannot be directly called a critic of Gerbner, he through a number of articles and studies offers suggestions for the refinement of the cultivation hypothesis. For that reason a very brief presentation[13] of his main ideas are given here under the heading of general criticism.

Potter (1986) made use of "perceived reality" as a contingent variable to examine the cultivation hypothesis. The CI team normally makes use of controls of a demographic nature like gender, education, income, race, place of residence, etc. In the "perceived reality" variable used by Potter (1986), he identified the three dimensions of: magic window, instruction, and identity.

The magic window dimension "is the degree to which a viewer believes television content is an unaltered, accurate representation of actual life" (Potter, 1986, p.162). People who have this view think that TV provides them with a realistic picture of how things really are in the world. "The Instruction dimension encompasses viewers' beliefs about television as an instructional aid which augments and expands their direct experience" (*ibidem*). Such people are inclined to think that TV even if fictional in nature provides useful moral lessons and teaches how to cope with the vagaries of life. Of course there are also people who think that TV is so bizarre that nothing can be learned from it. The identity dimension "is the degree of similarity the viewer perceives between television characters and situations and the people, and situations experienced in real life" (*ibidem*, p.163).

Such people would identify with certain TV characters and it is believed that viewers who tend to identify with the characters are more likely to be influenced by TV. One thing that has to be kept in mind is that these dimensions are not exclusively independent; they often exist together.

Potter (1986) tried to elaborate the relationship specified by the cultivation hypothesis, by using the concept of 'perceived reality' that included the above mentioned dimensions of magic window, instruction and identity. The study[14] that resulted showed that the cultivation effect was nonsignificant after controls for demographics were introduced. But when the 'perceived reality' variable was applied, the cultivation effect was found in certain subgroups of subjects partitioned according to their level of perceived reality. The conclusion of Potter (1986) was as follows:

> It appears that cultivation of beliefs may take place, but the process is much more complex than that specified in the cultivation hypothesis as it is now framed. The amount of exposure to television seems far less important than the attitudes and perceptions of the individuals being exposed (p.172).

In another study[15], Potter (1988) tried to elaborate further the cultivation hypothesis, and came to the conclusion that there is evidence that cultivation effects do exist. But he asserts that the general cultivation coefficients are very deceptive.

> When they are elaborated by the use of test variables, those test variables frequently produce distorter, antecedent and component effects. (None of them however, has yet been found to have an intervening effect). When the sub-processes and sub-groups of viewers are examined together, many interesting patterns of effects can be observed. This complexity appears to be needed to describe the concomitant streams of influence which often produce diverse effects in different types of viewers (Potter, 1988, p.938).

Potter & Chang[16] (1990) tested five different "operationalizations" of television exposure in terms of their relative abilities to predict cultivation among adolescents. The advocates of the

cultivation hypothesis hold that cultivation is an effect resulting from a person's total exposure to television. Potter & Chang (1990) in a study, compared total exposure with four other alternative operationalizations of television viewing, namely: exposure to types of programs, program-type exposure under controls for total viewing, proportional exposure among show types, and a weighted proportion. Their findings made them challenge the assumptions of Gerbner that messages of TV are uniform and viewers are non-selective in their viewing. They also found that it was more important to know what program types dominate one's time. The evidence according to Potter & Chang (1990) points to the possibility that proportional viewing among program types is a better predictor of cultivation than is total viewing[17].

Potter (1991a) tried to elaborate the cultivation hypothesis from a psychological perspective by examining the sub-processes taking place in cultivation. He analyzed the sub-processes of learning, construction and generalization and came to the conclusion that while overall cultivation coefficients always remained consistently small, some of the sub-processes involved in cultivation showed elements of stronger effects[18]. He (1991a) argues that cultivation theory should be given its due.

> But it is time to get beyond this weak effect and start building more explanatory systems of the more important effects and, furthermore, to get beyond the descriptions of whether an effect occurs or not and get into attempting to explain why and how those effects occur. There are other ways of conceptualizing cultivation to show that it has a more powerful influence (Potter, 1991a, p.100).

Thus Potter (1991a) feels that it is time to stop insisting that there is cultivation effect, and try to see how such effect is achieved - the sub-processes involved, or in other words, to study the mechanics of the cultivation effects.

In yet another study, Potter (1991b) tried to determine whether there is relationship between first-order and second-order measures[19]

of cultivation. He (1991b) feels that Gerbner never directly addressed the issue, appearing at times to be arguing that the two measures are casually related and at other times advocating that the two measures are independent. So he sought to determine whether this measurement distinction results in operationalizations that are independent or related to each other. He (1991b) came to the conclusion that the two measures at a general level are related to each other weakly. When contingent[20] analysis was applied, stronger relationships were noticed.

> Subgroups defined by relevant situational variables and certain general variables (such as IQ and especially age) reveal significant differential patterns of relationships. Also, evidence was found of an asymmetric pattern on several topics where first-order estimates usually form a basis for second-order beliefs (Potter, 1991b, p.92).

Our critic (1991b) concludes that there should be greater care taken in the selection of measures in cultivation research. He further argues that the overall cultivation effect is such a complex process, that for the proper understanding of the phenomena, the sub-processes should be studied. Till the relationship between the first-order and second-order measures are clearly established, it may be better according to Potter (1991b) to include both the orders together. In any case, additional clarification of the cultivation theory itself, regarding this issue, is paramount according to him (1991b).

The cultivation theory and cultivation research consider cultivation effect to be monotonic and linear. By monotonic and linear is meant: that people in groups defined by higher levels of television viewing will be more likely to give 'television answers' than will people in groups defined by lower levels of viewing. This notion was first challenged by Hirsch (1980a) who showed that extreme viewers and non-viewers did not follow the logic of the cultivation theorists. Gerbner et al. (1981c) attempted a reply to this criticism by saying that the selection of extreme groups for comparison is wrong as these groups comprise an insignificant less than 10% of the total population and that for the rest of 90% the theory holds. Potter (1991c) feels

that this answer is inadequate as we are dealing with 5 units in the analysis (non-viewers, light, medium, heavy, and extremely heavy). Out of the 5 units only three groups fit the pattern i.e. 60% of the units analyzed. Potter (1991c) also finds fault with the arbitrary way of determining the cut points to separate light, medium and heavy viewers. Hirsch (1980a) with examples pointed it out, and Gerbner et al. (1981c) argued that the terms light and heavy viewer are relative and determined by the distribution of responses in any given sample. Potter (1991c) feels that this position can be defended only if the effect is linear. But according to him there are reasons to believe that cultivation effect is nonlinear and in that case the cut points become crucial for determining the effect.

Potter (1991c) also finds fault with the use of dichotomous measurement, or forced-choice items used as the cultivation measures. In it, respondents are forced to choose from two wrong answers (one of which is nearer to the truth). This according to Potter (1991c) guarantees a response bias. Potter (1991c) attempted to test the linearity hypothesis through a study.

> ... the study relies on continuous measurement of television viewing and several continuous indications of cultivation. The distributions are then partitioned into categories. If the cultivation relationship is indeed linear, then three conditions must be met. First, the means across the categories must be consistently monotonic; that is the average cultivation score of a viewing group (regardless of how many groups or where the cut points are drawn) consistently increase in the direction of the "television world" answer as we move from lower-level viewing groups at a higher level.
>
> Second, the pattern of the relationship between exposure and cultivation scores should be a smooth, upwardly sloping line. This means that when pieces of this line (as partitioned by viewing group) are examined, they should all have the same slope. If, instead, the magnitude of the coefficients change across viewing groups, then there are wobbles or bends in the line across groups. And if the direction of the coefficient changes, then there is even stronger evidence that the relationship is nonlinear.

> This study provides a third condition that must be met in order to conclude that the relationship is linear. Several nonlinear solutions to the cultivation problem are tested and compared to the linear solution. If the relationship is indeed linear, then the linear solution must consistently result in the greatest predictive power (Potter, 1991c, p.571).

The results of the study (Potter, 1991c) reveal a consistent pattern of nonlinearity. Any set of results could merge from the same data by merely grouping data and moving around the cut points. So Potter (1991c) feels that the cultivation theorists should address "the issue of cut points and their importance to categorization" (p.581). Another option is "to recognize that the hypothesized relationship is nonlinear" (p.581).

Potter (1991c) is quick to add that there is a large amount of research providing support for the cultivation hypothesis. A consistent pattern of weak relationships between TV exposure and cultivation exists, as shown by several studies. But he feels that "it is important to recognize that there are some conceptual perspectives and methodological practices that must be changed in order to lead us toward a better articulation of this phenomenon" (p.582).

2. TECHNICAL CRITICISMS

The main critics who will be treated briefly under this heading are: Thomas F. Coffman & Sam Tuchman, David M. Blank, Paul M. Hirsch, Michael Hughes, and Alan Wurtzel & Guy Lometti. These critics complain that Gerbner has fallen short in his content analysis. They have been severe in their criticism of any discrete element present in the Cultural Indicators Approach. Gerbner's sampling techniques, his definition of violence, reliability & validity of his research, etc. come under their scrutiny; they claim that Gerbner is found wanting in all these elements and more.

2.1 THOMAS E. COFFIN & SAM TUCHMAN

Thomas E. Coffin[21] and Sam Tuchman[22] engaged Gerbner in a dialogue. They compared the violence studies of five different sources, one of which was that of Gerbner. The other four studies in question were that of Greenberg & Gordon, Clark & Blankenburg, Christian Science Monitor, and NABB (National Association for Better Broadcasting). The definitions of violence and the methods of research used were different, but the basic techniques and sampling periods at least in most cases were similar.

> While both the *Christian Monitor* and NABB studies differed substantially from Gerbner in classifying programs as violent, they agreed very closely between themselves for the 68 programs mutually studied (Coffin & Tuchman, 1972, p.9).

Our critics here, substantiate their claim making use of tables of comparison[23]. They point out that three-quarters of the prime-time programs studied by Gerbner in 1968 were rated as violent, compared with one-third of the prime-time programs (same sample) rated as violent in the other studies.

> There is also a great discrepancy between Gerbner and other studies on the percent of programs considered violent. This type of statistic would be relevant for a "violence index" system which would attempt to measure on a continuing basis trends in the number of violent programs on television (*ibidem*, p.12).

Coffin & Tuchman (1972) find fault with Gerbner for not taking into consideration program length. A two-hour movie containing 4 violent acts would be considered equally violent as a half-hour movie containing the same number of violent acts. The two are definitely not equal in violence (according to our critics) as in the case of the first the 4 violent acts are spread over 2 hours, while the latter is concentrated in half-hour. In the studies of Greenberg & Gordon violent ratings given by TV critics and the general public were studied. But Coffin & Tuchman (1972) affirm:

> However, while the public and the critics agree very closely with each other, they do not agree too well with Gerbner in classifying programs as violent: a correlation of only .48 between Gerbner and the general public, and .56 between Gerbner and the critics in terms of Gerbner data on number of violent acts per half hour. This lack of a really strong correlation between the two studies reflects the fact that comedy programs were rated more "violent" by Gerbner than by either the general public or the critics in the Greenberg and Gordon study (p.13).

Our critics citing the results from the other studies point out that in the Gerbner studies a much higher level of violence on TV is indicated, in comparison with other studies, and the other studies were in close agreement among themselves.

The critics under discussion here, give two factors that might have caused the discrepancy between Gerbner studies on one hand and the other four studies on the other hand. The first factor could be that Gerbner excluded a number of network programs. For example, the 1968 analysis excluded those programs broadcasted after 10 P.M. as well as nondramatic program types such as quiz shows, variety programs, etc. The second factor may be the actual coding of violent acts. According to Coffin & Tuchman (1972), the definitions of violence of the five studies in question have much in common, but Gerbner includes humorous violence, accidents, and acts of nature. This according to our critics, is against common sense. Coffin & Tuchman (1972) further assert:

> It must be emphasized that Gerbner's studies in themselves are an impressive body of research, reflecting thorough and painstaking work. Moreover Gerbner himself explicitly points out to readers the complications and limitations of the research, such as the fact that it is based on a selective sample of programs. The root of the problem would seem to be not with the Gerbner studies per se, but with the way his figures have been put to use and cited by readers who ignore the stated limitations. Gerbner's primary interest has been in examining the symbolic functions of violence in television drama in illuminating changing power relationships in our society. The criteria employed to classify programs as violent reflected this objective (p.16).

Thus according to our critics, Gerbner's data of violence in television programs were essentially designed to provide a series of sociological indicators. The mistake has been due to the fact that people at large have forgotten them as sociological indicators and started using them as violence ratings (a purpose for which they were clearly not intended). Further they feel that: "To classify a program as violent for purposes of developing sociological indicators it is sufficient to define *violence* in terms of the sociological phenomenon of interest (e.g., power relationships)" (*ibidem*, 1972, p.17, italics in the original). But they feel that a violence rating system requires more stringent criteria as it has to serve as an implicit warning to parents to protect their children from harmful effects of certain programs. So our critics here, argue that the actual need is not so much a 'violence index' as a sociological indicator, but more a violence rating or index that is related to harmful depictions of violence. They admit in point of fact, that little is really known about the types of violence that would stimulate undesirable behavior. They argue: "Consequently, the first task in seeking to formulate a "violence index", or " violence rating" system is to identify the harmful violence that is to be measured" (*ibidem*, p.18).

Coffin & Tuchman (1972) admit the usefulness of content analyses about TV violence, when they are used as exploratory methodological research. But such findings cannot be used as "violence ratings" to be used in guiding parents to select appropriate programs for their children. Hence they (1972) argue:

> Consequently, it would still appear the appropriate research strategy is to first learn more about the *effects* of different types of violence before proceeding with any major violence-index or rating-system undertakings. Thus, a vital next step in developing such systems is research designed to discriminate between "harmful" and "harmless" violence. This would ensure that such systems will focus on the real area of social concern: *harmful* depictions of violence (p.19; emphases in the original).

In their response[24] to the above objections of Coffin & Tuchman (1972), Eleey, Gerbner & Tedesco (1972-73) argued that the attempt of

the critics could be termed as "... not only to compare apples to oranges but also measures of mineral content to declarations of how the fruits taste. Studies that differ in purpose, method, rigor, and even phenomena observed cannot be directly compared without violating basic distinctions of communication research" (p.21).

In an article with the title "A question of validity: Some comments on 'Apples, oranges, and the Kitchen Sink'" Coffin & Tuchman (1972-73) replied to the defence of the Annenberg group of researchers. The critics argue that Gerbner and his collaborators pinned their defence on some minor and peripheral points raised by them and not the central problem of validity. They admit that the studies of Gerbner have an aura of scientism and claim high reliability. Much as 'reliability' is important, more important (according to them) is 'validity' which is found lacking in Gerbner. What Gerbner deems as violent acts in TV, are not violent in a socially meaningful sense; as he draws his high 'violence counts' from situation comedies. They (1972-73) argue further "... we feel that the substantial discrepancies between them[25] and the Gerbner studies confirm the initial common-sense doubts regarding basic validity of Gerbner's data" (p.33; note sign added). To quote further from the same source:

> It should be emphasized that we would not be raising these questions about the validity of the Gerbner violence index if the index were being used as originally intended, as a sociological indicator of the role of television drama in reflecting power relationships in our society. However, the fact is that the Gerbner violence index has been utilized not merely as a sociological indicator, but also as a tool for social policy on television programming. For such purposes, we feel, it is essential that the data to be employed have *validity,* not merely reliability (p.33; italics in the original).

In **conclusion,** it may be said that Coffin & Tuchman compared four other similar studies to that of Gerbner and found that while some agreement can be found among the four studies (among themselves), they have many differences with that of Gerbner. The reason for it (according to them) was Gerbner's definition of violence

(and particularly the coding of violent acts) with the inclusion of comical violence, as well as accidents and acts of nature. Added to that, whereas Gerbner's Violence Index is only a sociological indicator, it has been used by many as an index for judging the violence ratings of the networks. While they admit the reliability of the research of Gerbner as such, they question the validity of the whole research of Gerbner as his research is contrary to a 'common sense' approach to the view of violence.

2.2 DAVID M. BLANK

During the 1960s the strong effects theory of mass media was dead and minimal effects theory became popular[26]. The television industry was delighted with this state of affairs as it was absolved from any responsibility for the violence that was present especially in the American society. But the assassinations of John F. Kennedy, Robert Kennedy and Martin Luther King Jr. made people uneasy; and President Johnson appointed a committee to study the cause of violence. This later grew into the public investigation of violence and television in the 1972 Surgeon General's Project. The TV industry reacted by exercising a veto over the membership of the commission and it was later found that seven renowned researchers[27] of the time were kept out of the commission at the insistence of the TV industry. Meanwhile Gerbner's Violence Profiles came to be published and CBS reacted with a report to Representative Lionel van Deerlin, Chairman of the House Communications Subcommittee. On the basis of this report an article by David M. Blank[28] appeared in the Journal of Broadcasting. Gerbner and his colleagues replied to this article; and this was followed by another pair of articles by Blank and Gerbner (Blank, 1977a & b; Gerbner, Gross, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox & Signorielli, 1977a & b). In his first article, Blank (1977a) argues that the Violence Index and the Risk Ratio of Gerbner have numerous and fatal deficiencies.

The formula for the Gerbner Violence Index is:

$$100 \frac{Pv}{P} + 2 \frac{R}{P} + 2 \frac{R}{H} + 100 \frac{Nv + Nk}{N} = VI$$

where, Pv is the number of programs containing any violence; P is the number of programs; R is the number of violent episodes; H is the number of hours of programming; Nv the number of leading characters involved in violence; Nk the number of leading characters involved in killing or death; and N, the number of leading characters.

2.2.1 The Violence Index

Blank (1977) on behalf of CBS network argues that Gerbner's Violence Index is not a measure of the amount of violence on network television. Rather "... it is, in substance, an arbitrarily weighted set of arbitrarily chosen measures of aspects of violence on television, whose meaning is totally unclear" (p. 273). The reason for this according to Blank (1977a) is that the index in question is the sum total of a number of measures, only one of which is the actual count of violence. Because of this way of calculating the Violence Index, it is possible that in a particular year, the index could show a rise even when the actual count of the amount of violence is on the decline.

> That, in fact, is exactly what happened in the family viewing hour on CBS in the fall of 1976. Gerbner's Violence Profile #8 states that "CBS ... lifted its two-season lid on 'family viewing time' violence in 1976." In fact, the number of incidents of violence on CBS in the family viewing hour actually declined in 1976, according to the same Gerbner report. In the fall of 1975, according to Gerbner (Table 31), family viewing hour programs on CBS contained 20 incidents of violence; CBS family viewing hour programs in the fall of 1976, again according to Gerbner, contained only 11 incidents of violence! So the Violence Index is a measure which simply does not tell anyone whether violence on network

> programming is increasing or decreasing (Blank, 1977a, pp.274-275, footnote sign omitted).

Blank (1977a) finds fault with Gerbner for including measures like the proportion of programs containing any violence, the rate of violence per programs and per hour, and the proportion of all leading characters involved in killings. He further adds: "Indeed, the index is composed of so many varied and incomparable elements which are combined in such an arbitrary fashion that it is difficult to know what it means" (p. 275). Blank (1977a) agrees with Bruce Owen (1972) that the above exercise of Gerbner is like adding apples and oranges. While one could always add them if one wishes, the meaning of the results acquired would remain unclear. He further has problems with Gerbner's violence count as Gerbner includes comic violence, as well as injuries caused by accidents and acts of nature. "None of these, we think are included in what reasonable citizens would consider to be potentially harmful dramatic forms" (p. 275).

Further, Blank (1977a) laments the fact that Gerbner superimposes a very complex set of social hypotheses,[29] upon his violence counts. As a result when a new person enters a violent scene, it is counted as a new violent act. Thus, suppose two men fighting in a restaurant and one of them trying to escape knocks down a waiter, Gerbner would count this as two separate violent incidents. Blank (1977a) feels that such a way of counting would give Gerbner an exaggerated number of violent incidents in a program, and this is unreasonable.

A third deficiency of the Gerbner violence count according to Blank (1977a) is the size of the sample that he uses. One week of programs does not represent a whole year. The CBS network monitors 13 weeks in an year, to measure the presence of violence on television. So Blank (1977a) feels that "... we do not believe, for statistical reasons, that one can accept the Gerbner violence counts even if we waive the deficiencies of his definitions" (p.277).

2.2.2 The Risk Ratio

Blank (1977a) feels that Gerbner makes much of his statistics about 'Risk Ratio'[30] or 'RR'. The 'RR' for a specific population subgroup is obtained by noting the number of characters (in principal roles) who are depicted as aggressors, as well as the number of characters depicted as victims; and dividing the larger number by the smaller one. When victims outnumber the aggressors, the figure is preceded by a minus sign; and a plus sign when the aggressors exceed the number of victims. Gerbner is primarily interested in the groups having minus sign 'RRs'. The Violence Profiles of Gerbner consistently find that women, the aged, unmarried women, children and minorities score high negative 'RRs'.

> Explicitly or implicitly, Gerbner regards the RR's as either distortions of social reality or perpetuations of existing stereotypes; regards negative RR's as reason to believe that viewers regard such groups as relatively powerless, and believes that viewers themselves become fearful of becoming victims of violence (Blank, 1977a, p.277).

Further, Blank (1977a) is convinced that the 'RR' is not a measure of risk as such, as a more direct and simpler way of calculating the 'RR' would show a different picture. Making use of the data[31] from Gerbner's Violence Profile #8, Blank (1977a) tries to establish that the "... groups with *higher* RR's than others are in fact *less often* than the others depicted as victims, both numerically and proportionately to their depiction" (p.279). Our critic further feels that the best way of calculating the 'RR' is by dividing the number of victims by the total number of persons in that group who are depicted at all. The 'RR' measures relative rather than absolute victimization which in all likelihood does not correspond to the conceptions of the viewers. The 'RR' is not a measure of simple risk, in reference to which the number of aggressors is irrelevant. Blank (1977a) asks:

> If, as Gerbner's tables show, 243 of 697 women (34.9 percent) in "principal roles" across 10 sample weeks since 1969 were depicted as "victims," what matter whether the number depicted as "violents" is, as he indicates, 184, or whether it is 284 or 26? The "risk" is the same (pp.277-278).

Further, the 'RR' measures only victimization relative to the commission of violence and the fact that many (especially female characters) do not commit violence is not an indication of their inability to do so. Blank (1977a) finds it difficult to believe that viewers would consciously or unconsciously become aware of the differential[32] 'RRs. What may be easier for viewers to become aware of, is the possibility that certain groups are more often victims than others.

To sum up, it may be said that the criticisms of Blank (1977a) centers around the following four points. 1. As violence is defined too broadly and as the Violence Index is composed of arbitrarily weighted set of arbitrarily chosen measures whose meaning is unclear, Gerbner's Violence Index is deficient. 2. Gerbner uses faulty units of analysis for counting acts of violence. 3. No single week of television can adequately represent an entire season and hence Gerbner's sampling is inadequate. 4. The Risk Ratio is defective as it measures relative rather than absolute victimization, and there is no guarantee that the findings may correspond to viewer perceptions. These objections are answered[33] point by point by Gerbner (see Gerbner, Gross, Eleey, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox & Signorielli, 1977a). He[34] asserts that all of Blank's claims "rest on erroneous - if convenient - assumptions and result in highly misleading conclusions" (p.280). He further, defends his Violence Index, sampling method, and Risk Ratio. He asserts in particular that "... there are no "accidents" in fiction. The author invents (or the producer inserts) dramatic disasters and "acts of nature" for a purpose" (*ibidem*, p. 282). Gerbner jealously protects his Risk Ratios as well, arguing that the Violence Index reports absolute as well as relative risks.

2.2.3 Blank's Final Comments on the Violence Profile

Blank (1977b) contests the defence of Gerbner, Gross, Eleey, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox & Signorielli (1977a) and asserts once again the serious objections that he has to the position of Gerbner and colleagues. On the issue of including comic violence, violence resulting from acts of nature, and accidental violence, Gerbner makes four points; all the four are challenged by Blank (1977b).

1. Gerbner claims his measure is neutral without presuming useful or harmful effects; just like reporting trends of Gross National Product, or Employment Index, or weather conditions. But Blank (1977b) feels that:

> For Gerbner and his colleagues to say that they don't know what forms of violence are important and, therefore, they will, by default, include anything that anyone might conceivably include simply avoids the basic question of where the boundary line should be drawn, and why (pp.287-288).

2. Gerbner refers to a CBS[35] research about the amount of social messages transmitted through Saturday morning children's television programs. This report was titled "They learn while they laugh". If children can acquire educational lessons through comics why should the CBS exclude violence in a comical situation?, argues Gerbner. Blank (1977b) answers:

> He attacks our exclusion of comic violence on the basis that our research demonstrated that children can receive pro-social messages in a comic context. He ignores the fact that these programs were designed to convey and reinforce messages of a socially acceptable, socially reinforced nature. It is a long and unsupported jump to the assumption that children are picking up hidden messages of violence from comic routines (p.288).

3. Gerbner (1977a) feels that Blank (1977a) has exaggerated the irrationality of the inclusion of comic violence, giving the example of "a pie in the face"[36] situation which would be counted as a violent act in the Index of Gerbner. Blank (1977b) insists that "... we have found many incidents of innocuous "violence" in prime-time television

during the current and prior seasons that we know from our dealings with the Gerbner group, would be counted as acts of violence" (p.288).

4. Gerbner (1977a) considers the contention of Blank (1977a) that serious violence is that which reasonable citizens consider to be harmful, as a spacious view that would confuse the content of communications with the assessment of effects. To this, Blank's (1977b) rejoinder was:

> But surely neither Gerbner nor anyone else would measure *all* aspects of content. Only those aspects of content which are meaningful in some sense or other should be measured or else the researcher is simply wasting time and money. And someone *must* decide what is meaningful. In our view, comic and accidental violence is simply not meaningful in the context in which the debate over television violence is being conducted (pp.288-289, italics in original).

Further, Blank (1977b) dismisses as sophistry the view of Gerbner that accidents and acts of nature in fiction are inserted for a purpose. According to our critic, what is important is not so much the intention of the author as what is present in the dramatic vehicle, and since such violence does not involve interpersonal violence, they should not be included for any violence count.

The calculation of the Violence Index of Gerbner comes under repeated fire by Blank (1977b). The conviction of Blank (1977b) is that the Index is not a simple measure of violence as it includes measures other than the counts of violence. Gerbner (1977a) answers the objection by saying that he and his colleagues always publish the different components of the Violence Index separately for the benefit of everyone to see. But Blank (1977b) sees this as "... disengenuity at its worst. For years, Gerbner's own discussion of violence, in his testimony at hearings, and in his reports, little reference was made to any other measure than his Violence Index" (p.289). Further Blank (1977b) accuses Gerbner of devoting only six lines of text (in his Violence Profile 8) to any discussion of data for the components of

the Index, and then only for the aggregate of all programs and all networks. The question of Blank (1977b) is that if Gerbner himself does not probe those measures, who else would do that?

The objection of Blank (1977a) that the way Gerbner calculates his Violence Index can cause confusion,[37] is answered by Gerbner et al. (1977a) by saying that between 1975 and 1976, although the counts of violence decreased when compared to the previous years, violence came to be more broadly distributed during family viewing time (thus making it impossible to avoid those programs); and this caused the Violence Index to go up. Blank (1977b) naming the programs aired during the time in question asks: "Which of these programs did parents need to have their children avoid because of violence?"

Blank (1977b) has several questions regarding the weights used by Gerbner in his Violence Index. He asks from where Gerbner got the components of his Violence Index.

> The truth is that the components of the Violence Index have been chosen by Gerbner without convincing scientific proof of their relevance, and the weights used in their combination have been arbitrarily chosen by Gerbner without any scientific support for their relative importance. So the weighted combination of these components -the index itself- can vary over time with no one being able to identify a valid meaning for such movements (*ibidem*, p.291).

Our critic further argues that Gerbner has the duty to explain why the weights used by him are superior to some other sets of weights. "And nowhere in the many pages written by the Gerbner group on their monitoring results is there any discussion of why one system of weighting is better than another" (p.292).

As seen earlier, the CBS definition of the units of violence is restricted to the dramatic incident itself, while that of Gerbner is related to the participation of particular characters. Gerbner et al. (1977a) charges that the CBS definition is ambiguous and reduces reliability. Blank (1977b) denies this and claims high degree of

reliability. He further teases Gerbner's way of counting violence saying "One could more validly propose that each blow or shot fired is a single act of violence than that a change in participants denotes a new act of violence" (pp.292-293). The accusation of Gerbner et al. (1977a) that under CBS definition of violence it is possible to code a whole program as a single violent act, is answered by Blank (1977b) to the effect that the same could happen to Gerbner's definition as well; as in the case of a prolonged kidnapping sequence covering nearly an entire program would be counted as one violent act if no new character enters the picture. Blank (1977b) adds that for the CBS, "During the current season, length of incidents of violence was only 1.4 minutes" (p.293).

Blank (1977b) further challenges anew the statistical significance of Gerbner's findings due to the inadequate sampling he uses. Quoting Gerbner's own findings, Blank (1977b) asserts that the differences in the violence ratio between the years is so little that normally they should be statistically insignificant. But Gerbner sees even a little change as a tremendous increase in the violence content. Besides, according to Blank (1977b) unlike what Gerbner holds the "Variation in scheduling has become the standard, rather than the unusual" (p.294). He also feels that the only appropriate way of studying television entertainment is by including all the programs of a sample week and having enough sample weeks to achieve statistical reliability (as CBS does).

The Risk Ratio of Gerbner also comes under renewed attack. Gerbner considers television as a tool of society to teach the underclasses (especially women and nonwhites) what their role in life is.

> Indeed, one can make a more positive statement. No one in his right mind would seriously suggest that, after 30 years of television, women and nonwhites are meeker and less aggressive in defending their rights than they used to be. But for Gerbner's view of society and television to have any meaning, this is exactly what should have happened (Blank, 1977b, p.295).

Blank (1977b) concludes that Gerbner's hypothesis about the effects of dramatic portrayals on TV has no support in the realm of reality.

> The Risk Ratio measure itself probably does not measure significant characteristics of television drama in the minds of viewers. Neither society nor television has the kind of monolithic value system that Gerbner presupposes. And there simply is no evidence that the artificial view of society and television that Gerbner has constructed has its counterpart in the real world...(*ibidem*).

2.3 PAUL M. HIRSCH

One of the principal critics of Gerbner has been Paul M. Hirsch[38]. He and Gerbner have similar interests: e.g., institutional analysis, influence of television on society, and humanistic aspects of research. He confronted Gerbner and the Annenberg group of researchers, on the issue of the Cultural Indicators. Hirsch (1980a) acknowledges the importance of Gerbner's research with the words:

> The Annenberg projects on television content and effects have strongly influenced the research agendas and theoretical bases of current research on mass communications. Graduate students across disciplines and professional researchers seldom launch a project about television without first seeking to relate it to the Annenberg results and/or adopting that school's paradigm(s). This rapid acceptance is unusual in the sociology of science, where assertions of strong results or important effects are more typically reanalyzed, debated among scholars, replicated, and then supported, rejected, or left to await further research (p.406).

So Hirsch (1980a) tried to reanalyze the paradigms of Gerbner. The debate with Gerbner began with two major articles by Hirsch (1980a; 1981a), in *Communication Research*: "The scary world of the non-viewer and other anomalies: A reanalysis of Gerbner et al.'s findings of cultivation analysis, Part I" and "On not learning from one's own mistakes: A reanalysis of Gerbner et al.'s findings on cultivation analysis, Part II". Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1981c) replied in the same journal with an article titled: "A curious

journey into the scary world of Paul Hirsch". Paul Hirsch (1981b) replied to this defence of Gerbner with an article: "Distinguishing good speculation from bad theory: Rejoinder to Gerbner et al." Not to be outdone, Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1981d) replied with a pointed article: "Final reply to Hirsch". The exchanges were bitter at times and left both parties unconvinced about the position of the other.

In the following pages a very brief exposition of the main objections of Hirsch will be attempted[39]. In doing so, the objections as presented in his four articles will be taken together and will touch upon only the main points. Hirsch (1980a, 1981a) takes some of the original data[40] of Gerbner and subjects it to what he considers to be a more adequate and scientific analysis. The results he finds from this reanalysis gives him (he feels) the right to conclude that "acceptance of the cultivation hypothesis as anything more than an interesting but unsupported speculation is premature and unwarranted at this time" (Hirsch, 1980a, p. 404-405). Further he claims that a critical examination of the statistical evidence presented by Gerbner et al. to support their assertion about cultivation, reveals "discrepancies in the items, samples, and coding categories employed, and show that when controls are applied simultaneously (rather than singly) there is no linear relationship between amount of viewing and the provision of "television answers" (p.403). Added to that he accuses Gerbner of choosing the items and coding them in a very arbitrary and unusually selective manner. He also charges Gerbner with not reporting data which contradict his hypotheses and also of presenting ambiguities as certain data. All this Hirsch (1980a) feels "casts grave doubts on (the project's) validity" (p.406).

In his bitter attack Hirsch (1980a) concludes that the cultivation hypothesis "lacks empirical support and that the very data presented in its support argue strongly for rejecting the assertion that it has any scientific basis in fact" (p.403). Further, Hirsch (1980a) argues that since the National Opinion Research Center (henceforth referred

to as NORC) data set (which Gerbner uses for his analysis) "fails to support most of the inferences and conclusions which have been drawn and is one of the best of the many samples to have been reported to support them, ... the assertion of cultivation analysis should be transformed from the status of scientific finding to an (albeit interesting) armchair hypothesis. *Note that there is no claim made here about "disproving" its possible validity*" (p. 408, italics in the original). Hirsch (1980a) insists that there is little in the NORC data, if analyzed properly, to support the cultivation hypothesis.

In his two main articles (1980a, 1981a) Hirsch puts forward his objections in the following sequence: 1) He takes the General Social Survey data set and compares it with others to find out what items and question wordings are available in each; 2) points out reported and unreported discrepancies across samples; 3) illustrates how substantially different results are obtained when variables are added or re-coded. He added the categories of non-viewers and extreme viewers (over 8 hours per day) to the light and heavy viewer categories of Gerbner and found that non-viewers were consistently more fearful, alienated and favorable to suicide than light viewers. At the other end of the spectrum, the extreme viewers were found to be less perturbed than heavy viewers. These findings make Hirsch conclude that there is no real relationship between amount of TV viewing and provision of 'television answers' to attitude items; and if there is any such relationship it is not linear nor even monotonic as Gerbner would suggest. Also, 4) when multiple controls are used, the added effect of television hours is negligible; 5) he also tries to show that there is a near-total absence of association between the attitudes (e.g. mean world syndrome) of population subgroups and the amount of TV viewed by each; 6) results of items not reported by the Annenberg group are brought to light as for example, the fact that heavy viewers are less favorable to the use of actual physical violence in comparison with light viewers.

To demonstrate the non-utility of the heavy/light viewer analysis of Gerbner, Hirsch (1981a) analyzes viewers by their zodiac signs, which, of course, has no effect on the production of TV answers. But yet, he is able to arrive at the same conclusions as Gerbner. So Hirsch (1980a) concludes ironically "I will *not* argue that certain zodiac signs therefore "cultivate" or cause heavy television-viewing" (p.409, italics in the original). The concepts of mainstreaming and resonance also come under severe attack by Hirsch. He holds the view that Gerbner fashioned a theory that would explain data about light and heavy viewing and the differential between them. But in the empirical research he found that certain data could not be explained by the original theory and hence added the two sub-theories of mainstreaming and resonance. But even this addition according to Hirsch (1980a, 1981a, 1981b) could not predict future results and thus bares the fallacy of Gerbner's supposedly scientific approach. After a summary introduction to the objections of Paul M. Hirsch, let us proceed to a few details regarding the more important objections.

2.3.1 The General Social Survey as Data Set and Resource

For his secondary analysis, Gerbner makes use of the data of the General Social Survey conducted by the NORC and the data from the 1976 Michigan Center for Political Studies Election Survey (henceforth shortened to CPS). In the years 1972, 1975, 1977, and 1978, NORC has included three items on media use, the third of which concerned television. The question as quoted in Hirsch (1980a) runs thus: "On the average day, about how many hours do you personally watch television?" (p.410). The data that emerged is used by Gerbner and colleagues to construct the viewer categories of light, medium, and heavy. Thus those who watched less than 2 hours per day were counted as light, 3 hours as medium, and over 4 hours as heavy. The question asked by CPS according to Hirsch (1980a) runs thus: "How often do you watch evening entertainment programs about crime and police?". Those who coded 'rarely' or 'never' were considered light viewers, 'sometimes' as medium, and 'frequently' as heavy viewers.

But as daytime viewing as well as all news and non-violent entertainments are excluded from the CPS, it is easier for a respondent to show up as a light viewer here than in the NORC survey. Hirsch (1980a) accuses Gerbner of using both the data side by side resulting in two different definitions of heavy/light viewing. The viewing category becomes more problematic when Gerbner et al. present convenience samples under 18 years of age. Hirsch (1980a) tries to collect in one table[41] the different definitions of heavy and light viewers as employed by Gerbner et al. in their Violence Profiles no. 9 and no. 10. He feels that there is no consistency in these definitions.

> Although the text of each "Violence Profile" reads as though there is consistency across samples by use of the descriptive terms "heavy" and "light" viewers, we now have seen six different definitions of these concepts employed across samples and used interchangeably. In Violence Profile 10, for example, *if a child reported viewing three hours of television in the New Jersey school he or she would be coded as a "light" viewer. The same child, if transported to the New York school, is coded as a "heavy" viewer* (Hirsch, 1980a, pp.413-414, italics in the original).

Hirsch feels that the above issue raises questions regarding the computation and comparability of the 'cultivation differentials' both within and among the samples. Quoting Violence Profile 10, he asserts that the definitions of light and heavy viewers are determined by the idiosyncrasies of each sample.

2.3.2 Reported and Unreported Discrepancies in Results Across Samples

Hirsch (1980a) casts doubts on whether Gerbner in his analysis, has reported all relevant samples, and if so, reported accurately. He quotes tables[42] from violence profile 9 of Gerbner (Gerbner, Gross, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox & Signorielli, 1978a) and compares it with the findings of NORC surveys of 1975 & 1978[43]. In table 3 (Gerbner et al. 1978a) more heavy than light viewers[44] among two convenience samples of children (numbering 116 and 625 respectively) responded

affirmatively to the following item: "How often is it alright to hit someone if you are mad at them? Is it almost always right or almost never right?" (Hirsch 1980a, p.417). For the larger sample the wording of the question was different as it added "for a good reason" at the end of the first sentence (*ibidem*). If a child answered in the affirmative it was taken as the television answer and a negative answer was considered to be reflecting 'the real world' situation. Then Hirsch (1980a) presents the NORC's large probability sample of people 18 years and older (see table 4 in Appendix E). This table represents the cumulative responses of 2875 persons to the question: 'Are there any situations you can imagine in which you would approve a man punching an adult male stranger?' In the NORC probability sample according to Hirsch (1980a):

> ... *there is not a single row in which "heavy" viewers are more favorable toward actual physical violence than are "medium" or "light" viewers* - quite the contrary: in five of the eight rows, the difference in the percentage of heavy viewers expressing a positive distaste for violence is statistically significant at either the .05 or .01 level. Table 4 is especially damaging to the cultivation hypothesis ... (p.417. italics in the original).

Thus Hirsch (1980a) sees table 4 as running directly counter to the expectations of the content analysis of Gerbner, and claims that it provides no support for the repeated contention of the Annenberg group that "scientific findings support the assertions that heavy viewers are "more likely than light viewers to choose answers that reflect television perspectives" (p.418). The claim of Gerbner et al. (1978a) that living in the world of TV 'cultivates conceptions of its own conventionalized reality' also is rejected by Hirsch (1980a), as a result of the above finding from NORC data[45]. Hirsch further accuses Gerbner of distorting scientific reality by not ensuring cross-sample comparability, by not introducing multiple controls, and by not reporting data that do not support the cultivation hypothesis.

2.3.3 Non-viewers and Extreme Viewers

As Gerbner and his colleagues do not give any reason why they limit the categories of viewers to light, medium and heavy, Hirsch (1980a) adds two more categories - non-viewers and extreme viewers. The non-viewers and extreme viewers constitute about 4% each of the NORC sample. The reason why Gerbner excludes them is because they are statistically insignificant as their numbers are small. But Hirsch (1980a) argues that if that is the reason they should be excluded from the statistical analyses. Gerbner in fact collapses the non-viewers into the light viewer category and the extreme viewers to the heavy viewer category. NORC, according to Hirsch (1980a), has shown that economically, culturally, etc. the non-viewers are distinct from light viewers and the extreme viewers are distinct from heavy viewers. Their responses in the NORC data are substantially different and hence Hirsch feels that they should be analyzed separately. Even the lack of numbers do not hold water as Hirsch (1980a) argues that the cumulative non-viewers (for example) in the NORC surveys of 1975, 1977 numbered 209 (a number not too insignificant). So Hirsch feels that the cultural and theoretical importance of non-viewers and extreme viewers necessitates separate categories for them.

Hirsch (1980a) makes use of two tables to show non-viewers moving in the opposite direction from the prediction of the cultivation hypothesis. The non-viewers seem to be more likely than light viewers to give the 'television answers' (see column 3 in tables 5 & 6).

> This finding is not restricted to these illustrative examples; it is replicated within categories of each of these single controls across other relevant items in the NORC General Social Survey. Included here are six of the nine rows for both of the remaining two Anomia items reported by Gerbner et al. (1978: 203) and for the item, "Do you think that most people would try to take advantage of you if they got a chance or would they try to be fair?" (reported in Gerbner et al., 1977, and available for two years of the NORC surveys). (Hirsch, 1980a, p.425, footnote signs in the original omitted here).

Hirsch (1980a) also asserts that in two unreported[46] sets of items[47] from NORC (1977 and 1978) non-viewers seemed to be more disposed than light viewers to 'television answers', a trait expected of respondents most exposed to television. Hirsch (1980a) therefore concludes:

> In sum, we have reviewed 18 items in the NORC data set to see if viewers of one to two hours of television daily provide the "television response" more frequently than non-viewers, and find they do not across 13 (72%) of the 18 items. Each was examined, following Gerbner et al.'s example, with controls placed on age, sex, and education, singly. For six of the seven items reported by Gerbner et al. as providing support for the "cultivation hypothesis," non-viewers more often gave a "mean world" response than did the light viewers, with whom their responses were averaged by the Annenberg group. For seven of the 10 remaining items reported here for the first time, the percentage of non-viewers providing the "television answer" also was greater. All of the attitude items we have examined in the NORC General Social Survey are reported here, whether or not responses to them undermine or lend support to the cultivation hypothesis. If there are more and they are not reported here, their theoretical relevance to the television item has not occurred to us (p.426, original footnote signs omitted here).

Now let us proceed to see what Hirsch has to say about extreme viewers (those who view 8 hours or more of television per day). They constitute 4% of the entire sample and number around 173 in the cumulative data of NORC for 1975, 1977, 1978. Hirsch (1980a) sought to find answers to the questions: 1) how consistently extreme viewers are likely to provide television answers compared to heavy viewers, and 2) how consistently heavy and extreme viewers differ from light, medium, and non-viewers in the question of 'mean world syndrome'[48]. Hirsch (1980a) found that on 18 NORC items extreme viewers provided television answers less often than heavy viewers (at least in the majority of the rows in 11 (61% of the 18 tables). Only on six other items (33%), did the extreme viewers provide television responses in comparison with heavy viewers[49]. This makes Hirsch (1980a) conclude:

> By breaking out the non-viewers and extreme viewers from the categories into which they were collapsed by the Annenberg group, we have shown that the cultivation hypothesis receives strikingly little support from the two groups of viewers by whom television's "lessons" and "messages" should be most strongly reflected. *Non-viewers gave the television answer more often than those viewing one to two hours daily, and the extreme viewers gave the television answer less often than those viewing four to seven hours per day* (p.431, italics in the original).

Making use of table 8 (see Appendix E) the fundamental weakness of the Annenberg group's coding of viewing categories is illustrated by our same critic. What is noticed according to Hirsch is that as we move from light to heavy viewing categories the percentage of respondents endorsing the use of physical violence, decreases and the extreme viewers are the ones who disapprove most, whereas the non-viewers are most likely to embrace such physical violence and aggression. This finding according to our critic is contrary to the cultivation logic.

2.3.4 Multivariate Analysis and the Issue of Causality

So far Hirsch (1980a) used single statistical controls just like Gerbner. The little evidence of cultivation that remained after the reanalysis of Hirsch (1980a) disappears after he makes use of multiple controls (so he argues). Hirsch begins his attack accusing Gerbner of seemingly rejecting the relevance of causal[50] analysis and at the same time falling back on it in his empirical statistical analysis. To establish the specific contribution of TV to our world view, we must subtract all other influences simultaneously; Hirsch (1980a) includes multiple controls of age, sex, education, etc. at the same time. Multivariate analyses of the statistical relationship between TV viewing and items like fear, anomia, alienation, attitudes towards strangers, suicide, and actual physical violence were presented by the help of seven tables (Hirsch 1980a). The basic summary of these tables are given in table 9 in Appendix E, of this dissertation. From the summary of these analyses the following 4 points emerge: "(1) *the total amount of variance explained (column one) by all four controls,*

taken together, is consistently minimal, ranging from .08 to .18 and exceeding 10 percent in only three of six instances" (p.437, italics in the original). Further Hirsch (1980a) argues:

> It clearly refutes the Annenberg group's assertion of a "separate and independent" effect and severely undermines their conceptual argument. Table 9 shows television viewing to be a lesser among equals, whose total combination is itself strikingly unimpressive. (2) Television viewing's standardized dummy regression coefficients (Beta) range from .03 to .08 across all of the dependent variables. That variable and sex are consistently the weakest contributors to the amount of variance explained by the control variables. (3) Of all the potential effects, only education shows any consistent independent strength as a predictor (p.437).

The fourth point that emerges is the fact that the cultivation differential runs in the opposite direction. In five of the six cases television's heaviest viewers provide the television answers in smaller percentages than non-viewers. Hence there is no evidence that there is some monotonic increase of the percentage of television answers with the increase in the hours of viewing. Both non-viewers and medium viewers provide higher percentage of television answers when compared to the heavy and extreme viewers. After applying multivariate controls it is noticed that the heavy and extreme viewers in their responses seem to be following no pattern at all. Hirsch (1980a) asserts:

> In the one instance where the cultivation differential is linear, it moves in the direction *opposite* to that proposed by the cultivation hypothesis. Here, the percentage of heavy and extreme viewers opposed to actual physical violence remains higher than that of light and non-viewers, even after the multiple controls are introduced. For only one scale, the "mean world" index, is the sign of the high-low differential positive, in the direction proposed by the cultivation hypothesis (p.439, emphases in the original).

Hirsch (1980a) also found that blacks gave the television answer with less frequency than whites in the case of attitudes toward actual violence (something contrary to Gerbner's claim). According to our critic only the impact of race on the 'mean world index' gives little

support for the cultivation hypothesis. But if (according to Hirsch 1980a) we take race as a rough proxy for neighborhood crime rate[51], the finding of Doob & Macdonald's (1979) would be right[52]. They found that fear of victimization was caused by local crime rate rather than some effect of television violence. Hirsch also concludes that sex has negligible effect except in the case of 'fear of walking alone at night'. Here the fear of walking alone at night, is due to sex (women) rather than any effect of TV viewing. He argues that older women (55) give fewer TV answers but are more than any other category having fear to walk alone at night.

2.3.5 Mainstreaming and Resonance

The critique of Hirsch concerning the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance, is particularly stinging. He is convinced that Gerbner initially fashioned a theory regarding light and heavy viewers of television and the resulting effects, claiming that heavy viewers of television adopt the world view presented by television (a world view far removed from reality). Then Gerbner made use of content analysis to empirically test his theory. But, when doing so, he came across data that did not cohere with the original theory. When this happened, instead of abandoning his theory, he revised it adding the sub-theories of mainstreaming and resonance. Even with this modification Gerbner was not able to predict future results; this according to Hirsch (1981a, 1981b) is a clear sign that the cultivation hypothesis lacks the required scientificity. "It is precisely this failure to specify the conditions under which the mainstreaming and resonance will occur that makes them unacceptable in their present form" (Hirsch, 1981b, p.80).

Because of this Hirsch (1981b) questions the plausibility of "... theory which exhibits such a remarkable facility for taking as its own confirmation virtually any percentage movements in any direction by survey respondents can be treated seriously as anything more than a tautology" (p.79-80). He (*ibidem*) also adds that Gerbner's approach is

"insulting to the national research community of social scientists who supervise the construction of this prestigious annual survey and to its many users" (p.87). He also claims that these two later concepts that Gerbner has added to his theory lack "logical adequacy" and are deficient in their "claims of empirical support" (Hirsch 1981a, p.3). In the same vein, Hirsch takes Gerbner to task for his lack of straightforwardness in not admitting honestly that the two sub-theories amount to a "qualification or admission of earlier error and overstatement". But in point of fact Gerbner calls them "refinement" of the original basic argument (Hirsch 1981a, p.5). Thus after examining the conceptual and empirical underpinnings of the two concepts of mainstreaming and resonance Hirsch (1981b) dismisses them as "speculative, nonpredictive, unspecified, post hoc, and irrefutable" (p.79). Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1981d) answer the above charges, point by point[53].

In **conclusion** it may be said that Hirsch tried a reanalysis of the NORC data on which Gerbner bases much of his Violence Profile secondary analyses and found little support for the assertions of the cultivation hypothesis. When responses of non-viewers and extreme viewers were analyzed separately (especially in the case of attitude items) the logic of the cultivation hypothesis did not seem to be holding. When multiple controls were used simultaneously, separate and independent effects of television seemed to be practically nonexistent. Further, the little relationship that may exist in a few cases between the amount of viewing and attitude changes, is statistically so insignificant that no social scientist would care to report them. Hirsch also finds that Gerbner's data lacks comparability between the items and samples as the definitions of light/heavy viewing are arbitrary.

> His efforts to empirically link content analysis to audience perceptions are rightly regarded as important and systematic contributions to communication research. Nevertheless, the demographic profile of extreme viewers reported here (mainly housewives, the elderly, and those in poor health) suggest viewer availability as a key prior determinant of viewing behavior and as indicative

> of associated attitude clusters. Combined with the relative absence of cultivation effects found for this viewing category, it is clear that the theory specified by Gerbner et al. is incomplete and needs further development (Hirsch, 1980a, p.450).

After his stinging criticism of Gerbner, Hirsch (1981a) tries to add a constructive note by suggesting that Gerbner's work would be more effective if he included some of the traditional qualitative research methods such as "participant observation, community studies, depth interviews, and ethnographies" (p.6).

2.4 MICHAEL HUGHES

About the same time when Paul M. Hirsch was debating Gerbner and the Annenberg group of researchers, Michael Hughes[54] (1980) attempted a reexamination of some of the effects claimed by the advocates of the cultivation analysis. A set of items from NORC's General Social Survey for 1975 and 1977, measuring alienation and fear of walking alone at night (which were claimed by Gerbner to be related to heavy TV viewing) were reanalyzed by Hughes (1980) controlling simultaneously for age, sex, race, income, education, hours worked per week outside house, church attendance, membership in voluntary associations, and population size. The claims of Gerbner seemed to be largely absent in his reanalysis (Hughes, 1980). Some of the items available in the NORC data and ignored by Gerbner, are analyzed using the methods of Gerbner. The results thus obtained failed to support the contentions of Gerbner. The implication of these results on the cultivation theory is discussed by Hughes (1980). Here only a very brief presentation is attempted[55].

The NORC General Social Survey (GSS) data for 1977 asked the following 5 questions (Gerbner makes use of the data thus obtained, for his secondary analysis of 'alienation'). They are as reported in Hughes (1980) the following: 1. "Is there any area right around here - that is, within a mile - where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?" 2. "In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average

man is getting worse, not better" (agree or disagree). 3. "It's hardly fair to bring a child into the world with the way things look for the future" (agree or disagree). 5. "Do you think it will be best for the future of this country if we take an active part in world affairs, or if we stay out of world affairs?" (take active part or stay out) (p.289). The preference to stay out of world affairs would be taken as the television answer. These findings are sustained after controls for age, sex, and education are applied.

Hughes (1980) has two problems with the way this analysis is done by Gerbner. 1) The controls are applied one at a time and not simultaneously and hence the results will not show the cumulative influence when applied together. 2) These variables do not exhaust the list of variables that may have an influence on the relationship between television watching and the dependent variables (here alienation). Studies of Bogart (1972a, 1972b) has shown that race is related to TV watching. Hughes (1980) feels that race is very much connected with alienation. The variable of income also is important as it provides opportunities for cultural exposure (at home and away from home) which would cut into the time available for TV. The number of hours of work outside, also would cut into the time available for TV. These variables may have an influence on alienation or the lack of it. Hughes (1980) feels that: "For similar reasons it may also be that television watching and the dependent variables considered are related to Church attendance, number of voluntary associations one belongs to, and the population size of the place where one lives" (p.290). Even after applying controls on all these variables, Hughes (1980) has some reservations:

> It should be noted that even after controlling for all the relevant social and demographic variables, the finding of a statistically significant relationship between television watching and fear of victimization and alienation would not necessarily indicate that fear and alienation were produced by exposure to television. It is just as plausible that persons who are fearful and alienated are more likely to stay at home and watch television (this may be particularly apt to occur in high crime areas; see Doob and Macdonald (1979; 172-74) and

> the comment by Gerbner et al. (1979). However, such statistically significant relationships in cross sectional data would at least be consistent with the cultivation perspective (p.290).

2.4.1 The Reanalysis

Samples from NORC's GSS data for 1975, 1977, & 1978 were combined and run as a single data set by Hughes (1980). The controls used were age, sex, education, race, income, hours of work (per week), church attendance, number of voluntary associations, and size of the population of the place. Multiple Classification Analysis was used to simultaneously adjust the effects of each variable for all the other variables in the table[56]. To measure the strength of association, statistical *eta* and *beta* were calculated. Hughes (1980) found that the relationship between sex and TV watching was fairly strong before controls but disappeared after the variable of 'hours worked per week outside home' was applied. What this suggests is that women watch more TV than men as they are likely to work fewer hours outside the home than men. "Race is still a fairly strong predictor of television watching even after controls are added for employment, socioeconomic status, and other variables" (Hughes, 1980, p.291). Added to this, Bogart (1972a, 1972b) found that black people watch an average of approximately 3/4 of an hour more television than white people. "Education is related to television watching in a generally negative direction, but its predictive power is reduced by controls" (Hughes, 1980, p. 291). The variable age is also related to TV watching before controls but after controls it has a monotonic negative relationship, as older persons watch more TV. Population size was not seen to have any relationship before or after controls. The other findings of Hughes (1980) were:

> Hours worked is the strongest predictor of television watching both before and after controls. Number of memberships in voluntary associations is negatively related to television watching before controls, but its strength is cut dramatically with controls. However, the negative effect of Church attendance, which is moderately

> strong as a predictor at the zero-order level, is reduced hardly at all with controls.
>
> From this analysis, it appears that the exclusion of race, hours worked, and church attendance from the analysis by Gerbner et al. (1978a) may be a serious lapse, particularly since these variables may well be related to the dependent variables they use. It is also apparent that two weaker predictors of television watching, which Gerbner et al. did not include in their analysis, may also be confounding the relationship between television watching and dependent variables - income and number of voluntary associations (pp.293-294).

After the above reanalysis Hughes (1980) attempted another reanalysis with simultaneous controls for confounding variables (see Appendix E, table 12). His finding was:

> Only one of the five relationships claimed by Gerbner et al. (1979a) holds up after controls. Three of the five show significant differences, but two of these three do not conform to the patterns which one would expect, given the assumptions of the cultivation perspective (p.295).

Hughes (1980) further found that those who watch television heavily are less likely to be afraid of walking alone at night in their neighborhoods. He argues that:

> An inspection of the effects of control variables reveals that sex (beta=.386), age (beta=.101), and size of place (beta=.255) are extremely powerful predictors of fear of walking alone at night, and that television watching (beta=.033) is very weak in comparison (p.295).

Also, the analysis of the anomia items does not yield findings entirely consistent with the cultivation perspective. For example, in the case of the question regarding the lot of the average man getting better or worse; more similarity is noticed between heavy and light viewers than either of these categories with the moderate viewers.

> Only the anomia item concerning public officials' interest in the average man shows a relationship with television watching which is close to what Gerbner and his associates would predict, but even in this case, it is the moderate watchers who are the most "alienated", while cultivation theory would predict monotonic relationship. There is a .054 (5.4 percent) gap between

> heavy and light watching, but a .073 (7.3 percent) gap between medium and light watching. The finding that medium level of television watching is more "alienating" than either heavy or light viewing on two of these anomia items directly contradicts the cultivation perspective, which assumes that it is the heavy barrage of violent imagery on television (to which heavy viewers are more exposed than light viewers) which should make a difference. Of course, since these items both measure "alienation" and are thus correlated with one another, similar findings on both measures should not necessarily be interpreted as two independent disconfirmations (Hughes, 1980, p.296).

Hughes (1980) not only accuses Gerbner of not controlling relevant variables but also not reporting certain connected variables of 1975 GSS and 1977 GSS data. Table 13 (see Appendix E) presents an analysis of the items not reported by Gerbner, including the four questions used. It seems that those who watch more television are less likely to approve police violence whether by a private citizen or by a policeman. After controls, the relationship for police violence remains still significant, whereas that of private citizens becomes insignificant. But race is an important control variable here as blacks are seen to be even less likely to approve violence[57] than whites. The questions of Gerbner regarding the use of firearms differ from that of the questions used by GSS, thus creating problems of interpretation. "Nonetheless, the data from the GSS do show that heavy television watching does not seem to "cultivate" a general tendency to possess firearms" (Hughes, 1980, p.298).

2.4.2 'Television Answer' and Cultivation Theory

Hughes (1980) criticizes Gerbner for the seeming ambiguity about deciding the 'television answer' to survey questions. In the case of FBI statistics and census data, the difference between real world answer and television answer is evident. But "... the case is not nearly so clear for the items concerning anomia and U.S. involvement in world affairs" (Hughes, 1980, p.299). He also refers to Gerbner & Gross (1976a) where they see TV as the cultural arm of the society

with the chief function of spreading and stabilizing social patterns; and cultivating not change but resistance to change. This role is one of enculturation. Hughes (1980) argues that the reasonable conclusion from this assertion should be that those who watch a great deal of television would have attitudes which reflect the interests of the established order. So heavy watchers should be more likely to believe that the U.S. should take active part in world affairs. But Gerbner et al. (1978a) have chosen the wrong answer as the television answer (the opposite of the above answer). According to our critic, the same argument can be made for the items measuring the beliefs that public officials are interested in the problems of the average man; that the lot of the common man is getting better; and that it is fair to bring children into the world.

So, the analysis of Hughes (1980) does not uniformly support the cultivation theory. It could mean according to our critic any or all of the following conclusions: 1. "... it could be that the particular theory of cultivation offered by Gerbner and his associates is incorrect and that television actually cultivates many realistic and functional conceptions of the world" (p.300). 2. "Alternately, it could be that cultivation theory is correct, but that the analytical procedures used by Gerbner and his associates are incapable of uncovering such an effect because total exposure to television does not specifically tap what people who watch are exposed to" (*ibidem*). 3. "Finally, cultivation theory may be a gross oversimplification of how television affects behavior through culture" (*ibidem*). It is possible that TV is related to diffusion of culture as well as alterations in social structure, both of which would affect all persons regardless of how much TV they watch. Hughes (1980) gives some examples:

> For example, persons who watch television may be carriers of cultural innovations, ways of conceptualizing the world, and variations in lifestyle which, through social interaction in the real world, are diffused to persons who had little, if any contact with the original messages. Furthermore, television structures the markets for consumer goods of all kinds, and therefore is in

large part responsible for the way consumers are tied into the economy and the way producers develop products and organize marketing activities. If, for example, television affects the way leisure time is used, then it will affect the kinds of products that will be produced, the way they are sold, and, in part, how they are used. Such a chain of events affects a broad category of persons regardless of their viewing habits or the content of the programs they watch. Similarly, television has changed the structure of political campaigns, and modified the way persons view the political system and their personal relationship to it. In short, if the effects of television on American society are as pervasive as these limited examples suggest, then trying to uncover the effect of television by comparing heavy and light watchers is bound to result in inconsistent and largely uninterpretable findings (p.301).

2.5 ALAN WURTZEL & GUY LOMETTI

Alan Wurtzel[58] & Guy Lometti[59] (of ABC Network) engaged Gerbner and the Report[60] of the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH), in a debate. The main complaint of the critics is that the NIMH report has been heavily influenced by the research and viewpoints of Gerbner; in particular, they are convinced that the conclusion of the report that there exists a causal relationship between TV violence and aggressive behavior, is unwarranted. They contest the four main conclusions concerning the relationship between television violence and aggressive behavior. They are, as given in Wurtzel & Lometti (1984):

> NIMH conclusion no. 1: the research findings support the conclusion of a causal relationship between television violence and aggressive behavior.
>
> ABC response: the research does not support the conclusion of a causal relationship.
>
> NIMH conclusion no. 2: there is a clear consensus among most researchers that television violence leads to aggressive behavior.
>
> ABC response: there exists a significant debate within the research community over the relationship between television violence and aggressive behavior.

> NIMH conclusion no. 3: despite slight variations over the past decade, the amount of violence on television has remained at consistently high levels.
>
> ABC response: there has been a decrease in the overall amount of violence in recent years.
>
> NIMH conclusion no. 4: television has been shown to cultivate television-influenced attitudes among viewers. Heavy viewers are more likely to be more fearful and less trusting of other people than are light viewers as a result of their exposure to television.
>
> ABC response: the research does not support the conclusion that television significantly cultivates viewer attitudes and perceptions of social reality (p.23).

1. NIMH claims that research findings support the conclusion of a causal relationship between TV violence and aggressive behavior. Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) do not agree with this conclusion. Although some 2500 studies on TV violence have been concluded before the report, NIMH evaluates only 14 of them and from that evaluation, the above conclusion is derived. Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) feel that before any such evaluation, three important aspects have to be kept in mind. They are a) the definition and measurement of violence; b) the use of correlation to imply causation; and c) the use of "convergence theory".[61] a) These critics point out that **no two research scientists agree on a definition of violence.** Added to that according to them no researcher has asked the crucial question 'whether or not exposure to TV violence causes its occurrence in real life'. The reason for it has been the fact that it is impossible to observe on a systematic basis, this kind of behavior in research subjects. "Consequently, researchers have substituted other measures which can be observed and analyzed" (Wurtzel & Lometti, 1984, p.24). But such measures are not violent behaviors in themselves. Many laboratory studies are of this type.

b) According to these critics, **correlation cannot tell us anything about causation.** They give the example of a high correlation between the sale of bathing suits and the sale of ice creams.

"However, we can never say that bathing suit sales "causes" ice cream consumption to rise, nor can we say that the increase in ice cream sales "causes" people to buy more bathing suits" (p.24). So even when high correlation between two variables, exists that does not necessarily signify any causation. The cause can very well be a third factor altogether. They feel that the same is true in the case of TV violence and aggressive behavior.

> Some of these third variables include the level of aggressivity among peers, parental behavior (aggressivity, anger, etc.), parent-child interaction (ways children are punished, nurtured, etc.), demographic factors, and intelligence (*ibidem*, p.25).

Added to the above factor, the correlation found by NIMH reports are very weak (less than .20) between TV violence and aggressive behavior. So the conclusion of NIMH is misplaced according to these critics.

c) **The use of convergence theory.** Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) feel that the use of convergence theory can perpetuate unintended biases, flaws, or illogical assumptions. They argue that the application of the convergence theory made scientists of the middle ages to affirm that the earth was flat and the Sun revolved around the Earth.

The 14 studies cited by NIMH for supporting its conclusions come under attack. Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) argue that half of them were done abroad in different ambients and cultures than the U.S. Approximately 1/3 of the studies were unpublished and hence not subjected to the rigorous scientific scrutiny; and two were not cited as they were the result of a 'personal communication' between the researcher and the NIMH. They add: "Further, a number of significant studies which the author[62] uses to substantiate his case for causality were, in fact, either written by the author himself or by his colleagues" (Wurtzel & Lometti, 1984, p.25, note sign added). Our critics carry on to argue that only four studies were actually reviewed. Of the four, one found no relationship between TV viewing and aggressive behavior; one that did find some relationship

concerned delinquent adolescents who were exposed to unedited theatrical motion pictures and not TV programming. In other studies (e.g. Gerbner) with statistical controls the relationship between aggression and TV were reduced to insignificance. The Belson (1978) study found some relationship but that was not straightforward. So our critics (1984) concluded:

> In sum, a review of the studies and their findings strongly indicates that the NIMH Advisory Panel's conclusion of a causal relationship between television and violence is ill-founded and unsupported by any of the research data which is currently available (p.26).

2. NIMH concluded that there was a clear consensus among most researchers that TV violence leads to aggressive behavior. But Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) claim that there exists a significant debate on the topic within the research community.

> In a recent study by Bybee, 486 academic researchers were asked their professional opinion of the influence of television on aggressive behavior. Only 1 percent reported that television was "the cause" of aggressive behavior. Further, the majority did not feel that television was an important contributory cause of aggressive behavior. Clearly this is not a consensus (*ibidem*, p.26).

3. NIMH asserts that despite slight variations in certain years, the amount of violence on TV has remained consistently at high levels. But our critics hold that there has been a decrease in violence in the stipulated period. They further feel that such a conclusion was possible only because the NIMH depended heavily on the research[63] of Gerbner. Quoting the objections of researchers like Newcomb, Blank, Coffin & Tuchman, these critics argue that the content analysis of Gerbner is far from being beyond reproach. The definition of violence, the index used by Gerbner, as well as his sampling method are all suspect, according to them. Hence Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) give more credit to the CBS content analysis which arrived at the opposite conclusion; and which was unfortunately not taken into account by NIMH report.

4. NIMH's fourth major conclusion was that TV has been shown to cultivate television-influenced attitudes among viewers. But Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) argue that research does not support the view that TV cultivates viewer attitudes and perceptions of social reality. They also complain that even in arriving at this conclusion the NIMH relied heavily on Gerbner's research without taking into consideration strong opposition by independent researchers.

> A number of independent researchers have been strongly critical of the cultivation hypothesis and of the research that supports it. Their criticisms address three key issues: (1) the use of correlation to imply causation; (2) the methods by which attitudes are measured; and (3) the application of certain research techniques in attempting to answer the research question.
>
> The cultivation hypothesis states that television viewing causes distorted social attitudes and perceptions. Although the cultivation research utilizes correlational techniques, the theory's proponents interpret the findings to suggest causality. As we have demonstrated earlier, correlation cannot indicate cause and effect. Further, in every cultivation study reported by the NIMH report, the correlation between television viewing and an individual's attitudes are extremely small, when they are found at all. In most cases, only 3 percent of a person's social attitudes are related to television viewing. In other words, 97 percent of a person's attitudes and perceptions are related to factors *other* than exposure to television (*ibidem*, p.28, italics in the original).

Further, they argue that when variables of age, sex, race etc. are applied simultaneously, the case for cultivation completely evaporates. They also insist that critics of the cultivation theory are convinced that "the questions that are asked are highly selective, and items which do not support the cultivation theory are simply omitted" (p.28). Also the 'TV answer' is often arbitrarily determined (sometimes a respondent is forced to select one from two incorrect answers). Further these critics remind the readers of the fact that some have shown that the definition of light and heavy viewers have been arbitrary[64]. The ABC researchers also cite the examples of some researchers who were not able to replicate the findings of Gerbner. They conclude: "Overall, when the cultivation theory is examined

closely, it is found to be far less compelling than the NIMH report indicates. Consequently, there is no justification for the strong conclusions which the advisory panel reached" (p.29).

3. THE HUMANISTIC CRITICISM OF HORACE NEWCOMB

Horace Newcomb[65] (1978) evaluated Gerbner's research from a literary and humanistic point of view. The precise title of the article is: "Assessing the Violence Profile Studies of Gerbner and Gross: A Humanistic Critique and Suggestion". Newcomb (1978) lauds the research of Gerbner and Gross particularly for their being "open and forthright in their use of mixed methods of analysis and in their call for the development of new techniques of study appropriate for a new medium" (p.266). Because of this reason he sees them as belonging to the humanistic camp, trying to combine[66] a social scientific outlook with a humanistic[67] one.

> ... the definitions of what television is, how it works in American culture, and how culture itself works, are humanistic in nature. One might wish to quarrel with the inclusion of a view that is essentially anthropological in the domain of the humanities, but the particular approach to culture outlined by Gerbner and Gross places them in the humanistic camp among various anthropological positions.
>
> In their analysis questions about *what* to study are framed in humanistic terms. Methods of quantitative measurement and analysis are applied to the fictional world of television. Interpretations of the data supplied by this description raise problems that are, again, essentially humanistic in nature (Newcomb, 1978, p.265, emphasis in the original).

The intention of Newcomb (1978) is to "analyze some of the basic assumptions, definitions, assertions, arguments in the Violence Profile studies" (p.265). He also praises Gerbner for trying to map television's social world, and considers it to be a great contribution to mass communication research, as it gives us clear and definite details about the social world of TV, instead of vague intuitions. Our

critic here takes pains to affirm that although many of his criticisms are of a negative nature, "they are offered on the assumption, shared I think by Gerbner and Gross, that television shatters many of our disciplinary boundaries" (p.266). He (1978) further comes to the rescue of Gerbner saying:

> The usual dismissal of the Annenberg projects as "body counts" or "numbers studies" are thoroughly insufficient whether offered by humanists or magazine journalists. There is no easy "us" or "them" approach. My goal here is to enrich the dialogue around television (p.266).

Newcomb (1978) considers the willingness of Gerbner to identify and discuss an 'environment of symbols' to be congenial to the humanistic perspective. He further appreciates the careful mapping of TV's social world by Gerbner making use of statistical patterns. Gerbner thus, according to our critic, makes the content of the 'environment of symbols' specific, admitting in the process that humanists seldom offer such careful work. He also laments the fact that humanists (including himself) assume "that significant patterns observed and subjectively marked by trained analysts are equally obvious to viewers. We have asserted our own responses as generalizations" (p.267). He appreciates the fact that "the Annenberg studies offer far more precise indications of the relationship of the "world" of TV fictions to the world of experience" (p.267).

But precisely at the point of linking together content analysis and cultivation analysis, Newcomb (1978) notices a 'strain', in Gerbner's effort to bring the humanities and sciences together. The Message System Analysis reveals what TV consistently teaches. The Cultivation Analysis tries to see how far the lessons of TV are learnt by particularly the heavy viewers. The basic assumption here is that what the TV teaches is learned by those who frequent the television. This assumption according to Newcomb (1978) is unwarranted, as all individuals do not learn the same things, although the lessons may be the same. As a result he feels that the methodology of Gerbner to link content analysis and cultivation analysis is deficient. According to him

if Gerbner were to use the tools of literary analysis, he would be able to link the above two more reasonably. Newcomb (1978) further feels that Gerbner does not give any reason for the assumption that all viewers are 'getting' the same or similar messages, except for the fact that people watch non-selectively, in a ritualistic pattern. But "I would suggest that the leap from nonselective to nonperceptive is unwarranted. There is, so far as I know, no evidence to support the assumption that "specific attitudes and opinions" are less strongly cultivated by television than "facts" of life" (p.268).

Newcomb (1978) questions Gerbner's assertion regarding television's realism. While Gerbner and colleagues do not consider the world of television to be real, they assume that the viewers do. They according to our critic consider the viewers to be unsuspecting, and not perceiving TV constructs as essentially fictional. Further, they believe the viewer perceptions to be selective with broad facts rather than specific meanings, getting through to them. Newcomb finds it strange that while Gerbner & colleagues do not believe in the realism of the television world, they assume that the viewers believe it to be real.

Then Newcomb (1978) tackles Gerbner's definition of violence. He insists that while the definition in itself is clear "... the application of any stipulated, *a priori*, definition to a world of fiction is highly questionable" (*ibidem*, p.270). He feels that from a humanistic point of view it would be better to "determine a meaning of violence as it is understood by the characters themselves in the fictional world of television" (*ibidem*), and then compare it with other definitions of violence. He is not happy that "... Gerbner and Gross measure the incidence of violence as they have defined it, impute aesthetic and behavioral effects to the incidence so measured, and then interpret the world of television in light of that effect" (*ibidem*).

Quoting from Gerbner & Gross (1976a), Newcomb (1978) notes that violence occurs on an average of 7.4 times per hour in the 1967-1975 period. From that presentation Gerbner & Gross (1976a) conclude

that television provides a "symbolic world ruled largely by violence" (p.178). Newcomb (1978) objects to this observation saying "... it is a long and clearly unwarranted leap from the measured incidence of violence (or any other dramatic element for that matter) to the assertion that dramatic world is "ruled" by the single, particular dramatic factor in which the researcher is most interested" (p.271). He takes exception to the assumption of Gerbner that, much of what we learn from television is learned in terms of the dominant symbol of violence. Violence for Gerbner is a symbol or a 'metaphor' (as Newcomb calls it) and hence has to be interpreted. Of course Gerbner interprets it as a dramatic demonstration of power relationships and social norms; and Newcomb (1978) suggests that violence is more prominent than other actions.

> *That violence, on a statistical basis, plays a key role in the world of television fiction is self-evident. But the meaning of that world as presented by Gerbner and Gross in the interpretation offered above is highly debatable.* The generalization that violence is the "simplest and cheapest dramatic means available to demonstrate the rules of the game of power," is, equally, an interpretation and would hold only in terms of the prior interpretation of the meaning of the television world. Other interpretations of that world have been offered, and in those interpretations the meaning of violence, even in its documented incidence, is very different. In those interpretations it is often impossible to assert that the world of fictional television is "ruled" by violence. This prior interpretation of the meaning of fictional structures in television seriously weakens the interpretation put forward by Gerbner and Gross with regard to the meaning of television content (*ibidem*, p.272, emphasis in the original).

Next Newcomb (1978) questions the procedure used by Gerbner to assess the contribution of television to viewer's conceptions of social reality. He summarizes his objection like this: Gerbner through message system analysis defines what is presented on television; then making use of cultivation analysis turns around and questions viewers to find out "whether the patterns implicit in those presentations are actually confirmed by heavy viewers more than by light viewers" (Gerbner & Gross 1979, p.226). The validity and reliability of

Gerbner's definitions determines the soundness of the test. In the Cultivation Analysis part of the procedure heavy viewers are expected to supply more television answers in comparison to light viewers. This information is used as proof that television has power to distort perception and "by implication, behavior or choice of behaviors" (Newcomb 1978, p.273). Here is another quotation from the same source.

> My concern here is that these studies are skewed not in terms of their measuring procedures, but precisely in terms of interpretive and definitional assertions that I have cited above. *If* we cannot assume that certain parts of the television message are more directly perceived and absorbed than others, or *if* the world of television is not interpreted as being "ruled by violence" then, very simply, one would ask different questions of the audience. *In the Gerbner and Gross procedures the research model assumes and is based on the validity of the very interpretations and hypotheses that should be tested* (p.273, emphasis in the original).

Newcomb (1978) feels that many of the specific questions put to the audience contain prior interpretations of the meaning of their answers and he illustrates this making use of examples. According to Gerbner & Gross (1976a) the heavy viewers are subject to the cultivation of fear and sense of danger due to exposure to TV violence. To test this assumption the viewers are asked the question 'Can most people be trusted?' The selection of the television answer 'Can't be too careful' is expected to be selected by the heavy viewer. But this answer does not mean what Gerbner assumes it means, according to Newcomb (1978):

> I would suggest that for many respondents, whether heavy or light viewers, this last phrase does not *mean* that people cannot be trusted, nor that television produces an exaggerated demand for the services of law enforcement employees, nor that residue of fear or sense of danger pervades their lives. The conclusion drawn from the data is once again a restatement of the premise designed to be tested (p.274, emphasis in the original).

Our critic also gives the example of another problematic (according to him) question: 'During any given week, what are your

chances of being involved in some type of violence?' Heavy viewers who consider it a high probability, need not have any idea of Gerbner's definition of violence,[68] according to Newcomb (1978). He further feels that "The question for researchers is not how much violence might be available for personal involvement, but rather, what does violence *means* to the respondent?" (p.274, emphasis in the original). Added to that he feels that involvement in violence to one respondent may mean witnessing an automobile accident; to another visiting a hospitalized friend who got hurt in an industrial accident. So for Newcomb, the meaning of violence to the respondent is important and Gerbner's approach does not take that into account. So he (1978) argues:

> My point is that any attempt to determine "the way things are in the observable world" is equally, if not far more, problematic as determining meanings in fictional constructs. That determination requires just as much interpretation. The cultivation analysis, then, yields findings, often referred to in working toward policy decisions, which are equally clear but of necessity *equally* as *gross* as the findings in the message system analysis. In summary, the conclusions hold only if the incidence of violence means what they say it means and is perceived as they say it is perceived. A deep and basic flaw in the Gerbner-Gross analysis is that they operate, at least in the definitions and reports of their findings, with a monosemic and univocal theory of symbols (p.274-275, emphasis in the original).

Newcomb (1978) thinks that the above mentioned problems arise form the implicit model of communication that Gerbner has. He feels that although Gerbner claims to employ a "ritual model of communication",[69] in point of fact his model is only a transportation model. Carey (1975) defines a ritual model of communication as one which is not focussed merely on passing messages from source to receiver to achieve certain effect but rather one which holds together by "the creation, representation, and celebration of shared beliefs" (p.177). The same author (1975) defines the transportation model as:

> ... a process of transmitting messages at a distance for the purpose of control. The archetypal case of communication then is persuasion, attitude change.

> behavior modification, socialization through the transmission of information, influence, or conditioning (p.177).

Newcomb (1980) is convinced that if Gerbner wants to employ an authentic ritual model, he would have to resort to an analysis that would make clear:

> ... the location of television's symbols in a culture's history of symbolic construct, definition of the reorganization of these symbols in TV content, and careful analysis of how meanings are appropriated by audience (p.451).

Our critic (1978) considers that Gerbner's implicit model lacks the conditions of a ritual model and feels: "The definitions, procedure, and reports of results, however, place the Violence Profile work firmly in the "transportation theory" realm" (p.276).

The discussion on the transportation theory, takes Newcomb to some observations regarding the social sources of television content. He agrees with Gerbner that the social sources of television content are deeply rooted in the structure of American society and that the role of television is mainly to standardize, ritualize, streamline, and diffuse the symbol through mass production into the life environment of a heterogeneous public. But unlike Gerbner, Newcomb (1978) feels that such technological innovations in themselves do not increase the manipulative or exploitative power of the symbolic environment but merely increase the pervasiveness of the symbols. He also adds that such "mass dissemination makes it all the more important to establish the meanings of symbols as fully as possible" (p.278). Further, to establish the meanings of symbols, it is not sufficient to invoke key terms of a ritual model, like - myth, ritual, story - but study the communication process making use of alternative hypotheses and methods of study, which he elaborates. He agrees with Gerbner that for the study of television a ritual model is more appropriate; that television is the central system in American culture; and that television content confirms our views and extends 'standardized images' taught to us from childhood. Further, the world of television

definitely is a mixture of truth and falsehood. Therefore he (1978) argues:

> A full understanding of the medium, then, must find ways of accounting for these mixtures of symbol and the resultant mixtures of meaning and experience. Such an understanding cannot afford to reduce such multiplicity of meaning to simple messages (p.279).

Next, Newcomb (1978) suggests a three step process to study television: a) Ideas and symbols that exist in television have history in American culture and not just created there in the program. Hence we should recognize the fact that for Americans 'violence' has had many uses and meanings and consequently not easily defined[70]. b) "The second step of the process is to examine the organization and expression of these ideas in the world of television" (*ibidem* p.280). The Message System Analysis of Gerbner is a help here but not sufficient, according to our critic. The more complex understanding of the meaning of the process can be attained by a "careful description of what violence means for the characters who populate the television fictions" (*ibidem*); and also by relating the findings to "the ideas as they exist outside of and before television" (*ibidem*). c) "The final, and most crucial, step in examining television from the vantage point of a ritual model of communication is the analysis of the audience" (*ibidem*). Newcomb (1978) admits the possibility that for this step, the humanists have to learn from social scientists. He insists that "we should be open to the possibility that different members of the mass audience will attach different meanings to the same messages" (*ibidem*). Further he (1978) affirms:

> We must recognize the possibility that violence will mean one thing to a viewer on one evening, something else on another evening. I do not believe that simple surveys can adequately gather such complex information. We will need to develop techniques for audience ethnography, for the collection of data on long-term bases, for understanding the variations of human response to art and entertainment. These or similar methods can lead us to a fuller understanding of complexities of our subject (pp.280-281).

Newcomb (1978) lauds the efforts of the Annenberg projects to use innovative mixed methods for research and that on a long term basis. He makes it clear that he is not attacking the negative findings of Gerbner nor saying that a ritual model would "discover television to be the pure and gleaming center of a wholesome mass American culture" (*ibidem,* p.281). He holds the view that symbol systems can have both negative and positive meanings just like "the fear of hell and the joy of salvation can operate together, perhaps in creative tension" (*ibidem*). He (1978) concludes his remarks saying:

> Television is no less complex. I believe it more than likely that some members of the TV audience fear and resist change, and at the same time work to insure the equal rights of all people. My common sense tells me that it is possible to be afraid in city streets, and, at the same time abhor the idea of a police state. I believe, finally, that television is fully as complex as the American "mind", the cultural force out of which it is created. It may be that all the messages of television speak with a single intent and are ruled by a single dominant symbol whose meaning is clear to a mass audience, or to that part of the audience heavily involved with those messages. But I have yet to see evidence sufficient to warrant such a reductive view of human experience in America (p.281).

In **conclusion** it may be said that Newcomb (1978; 1980) acknowledges the importance of Gerbner's research and lauds him for the innovative use of mixed methods of research to achieve his ends[71]. He is delighted with the social scientific approach of Gerbner to study television as an "environment of symbols", which according to him is congenial to a humanistic perspective. But he feels that Gerbner's approach requires substantially expanded and even different general approach, that would lay aside a transportation model of communication, and embrace a fully ritual model of communication. He thinks that Gerbner pays lip service to a ritual model by the use of certain key terminology like ritual, myth, story but still is a slave to a transportation model. Gerbner rebuts Newcomb point by point, which reply will be treated in the next chapter.

4. CRITICISM FROM THE ADVOCATES OF A CRITICAL APPROACH TO MASS COMMUNICATION RESEARCH

Before explaining the objections of the advocates of a critical approach (to the Cultural Indicators strategy of Gerbner) it is salutary to have an idea of what critical approach means. To that end a very brief explanation of the same is attempted in the following few paragraphs[72]. It would clarify the positions of Luc Van Poecke and Robert A. White, both of whom have strong leanings towards a critical approach to mass communication research.

Communication research in Europe grew from the foundations of the Frankfurt School. Max Horkheimer became director of the Institute of Social Research at the University of Frankfurt in 1931 and the Institute attracted outstanding scholars from Germany and Austria. Some of them were: Theodor W. Adorno, Leo Lowenthal[73], Eric Fromm, Herbert Marcuse, and others. They were all from affluent families but sympathizers of Marxism. Later they questioned orthodox Marxism. As most of the scholars were Jews they were forced to flee Germany during the time of Hitler and settled in the U.S., where they continued to do research. The present Director of the Frankfurt School is Jurgen Habermas who although highly critical of 'positivism' and preferring dialectical methodology over empirical approaches, has reformulated critical theory so as to develop a theory of society toward the self-emancipation of people from domination.

> One major preoccupation of critical scholars today is to criticize North American-type empirical studies of communication and development, especially the researches on modernization that were conducted in the 1950s and 1960s. Critical scholars claim that development programs funded by the United States were intended to increase North American domination of developing nations, under the guise of altruistic motivations for helping needy peoples. The empirical researches on communication and development are accused by critical scholars of providing assistance to such U.S. cultural imperialism through their gathering data about the effects of mass media exposure on the attitudes and behavior of the public in developing nations. In the eyes of critical scholars, such researches have encouraged the expansion of U.S.-

> owned mass media institutions (like the sale of U.S. television programs and films), facilitated the creation of a mass consumption society through expanded advertising, and assisted right-wing military dictatorships to stay in power (Rogers, 1982, p.131).

It is not easy to define exactly what critical research means, as such a definition would oversimplify the differences with other approaches. As Slavak Splichal (1989) says:

> One of the mainstreams in communication studies is usually called "empirical" "positivist" or "administrative", representing a research orientation into specific, measurable, short-term, individual, attitudinal, and behavioral characteristics, particularly into the effects of (mass) communication. The second mainstream is usually referred to as "critical theory" and is linked to the Frankfurt Circle in the period between the two wars. In contrast to the administrative researchers who are concerned neither with the values that "generated" the research problem nor with the social consequences of their research endeavors, for critical scholars, the key questions become the values and political positions of the researcher and the research activity itself. The proposition that absence of an explicit attention to values in the selection of relevant problems for research leads implicitly or explicitly to the support of the social *status quo* and the interests of the ruling classes could be taken as the key "indicator" of the critical orientation (p.620).

Rogers (1982) feels that the world of communication scholarship can be divided into empirical and critical schools. Empirical school is commonly characterized by quantitative empiricism, functionalism and positivism. In contrast to that the essence of a critical school is its more philosophical emphasis and its focus on the broader social structural context of communication. As the critical scholars believe that a theory of communication is impossible without a theory of society, their scope of analysis is much wider than that of empirical scholars. Critical research uses more of qualitative methods rather than quantitative ones[74]. What is to be kept in mind is the fact that critical mass communication research is not a single entity but a range of developing alternative approaches to the study of communication; and the central concern of all critical positions is the effectivity of communication in the exercise of social power[75]. It is

interesting to note that Gerbner (1983a) extends the notion of 'critical scholars' to include those "who search and struggle "in order" to address the terms of discourse and the structure of knowledge and power in its domain and thus to make its contribution to human and social development" (p.362). More about the differences between the critical and empirical schools will be given at the beginning of Chapter 6, and hence we shall not go into it in detail here.

Very much akin to the critical theory, there is the British Cultural Studies School which began as a European critique of contemporary society and can be termed a political challenge and direct confrontation between liberal pluralism and Marxism as competing theories of society[76]. The Cultural Studies broke off from mainstream British sociology and was influenced by Western Marxism as interpreted by the Frankfurt School. It employs strategies that have emerged from contemporary Marxist theory for cultural interpretation. "The study of media and with it the question of power, constitute an ideological issue, which is raised in an analysis of cultural practices within the larger, "complex expressive totality" (Hardt 1989, p.587). The proponents of this school "suggest a return to the subject of experience and the struggle over the power of the text within a cultural and historical moment, and a consideration of the ideological effect of the media as they necessarily and incessantly intersect with the social practices of groups and individuals in society" (*ibidem*).

4.1 LUC VAN POECKE

Luc Van Poecke[77] criticizes Gerbner's approach making use of a broad perspective, just like Horace Newcomb, whose position was treated earlier in this study. Having strong leanings towards a critical approach to mass media, he considers the Cultural Indicators Approach to be full of promise as a theoretical tool. He feels that Gerbner is on the right track as he tries to link television, culture and society, in his Cultural Indicators Approach. He also finds much in common with Gerbner when Gerbner asserts that the study of

television requires a new approach and the traditional effects studies, laboratory studies, and studies of attitude changes are inadequate for the task. He (1980) gives a European twist to the discussion by calling Gerbner's 'symbolic environment' "an ideology, a praxis which transforms concrete individuals into members, subjects of a certain society" (p.424). Of course Van Poecke has taken the term from Althusser, a French Marxist philosopher. He further finds the assertion of Gerbner that television plays the same ideological role as religion formerly did, with a new 'electronic priesthood', very interesting.

When Van Poecke analyzes Gerbner, he uses terms and concepts very much similar to those used by the British Cultural Studies School. Like the Cultural Studies School, Poecke also is interested in the deeper sociological processes of cultural formation. He calls Gerbner a structuralist (one who is primarily concerned with the overall socio-cultural relationships), and only in a second phase interested in the discrete parts that make up the whole. As a proof of his affirmation he quotes from Gerbner (1973) where he argues that we must begin with "the relationships between social structure and those general frameworks of knowledge and values that, in turn shape the meanings and the efficacy of particular messages" (p.269).

As said before, Van Poecke lauds Gerbner for his efforts to relate media, culture, and society but has reservations with his content analysis model[78]. He, like most sympathizers of a critical approach, feels that the model of Gerbner cannot satisfactorily achieve a profound level of social analysis, as the model is not equal to such a task. Further he (1980) is convinced that Gerbner's model is caught up by "an obsession for measures and numbers as reassuring guarantees of the truthfulness of the scientific discourse" (p.428). Like other critical scholars, Poecke is convinced that if Gerbner had a stronger basis in theory, he could have overcome the inherent deficiencies of his content analysis. Our critic, hence requests Gerbner to provide much more by way of theory, more than what Gerbner has provided so far. He would require Gerbner to have a

project of semiotics, a structure theory, and a rhetoric[79]. Hence while recognizing the richness in theory that Gerbner's approach promises, he (1980) is convinced that such promising results "cannot be elaborated through a quantitative content analysis" (p.430).

In conclusion it may be said that Luc Van Poecke (1980) basing himself on his critical foundations, finds Gerbner lacking in theory. As his sympathies lie with a critical approach to mass media, he is convinced that Gerbner's content analysis cannot achieve a deep level of social analysis. But he appreciates Gerbner's efforts to link the media, culture, and society; a common effort that he shares with Gerbner. He also finds Gerbner's initiative to be promising, and capable of paying dividends, if more attention is given to the development of a structural theory, semiotics, and rhetoric.

4.2 ROBERT A. WHITE

The criticism of Robert A. White[80] is very similar to that of Van Poecke, both having sympathies for a critical approach to mass communication research. White (1985) sees the Cultural Indicators Projects to be "an example of a perspective that has attempted to move beyond the analysis of effects on individual behavior and to analyze communication systems at a social, structural level. At the same time Cultural Indicators research maintains a continuity with empirical, quantitative research" (pp.113-114). He also likens Gerbner's approach to that of a critical approach[81].

> Gerbner *et al.* build their theoretical framework around a thesis that appears to be similar to that of the school of critical research in communication: that television is not primarily a factor of social change, but is an agency of the established order for maintaining power and authority and for extending conventional beliefs and values. Because the production of television is so linked with advertising, consumer marketing, big finance, and the implicit support of the federal government, television serves as the cultural arm of the American industrial order and an instrument of social control, They consider the portrayal of violence on television central to the function of social control, since these portrayals vividly dramatize the preferred power relations and cultivate fear, dependence on authority, and the desire for security rather than social change (White, 1983, p.287).

He further appreciates the fact that the Cultural Indicators Project of Gerbner has been the first major effort to link "in a single comprehensive research design a social control/socialization theory of television's cultural influence, detailed analysis of message content, and measurements of effects on individual perceptions - all in a long-term frame" (*ibidem*).

White (1983) finds that Gerbner's research design "does not analyze the role of television within a broader theoretical framework that explains the major structural factors influencing the development of particular national cultures" (*ibidem*). He sees the project of Gerbner similar to the source-receiver paradigm of research. He also feels that the analysis of television as a means of social control requires a more "detailed analysis of the role of the major agents of cultural production in cultural development" (White 1983, p.288). His conviction is that the TV producers, sponsors, etc. are always sensitive to the emerging cultural symbols and try to reflect them in their programs to secure maximum clientele. "The media may also influence cultural change by picking up themes from one or another subculture" (*ibidem*) and thus act as agents of change instead of agents of non-change. Gerbner does not seem to provide for this phenomenon. White (1983) also finds the social control/socialization model of Gerbner failing to "provide a framework for analyzing how various audience segments decode television content according to different life situations and how the meaning of that content is transformed as it is integrated into the belief systems of different subcultures" (pp. 288-289). He is willing to accept the concept of mainstreaming but feels that some conceptions of reality are arrived at not by conformity but rather through forms of critical response and rejection of TV message. These critical responses and rejections of TV messages form the seeds of cultural dissidence and cultural change. According to this critic, Gerbner's research design does not

include this possibility. White (1983) also feels that a theoretical model that takes into account the content of only one medium (here that of television) is limited, as research using this model tends to look at the cultural influence of that medium only. He doubts whether it is possible to identify a national culture with the symbolic content of only television.

> Television may be the common cultural link between various subcultures and reference groups, but unless the analysis begins with an examination of how those subcultures develop in response to a particular situation and how information is taken from various sources and various media to construct the meaning of that situation, it is difficult to establish clearly the relative contribution of one medium, television, to the development of a subculture and to a national culture (*ibidem*, p.289).

This critic further argues that for those who believe that media use should be studied from the point of view of the audience, Gerbner's research design with its objective quantitative methods would be insufficient, as it seems to lack subjective interpretation. "Further, without understanding the subjective meaning and importance of an attitude or value within an organic pattern of meaning, it is difficult to predict what an individual or group will actually do in a given situation" (*ibidem*).

The heavy dependence of Gerbner on statistical analysis of demographic controls has been questioned as well. Such analysis according to this critic may not be suitable for cultural analysis. He (1983) argues:

> Survey data may suggest that somehow heavy viewers have different characteristics from light viewers, but how and in what degree this can be attributed to television viewing requires other complementary methodologies (p.289).

White (1983) is willing to admit that the research design of Gerbner may confirm that the message content of television is reproduced in the psychological perceptions of some of the heavy

viewers. But he finds it difficult to conclude from this finding alone that TV is the first cause of a "particular configuration of American culture" (*ibidem*). He (1983) concludes his remarks saying:

> Nor can one conclude that television is primarily a factor of social control and not an influence in long-term cultural change. These questions require a more general theory that accounts for the mutual interaction of structural conditions, cultural expression in response to these structural conditions, and the role of television in cultural expression (pp.289-290).

To **conclude**, White (1983, 1985) feels that Gerbner's Cultural Indicators Approach is deficient in the area of cultural theory. He wants Gerbner to broaden his approach to structural analysis and also elaborate his theories on how the various elements of society affect one another. In this elaboration, the impact of television on the standardization, creation, and gradual change of culture, would be included.

5. REPLICATION OF RESEARCH OUTSIDE THE U.S.

Gerbner at the Leipzig IAMCR meeting in 1974, proposed that there should be some international cooperation and comparison based on his Cultural Indicators Approach. After that several researchers tried to apply the paradigm of Gerbner in countries other than the U.S.A. In this section the positions of some of those who did not find any (or weak) trace of cultivation and some who felt that Gerbner has exaggerated his claims, will be presented. As all the positions cannot evidently be presented in detail, a very brief presentation of the more vociferous protesters, will be attempted.

5.1 J. MALLORY WOBER

Wober[82] (1978) made an attempt to replicate Gerbner's research in Great Britain. The purpose was to test the validity of Gerbner's research theories and conclusions in that country. Of the several articles on the subject (see references) the principal one was Wober

(1978) entitled "Televised violence and paranoid perception. The view from Great Britain". In it he analyzed the results of two different studies and came to the conclusion that "the present results have failed to replicate Gerbner's findings in Britain" (Wober, 1978, p.320). The overall conclusion of Wober (1978) is that Gerbner has exaggerated his conclusions:

> ... far beyond the certainty which can be attached to the rigor of the empirical results. If the effects of heavy violence consumption are as strong as alleged, they should be discernible when sought again in a similar culture, and with similar methods. An attempt to replicate the American results among British viewers suggests that the paranoid effect is absent from their viewing experience. It may not have been convincingly demonstrated hitherto in America either (p.315).

The Independent Broadcasting Authority (of which Wober was Deputy Head of Research) in 1976 commissioned Gallop Polls Limited to carry out an annual survey on attitudes to broadcasting. About 100 sampling points representative of the entire United Kingdom, were chosen. 1113 adults over 16 years of age representing the entire country were interviewed, over a one-week period in October. Over 96% of these people had television; and Wober's study was based on these people. During the same period a 'program appreciation diary' was mailed to another sample of adults randomly selected (but representative of the whole country). In the concerned week 380 programs were screened and "of these, using Gerbner's violence definition, the descriptions of each item in the program journals, and the advice of experienced program administrators at the IBA, 38 programs were identified as containing violence" (Wober, 1978, p.318).

The programming schedule in Britain requires the violent programs especially if realistic, to be screened at peak hours or immediately after peak hours. It has been ascertained that light viewers normally frequent peak hours and heavy viewers also other hours. As a result it is possible that light viewers and heavy viewers may see almost the same amount of violence. So it was important to examine the viewing-diet of both the categories of light and heavy

viewers to find the real difference in the consumption of violent content. Wober (1978) found that the "heaviest quartile of viewers clearly saw more than twice as many violence containing programs as did the lightest quartile of viewers. Secondly, the proportion of violence programming in the "viewing diet" was somewhat greater for lighter than for heavier viewers" (p.318).

Two 'mean world' questions based on Gerbner's most discriminating items were put to the respondents in the national interview sample.

> One question on trusting people was worded in a way that would be comprehensible to British subjects. Secondly, Gerbner's query on the likelihood of being a victim of violence was represented by one question on the chance of being a victim of robbery, this being a more likely irruption of personal security in Britain. These questions were each framed in two versions, one a positive format put to half the sample, the other a negative format put to the other half (Wober, 1978, p.319).

The reason for the same questions to be put in a positive way to half the respondents and negative way to the rest, was to avoid criticism of having influenced the respondents' answer through a particular way of questioning. Then the two questions put to the first sub-sample were combined to form a 'security scale'. The following quotation from Wober (1978) clarifies this:

> The results of asking one sub-sample of respondents how trustworthy people are had some convergent relationship with the "unsafe from robbery" distribution, while the same could bot be said for the comparison within the other sub-sample between results of asking how untrustworthy people are and how safe from robbery respondents felt. Therefore the two questions put to the first sub-sample were combined to form a "security scale"; one point was given for each of the number of people a respondent said he could trust out of any 10 people, and five points for declaring he was not at all likely to be robbed, down to one point for saying he was extremely likely to be robbed. The scale therefore runs from 1 (least secure - trusts nobody and feels extremely likely to be robbed) to 15 (most secure) (p.319).

The results of the whole research was presented in two tables (see Wober, 1978). Wober (1978) claims that the method of combining the two questions into a security scale was superior to Gerbner's original procedure of comparing single question results against weight of viewing. But in this replication of Gerbner's research in Britain, Wober (1978) found no trace of a paranoid perception among the heavy consumers of TV. So this critic feels that television has no such cultivation effects as Gerbner claims (at least in Britain).

Wober (1978) also presents very briefly the results of a research (completed during almost the same time) by Piepe, Crouch & Emerson (1977). These authors carried out 842 interviews in and around Portsmouth to test Gerbner-type propositions: "these days a person doesn't know whom he can depend on", and "how often do you think that violent incidents happen around here?" (p.320). They found that there was no tendency for those who answered in the affirmative to the first question, to be heavier viewers of TV, than those who disagreed. Gerbner's hypothesis was not confirmed even in the case of the second question. So Wober (1978) concluded:

> It should be accepted, therefore, that there is no evidence for a paranoid effect of television on British viewers, although the proposition has twice, and adequately, been put to the test. Two approaches are available for interpreting this situation. One is that what may be true in America is not true in Britain, for which difference it will be useful to explore the reasons. The second is that the Gerbner thesis has still not been demonstrated convincingly in America, and the effect exists neither there nor in Britain (p.320).

Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1979) punched several holes in the research of Wober (1978) which will be treated in the next chapter of this dissertation. Wober (1979) in an article entitled "Television violence and viewer's perceptions of reality. A reply to criticisms of some British research" tried to answer the counter charges. But he can be questioned about his assumption that the Americans and the British have similar cultures. There are several people who would contest that. Besides, according to Hawkins &

Pingree (1981b), the British heavy viewer watches 11 programs (per week) that contain violence, whereas his/her American counterpart watches about 24. That means the American heavy viewer watches more than double violent programs than the British heavy viewer. In fact, they say "the British heavy viewer sees *less* violence than many American *light* viewers" (p.61,. emphasis in the original). So it may be true that certain minimum content of violence should be viewed before cultivation can take place. If this is true Wober has to make adequate controls before jumping into conclusions.

5.2 ANTHONY N. DOOB AND GLENN E. MACDONALD

Anthony N. Doob and Glenn E. Macdonald[83] (1979) tried to replicate in Toronto (Canada) Gerbner's claim that television causes people to overestimate the amount of personal danger to themselves. Heavy viewing of television seemed to be connected with fear of being a victim of crime. But when actual incidence of crime was controlled for, they found that no overall relationship existed between television viewing and fear of being a victim of crime.

These authors (1979) admit that the picture of reality that is presented by television is far from accurate and it is possible that we learn from TV as we learn from other media. But Gerbner and associates according to them (1979):

> ... have suggested something even more serious than simple learning effects: that people not only learn factual information, such as the proportion of people involved in law enforcement, but that they generalize from the information that they get from television. In particular, Gerbner and his associates show that those who watch a lot of television are more likely to feel that they might be involved in some kind of violence during a given week than those who watch relatively little television (p.170).

The fear of victimization and sense of insecurity need not be because of TV alone; Gerbner in his research has controlled for variables like sex, education, income, race, etc. Doob & Macdonald

(1979) feel that Gerbner left out an important variable namely, the actual incidence of violence where one lives.

> We felt that there is one quite plausible factor that might account for the correlation between viewing and fear of violence. People who watch a lot of television may have a greater fear of being victims of violent crimes because, in fact, they live in more violent neighborhoods (*ibidem*, p.171).

The research of Doob & Macdonald (1979) tried to establish that the most important variable for the correlation between viewing and fear of violence is neighborhood violence and not so much television itself. This calls into question the claims of the cultivation theory of Gerbner. With the help of the Toronto Metropolitan Police, they selected one patrol area each from the high-crime city area and high-crime suburban area for sample study; similarly one patrol area each from the low-crime city area and the low-crime suburban area also was selected. Random households were selected within each of these four areas. A door to door survey was conducted. At random a member of the household (over 18 years of age) was interviewed. This sort of selection caused over-sampling of women but the researchers felt that, that would not affect the study as such since the purpose of the study was not some population estimation but merely the relationship between TV viewing and fear of criminal victimization. The respondents were asked to recall the TV programs they watched the previous week; and then they were asked to fill in a 37-item fixed-alternatives questionnaire.

> This questionnaire consisted of six questions dealing directly with the person's estimate of his or her own likelihood of being a victim of crime; four questions dealing with estimates of the likelihood of particular groups of people being victims; four questions dealing with the perception of crime in general being a problem and there being a need for more police personnel; two questions dealing with the necessity to arm oneself; eight questions of a factual nature dealing with crime; three questions dealing with society's response to crime; four questions dealing with the respondents' view of Toronto with respect to crime; three questions dealing with the respondents' prediction of their response to a

> request for help; and three questions dealing with media usage. The whole interview took approximately 45 minutes on the average.
>
> For purpose of analyzing the types of television, we decided to use the number of programs watched as an index of total viewing. In addition, programs were coded by a research associate into violent and nonviolent types before the tabulation of the other data. It should be pointed out that this last measure is, necessarily, somewhat subjective. However, as will be seen, this turns out not to be a serious problem in understanding the results (*ibidem*, p.172).

When the results of the survey was treated to correlation statistics, pooling across the four areas sampled, the claim of Gerbner that there is correlation between heavy viewing and fear of crime was replicated. But when other variables including actual incidence of crime in the neighborhood was controlled for, they found that the above relationship disappeared. This made our critics conclude that television by itself, is not likely to be a direct cause for people's fear of victimization. Doob & Macdonald (1979) present the results of their analysis making use of several tables[84]. These researchers calculated within-area correlation. A multiple regression analysis and a canonical correlation analysis confirmed their findings. They found: "When the effect of neighborhood is removed, the "effect" of television is reduced to almost nothing" (*ibidem*, p.175). And again: "Generally speaking, it is clear that the correlations tend to decrease substantially in size when they are run within the four areas and then pooled" (*ibidem*). They further claim that the results show clearly "... that after the subject characteristics had been entered, the media questions had no significant predictive value. Most relevant to the Gerbner results is of course the lack of importance of total TV viewing when it first entered the equation (*ibidem*, p.176).

The canonical correlation analysis also showed that the amount of television watched did not seem to be important. They (1979) concluded the results of the research saying:

> In summary, then, looking at these data from three somewhat different points of view, it appears that the

> amount of television watched did not relate to the amount of fear a person felt about being a victim of crime when other, more basic variables were taken into account (p.177).

Doob & Macdonald (1979) drew two major conclusions from their research:

> First of all, the basic findings of Gerbner and his associates ... are replicable: People who watch a lot of television are more likely to indicate fear of their environment. It is equally clear, however, that this relationship disappears when attempts are made to control for other variables, including the actual incidence of crime in the neighborhood. Thus, it would appear that television itself is not likely to be a direct cause of people's fear of being victims of crime (p.177).

These critics refer to a study of Gerbner & Gross (1974) in the cities of Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles and Dallas. The households were selected from telephone books randomly and hence it is possible that neighborhoods differing in actual dangerousness were included from each city. Gerbner & Gross (1974) found weak correlation which could be due to the variation present in the samples. Doob & Macdonald (1979) feel that there is a possibility that for some unspecifiable reason, the relationship between viewing and fear of victimization holds good only for high-crime areas. That was what they found in Toronto. They think: "It is possible that people outside of such areas do not feel that the violence on television has any relevance for them; hence, there is no relationship between the amount of television watched and the perception of the likelihood of being a victim" (p.177).

The second conclusion of Doob & Macdonald (1979) is that although the correlation between TV viewing and fear disappeared when neighborhood crime was controlled for, "this same factor did not eliminate the relationship between TV viewing and other factors" (p.179). Questions (in their survey) related to information and more of a factual nature, produced responses that showed a relationship with the viewing of television. So they argue: "... television may well act

as a source of information with regard to questions of fact, whereas it does not change people's views of how afraid they should be" (p.179).

In **conclusion** it may be said that Doob & Macdonald (1979) while admitting television may be a source of learning, argue that it need not contribute to anxiety and fear of crime (at least not to the extent that Gerbner thinks). Their research points to the fact, that fear of victimization was caused more by neighborhood crime than television itself. Although Gerbner does not dialogue directly with these two critics, he explains the phenomenon of neighborhood crime affecting fear of victimization through '**resonance**'[85]. The position of Gerbner is that heavy viewing of violence causes anxiety and fear of victimization. But this would be doubled if the person in question lived in a crime-ridden area. This phenomenon is called 'resonance' by him; and he claims that this concept of resonance is not a correction of the cultivation theory but rather a refinement of the same.

5.3 HARRY BOUWMAN AND JAMES STAPPERS

Harry Bouwman[86] and James Stappers[87] (1984) prepared a Dutch Violence Profile making use of the recording instrument of Gerbner for conducting the Message System Analysis, with few adaptations to suit the Dutch culture. On the basis of the results Bouwman (1984) conducted a Cultivation Analysis in Holland and compared it (Bouwman & Signorielli, 1985) with the results obtained by Gerbner in the United States. In the following pages a very brief discussion of their findings is presented.

Bouwman & Stappers (1984) explain in detail the Dutch Broadcasting system (pp. 114-116). Then they proceed to some methodological adjustments they had to undertake, to render Gerbner's recording instrument suitable for the Dutch environment. They consider the American definition of sexuality broader than the European and in particular the Dutch one, as affective behavior does

not really have a direct sexual connotation in Netherlands. Bouwman & Stappers (1984) had other problems with variables as well:

> Other problems with variables because of cultural differences were expected - especially with variables like success, seriousness of sexual portrayal, of violence and of characters; beginning and ending state of close personal relationships; happiness, and so on (p.117).

They tried to solve the above problem by adding categories to sexuality so that different definitions would match and also by giving clear instructions to coders as well as intensive training to them, so that the coders would be able to interpret the findings in American style. But they admit that they found great success with the first strategy but the second strategy did not work too well. The reason might have been (according to them) the possibility that the coders were confused because of the interference between American definitions and their own more familiar Dutch ones.

Bouwman & Stappers (1984) selected a sample of four weeks for their study.

> We computed a Violence Index for all programs and for prime-time and children's programs separately. The overall Violence Index is comparable with the lowest score in the United States as computed for the 1977 sample (166). The prime-time score shows a strong resemblance with the Violence Index computed for prime-time in the United States for the period from 1967 to 1979. The range for this index in the United States goes from 140 to 176, while the total score for all prime-time programs equals 159 (*ibidem*, p.118, references from the original omitted).

The programs on Dutch TV from 7 PM to 8 PM are mainly children's programs. The violence index for this group of programs according to our authors could be compared to the week-end programs in the U.S., directed towards children. But "The score is, however, much lower (188) than those computed in the United States for the period, between 1969 and 1979 (Range, 205-253; total score for this period, 222)" (Bouwman & Stappers, 1984, p.118). They are

inclined to think that the reason for this disparity could be that children's programs in Netherlands are quite different from those in the U.S. Then, they (1984) describe the Violence Index for the different broadcasting organizations of Netherlands (read *ibidem*, pp.119-122). They (1984) conclude their description saying:

> The Dutch category 'action' programs probably covers the American category 'action programs'. We think that the Violence Index for the Dutch crime programs, computed for prime-time (240), is comparable with that for prime-time action programs in the U.S.A. (respectively, for the 1967 to 1979 samples: 231, 221, 223, 230, 220, 234, 219, 185, 226, 224). We realize that most of these crime programs are not of American origin (pp.122-123).

They found that the U.S. programs were mostly comedies and love stories with crime programs coming mainly from Britain and Germany. Added to that they found that while drama programs dominate the U.S. programming during prime-time; only 23% of total available programming time is allotted for the same in Netherlands. Studying the origin of programs, our authors found that very few drama programs of Dutch origin were shown in Netherlands. The reason was that it was cheaper to buy foreign programs than produce them. Besides the American programs are a more popular type, appealing to many. The Dutch programs are mainly of psychological drama and serious compared to the comical ones of the U.S. origin. These authors found that imported U.S. programs were more violent than the Dutch ones. The risk ratios computed for Dutch programs were also found to be different from those in non-Dutch programs. Bouwman & Stappers (1984) argue:

> Our conclusion, that violence in Dutch programs is different from violence in non-Dutch programs, is confirmed if we take a look at Risk Ratios for different nationalities. The score for the Dutch nationality, both for violent-victim ratios and killer-killed ratios equals one. This may indicate a kind of ideology - that violence, especially fatal violence, does not pay. Another important conclusion is that male Americans are the most violent group.

> A strange pattern is found for other nationalities. Males are more vulnerable than females. Their score is lower on the violent-victim ratio as well as on the killer-killed ratio. This deviates from the pattern that women are shown as the group which is most likely to be victimized if confronted with violence. This pattern is found both in the Netherlands and in the United States (pp.124-125).

Like in the U.S., also in Dutch programs, unmarried men were more likely to commit violence while married men more likely to get killed. "The elderly are the most vulnerable age group while young adults are most likely to kill. Even trends relating race to risk ratios are similar to those in the U.S.A. Nonwhite males have positive scores on both violent-victim and killer-killed risk ratios while nonwhite females have a negative score on the violent-victim ratio. Nonwhite females are not involved in killing (p.126).

In conclusion, Bouwman & Stappers (1984) argue that more violence is shown by Dutch broadcasting organizations that import more U.S. programs, but it is not justifiable to blame American production for the violence that is present on Dutch TV. They (1984) add further:

> Violence is a central and essential element in almost every drama program and has become a natural production means for the producers of these programs - probably in every cultural setting. But there might be essential differences which, according to our findings, are not grasped by Gerbner's Violence Index: namely, the implicit and explicit ideological context within which violence is shown (p.128).

Bouwman (1984) in his article "Cultivation Analysis: The Dutch Case", tried to conduct a Cultivation Analysis based on the MSA mentioned above. Like Gerbner, Bouwman (1984) tested whether drama programs cultivate perceptions of social reality among heavy viewers in the Netherlands. He says that based on their (Bouwman & Stappers, 1984) Message System Analysis, "... we concluded that the significance and meaning of Violence Index for the Dutch television is very different from that in the United States; and that this should be

reflected in the cultivation analysis- especially if items related to violence are used" (p.407).

Bouwman (1984) claims to have made a careful selection of items to measure images of violence and attitudes of mistrust, in his research. Besides using items from the Mean World Index of Gerbner, three questions from NORC regarding the perception of women's and the elderly's likelihood of victimization, two questions from the second and third year of the New Jersey panel study (the first concerns killing between strangers; the second, importance of learning to defend oneself), were used. Some items from Pingree & Hawkins's adapted Mean World Index (1980) and also items from Doob & Macdonald (1979) were included. The amount of television viewing was assessed from a slight variation from Gerbner's question (see Appendix E, Table 3). The question asked by Bouwman (1984) runs: "How many days a week do you watch Television; and, on those days that you watch Television, how many minutes do you watch?" (p.408). Bouwman considered that these questions would give a more reliable result regarding TV viewing behavior than the questions put by Gerbner. Through telephone interview 607 responses were collected but not all were asked all the questions. (Questions one to four, about three hundred were asked and questions five to thirteen, about three hundred).

The results[88] of the cultivation analysis of Bouwman (1984) did not tally with that of Gerbner. "When all controls were applied simultaneously, only 6 of the 19 possible relations between TV viewing and these items were significant" (p.408). And again: "From the original 11 significant relationship between TV viewing and the dependent variables as indicated by the Pearson Correlation six disappeared while only one appeared when the items were recorded according to the Gerbner method and when partial correlation with simultaneous controls was computed" (*ibidem,* p.412). These findings made Bouwman (1984) conclude that "Cultivation of fear by television drama does not seem to be a real phenomenon in the Netherlands" (p.412). He also tested for mainstreaming and resonance concepts of

Gerbner, where subgroup differences are taken into account. Even here very weak traces of mainstreaming and resonance were found.

> In our research we could only find one item (item 6) that shows significant cultivation differentials for both (age) subgroups. The pattern found illustrates resonance ... Nowhere else in our analysis on the Cultivation Differential could we find significant differences for both subgroups. Although the difference within a subgroup indicated by the Cultivation Differential is not statistically significant, the patterns found still can be interpreted in terms of mainstreaming and/or resonance behavior (Bouwman, 1984, p.412).

He also asserts that "If we do not require that the Cultivation Differential should illustrate a statistically significant difference between two subgroups, we find a resonance pattern" (*ibidem*, p.416). But he feels that it is risky to draw conclusions on resonance or mainstreaming when the differences indicated by Cultivation Differential is statistically insignificant. This makes Bouwman (1984) add:

> At the end of this disappointing quest for cultivation, mainstreaming, and/or resonance patterns, we conclude that these concepts, relating TV viewing with fear of victimization and perceptions of the social reality as mean, seem to be of very limited value in the Dutch situation (p.418).

In the discussion part of the presentation of his research, Bouwman (1984) gives several possible reasons why there is lack of cultivation effects in the Netherlands (pp. 418-422). He concludes his article saying:

> It seems clear that further research is urgent. As the state of research is now, Gerbner's cultivation hypothesis is neither confirmed nor weakened by the Dutch research results. However one thing is clear: Television is probably not a cultivating force in the Netherlands in the same way it is one in the United States - and, if it is, then not along the lines that can be measured with the Cultural Indicators Gerbner uses to measure cultivation in the United States (p.422).

5.4 ELIAS HEDINSSON AND SVEN WINDAHL

Elias Hedinsson[89] & Sven Windahl[90] (1984) attempted to replicate the cultivation hypothesis of Gerbner in a Swedish situation. Their book chapter entitled "Cultivation analysis: A Swedish illustration" begins with a description of the theory of enculturation and Cultivation Analysis as suggested by Gerbner. The second part of the same chapter discusses Swedish data suggesting cultivation effects among children and adolescents. They found very weak cultivation effects in Sweden.

When discussing the theoretical position of Gerbner, Hedinsson & Windahl (1984) find fault with him for his two assumptions - regarding the homogeneous content of American television and non-selective audience.

> These assumptions may be less solid than the Annenberg team seems to believe. The assumption of homogeneous content does not always get support from content analysis. .... The assumption of a passive, non-selective audience could be challenged in light of the uses and gratifications research. This paper suggests that the notion of a selective and active audience may be more theoretically appropriate. We believe that there is enough variation in American television content and American viewing habits to support a more elaborate method of cultivation analysis (pp.391-392).

Further, these authors feel that other possible socialization agents apart from television should be included in the Cultivation Analysis. Although something has been done in this regard, they are convinced that further development in the same direction is needed. They are also of the opinion that the statistical methods used by Gerbner are too simplistic to meet the complex effects processes involved in the Cultivation Analysis. Here again they admit that in the later studies of Gerbner, some improvement has taken place.

Making use of the data within the Media Panel Program[91], Hedinsson & Windahl (1984) tried to locate if any trace of cultivation effect existed in Sweden. They admit that Sweden and the U.S.A. are not comparable in a strict way as TV content and consumption are not

the same. The proportion of violent content in Sweden is far less than in the U.S. Also no equivalent Message System Analysis has been done in Sweden in preparation for the Cultivation Analysis. Further, as the sample used for Cultivation Analysis is from the Media Panel Program, it consists only of children and adolescents from 11 to 15 years. This could be seen as a limitation as far as the adequacy of the sample is concerned.

The empirical analyses were divided into two parts: the relationships between TV viewing (i.e. the amount of time spent watching television) and TV relations (i.e. para-social interaction with the amount of TV consumed). The variables used were the size of occupational groups, notion of violence in society, notion of the number of people in the United States, retribution index,[92] and future dream job orientation. The variables of Violence Index and size of the occupational groups were adapted from Gerbner. Multiple Classification Analysis was used to profit from multiple controls and to obtain variable-to-variable relationships, as well as relationships adjusted for the impact of other variables.

> The strength of the simple two-variable relationships are expressed with Eta coefficients, whereas the strength of the adjusted relationships are expressed with Beta coefficients. The relationships between the amount of TV viewing and TV relations, and the dependent variables are shown, both unadjusted as well as adjusted for: SES (by a five-point index measuring the occupational status of both parents), sex, social orientation (which measures family communication; ...), and peer group activities. All these variables have earlier proved to be viable when employing multiple controls (*ibidem*, p.394).

With the purpose of addressing the complexity of the cultivation process, Hedinsson & Windahl (1984) briefly demonstrate the use of structural equation models[93] (*ibidem*, pp.402-404). The results of the analyses are presented by these critics making use of several figures and tables[94]. They found that "... the age of the adolescents is of central importance for the cultivation effects to be operative. In the case of the younger adolescents only two of the five dependent

variables are linearly related to the amount of TV viewing, while for older adolescents this proportion is four out of five" (*ibidem*, p.397).

The research under discussion, also showed that the amount of time spent watching TV had a very weak relationship to the cultivation measurements. They found the involvement dimension a potent candidate for Cultivation Analysis; Gerbner's theory in fact suggests that heavy consumers of TV are most vulnerable to cultivation effects.

The dependent variable of 'perceived violence in society' after statistical treatment showed that "... in the case of the younger adolescents neither of the TV use variables affect their perception of violence in society. For the older adolescents, however, involvement with the TV content consumed exerts a linear effect on their perception of violence" (*ibidem*, p.400). But the amount of time spent watching TV "... does not relate in any systematic way to the adolescents' perception of violence, contrary to the cultivation thesis" (*ibidem*). In the case of the dependent variable - the size of occupational groups - also did not show cultivation effects after multiple controls were introduced. Some weak relationships between TV viewing and 'perception of the population of U.S.A.' were noticed. In the case of older adolescents, some weak effect was noticed between TV viewing and 'dream job choices'. Some justification for the assumption that high involvement with TV leads to greater preferences for high class occupations, could be claimed from the results of their research. In the case of the retribution index it was noticed that the time spent watching TV exerted stronger cultivation effects than the involvement dimension.

In **conclusion** it may be said that Hedinsson & Windahl (1984) found in their research very weak cultivation effects in Sweden. But as they find the concept of cultivation interesting, they suggest that more attention should be paid to the active nature of the audience. To quote them: "In short, what we are proposing is a merger of the effects and the uses and gratification approaches inside cultivation

analysis" (p.405). They strongly feel that more rigorous statistical methods should be used in the analysis. Further, they propose the construction of a "... typology consisting of the exposure and involvement dimensions" (*ibidem*) and not merely a superficial analysis of TV exposure alone.

While the above mentioned four replications seem to be negating the cultivation hypothesis in their own countries, there are other replications that confirm it. Hawkins & Pingree (1980) found cultivation effects in Australia. Weimann's (1984) study of 461 High School and College students in Israel showed traces of cultivation. More recent studies in Taiwan, South Korea, Philippines, Japan, Argentina and Brazil speak of cultivation possibilities. Other comparative studies of Hungary, Japan, Finland, Russia, etc. are in progress[95].

6. CONCLUSION

As conclusions have been provided for each sub-section, another general conclusion is not attempted here. Besides, at the beginning of the following chapter the main criticisms have been presented in a summary way before proceeding to the presentation of the defence put up by Gerbner. In this chapter, the main critics of Gerbner have been organized under the categories of general criticism, humanist criticism, criticism from the advocates of a critical approach, and criticism from replication of research from other countries. Only the main critical positions have been presented; the list of critics by no means is exhaustive. This only points to the extent of interest that Gerbner's research has drawn from all over the world. Apart from the above main critics, there are others who consider the cultivation hypothesis important but needing more precision and refinements. Some of these positions will be presented in the following chapter where a summary of Gerbner's responses to criticism will be attempted.

NOTES

[1] Percy Tannenbaum is Professor of Public Policy and Director of the Survey Research Center at the University of California, Berkeley, U.S.A.

[2] For message system analyses all the programs of randomly selected weeks are made use of. The reason for this is the assumption that as TV programs lack diversity, there is no real difference between one week and another. The differences that may be present are trivial and does not change the overall system of messages continuously communicated by TV.

[3] Gerbner and his collaborators argue constantly that people watch TV by the hour, in a nonselective manner. Normally they do not plan to watch a particular program; but watch everything that is available when they are free to watch. This is particularly true in the case of heavy viewers. (see also chapter 3 of this dissertation).

[4] Read Tannenbaum (1984) page 101.

[5] The article in question has been published in the Flemish language. I managed to get it translated with the help of Rev. Malfait Daniel, whose mother tongue is Flemish.

[6] Other researchers also have problems with the violence index of Gerbner. Read Blank (1977a, 1977b); Hirsch (1980a, 1980b, 1981a, 1981b); Coffin & Tuchman (1972) etc. Their objections can be found in the later pages of this chapter.

[7] Windahl (1981) talks of four characteristics in an "approximation-effect" model. They are: 1) What is researched is what the media does with the consumers rather than what people do with the media. 2) The consumers of the media are seen to be passive than active. 3) The point of departure is the media and not the consumers. 4) A stimulus model is given importance and the receptive aspect of the process is undervalued. 5) What is studied is the "effects" and not the "consequences". Voort (1984) applies the above criteria to Gerbner and concludes that Gerbner's cultivation effect is in point of fact an "approximation-effect".

[8] Gerbner has always claimed that the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance are refinements of the theory and not a correction.

[9] The findings of Bouwman (1984) will be discussed briefly, later on in the same chapter.

[10] Jennings Bryant (Ph.D, Indiana University, 1974) is Professor and Head of Radio-Television-Film at the University of Houston-University Park. His research interests are

communication processes and theories, especially entertainment theory, various aspects of media impact, etc. He is the author of many books and articles.

[11] Some of the scholarly exchanges seemed at times 'ad hominem', with the danger of being interpreted as destructive criticism. The exchanges between Paul Hirsch and Gerbner et al. is an example.

[12] W. James Potter (Ph.D, Indiana University, 1979) is Assistant Professor of Communication at Florida University. His research interests are examining the content of the mass media and determining its socializing effect on viewers.

[13] For details read Potter (1986; 1988; 1990; 1991a; 1991b; 1991c) and Potter & Chang (1990).

[14] For a description of the study see Potter (1986).

[15] The need to contain the volume of this dissertation does not permit a presentation of the study here, apart from a mention of the findings. The interested reader is advised to read Potter (1988).

[16] Ik Chin Chang (Ph.D, Florida University, 1988) is Senior Researcher at the Korean Broadcasting Institute.

[17] For details see Potter & Chang (1990).

[18] For details see Potter (1991a).

[19] First-order measures of cultivation (also known as demographic measures) require respondents to make quantitative estimates of the occurrences of certain things. For example, respondents may be asked what percentage of working people are employed in law enforcement. Real world figures (from U.S. statistical abstracts) and television-world figures (obtained from content analyses of TV programing) are obtained and from them researchers build their context for comparing their respondents.

Second-order measures (known also as value-system measures) on the other hand are generalized beliefs that are supposedly inferred by viewers from first-order information. In this category respondents are asked their opinions about whether the world is a mean/violent place or whether they feel females are as competent as males.

So, first-order measures require respondents to provide estimates of occurrences whereas second-order measures assess respondent's attitudes.

[20] An example would be the finding that cultivation is contingent on the situational variable of neighborhood. If the cultivation coefficients vary in magnitude depending on whether a person is living in a high crime or low crime neighborhood, the variable neighborhood becomes contingent to cultivation. (Cultivation coefficient is the relationship between amount of viewing and estimates of real-world violence, for example.)

[21] Dr. Thomas E. Coffin, at the time of the debate, was Vice-President of Research Planning of the NBC (National Broadcasting Company).

[22] Dr. Sam Tuchman was Director of Research Projects of NBC. He also served as a member of the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior; while Gerbner was one of a number of participating researchers who contributed to that program.

[23] For obvious reasons, only a very brief presentation of the objections of Coffin & Tuchman is attempted here. The scope of this dissertation does not permit more than that. The interested reader could refer to Coffin & Tuchman (1972; 1972-73).

[24] The response of Eleey, Gerbner & Tedesco (1972-1973) will be discussed in the next chapter.

[25] The reference is to the studies of Greenberg & Gordon; Clark & Blankenburg; Christian Science Monitor; and NABB.

[26] See Chapter 1 of this dissertation.

[27] The May 22, issue of *Science* magazine reported that the networks ABC, NBC, and the National Association of Broadcasters prevented the following seven renowned social scientists from sitting on the commission. They were Albert Bandura, Leo Bogart, Leonard Berkowitz, Leon Eisenberg, Ralph Gerry, Otto Larsen, and Percy Tannenbaum. (See Lowery & De Fleur, 1988, pp. 320-321).

[28] Dr. David Blank was at the time serving as the Vice President and Chief Economist with CBS Inc.

[29] Gerbner's social hypothesis regarding violence is that the violence present in TV is an expression of the power relationships among individuals (men Vs women, whites Vs minorities etc). TV also imparts social roles to the different sections of the population. For details read Chapter 3.

[30] The Risk Ratio is also called 'Victimization Ratio' or 'Violence Victim Ratio'. Blank (1977a) in his article, calls it 'RR'. For convenience sake we shall use the same terminology.

[31] For details read pages 278-279 of Blank (1977a).

[32] The Risk Ratio Differential concerns the relative proportions of different groups or subgroups (e.g. children, women, blacks, Hispanics etc.), which are depicted as aggressors or victims and the differences between groups in this regard.

[33] Gerbner's answer will be treated in detail in Chapter 5 of this work.

[34] The Annenberg Researchers are a team and publish their findings jointly. But as Gerbner is the leader and main spokesman of this group, what is the view of the whole group will be attributed to him, for convenience sake (in this chapter). The purpose is to avoid continual repetition of several names.

[35] Gerbner, Gross, Eleey, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox & Signorielli (1977a) (on page 281) talk about a public relations booklet titled "They learn while they laugh" published by CBS network.

[36] The 'pie in the face' situation refers to a comical situation in which a character teases another by resorting to the specified action. More specifically, in the 'Mary Tyler Moore' show of CBS in 1976, Ted Baxter did push a pie into someone's face. The accusation of Blank is that even such comical acts would be considered by Gerbner as a violent act.

[37] Using Gerbner's definition of violence and his figures, CBS showed that the incidents of violence declined from 20 per week to 11 per week between 1975 and 1976. But when the Violence Index was calculated, the result showed an increase in the level of violence. Thus in an year when the counts of violence decreased, the amount of violence is rated to have gone up.

[38] Paul M. Hirsch is a sociologist on the faulty of the University of Chicago Graduate School of Business. He has also taught at Stanford and Indiana Universities, and served as consultant to the Social Science Research Council's Committee on Television and Social Behavior, and Assistant Program Director of the University of Chicago's National Humanities Institute. His articles on mass communication and complex organization have appeared in *American Journal of Sociology, School Review, Journal of Communication, American Sociologist, Administrative Science Quarterly, Psychology Today, The Wall Street Journal,* and elsewhere. He has authored several book chapters as well. He was awarded a Rockfeller Foundation Humanities Fellowship to study the television industry.

[39] The length and details of the objections of Hirsch as presented in his articles (Hirsch, 1980a, 1980b, 1981a, 1981b)

prevents us from giving a detailed explanation. As it is essential to limit the size of this dissertation, I have no other choice. The reader if interested could go through the above cited articles. Gerbner and his colleagues replied to every point raised by Hirsch and hardly acknowledged the relevance of any of his objections. The answers furnished by the Annenberg group of researchers are given in the next chapter.

[40] The data referred to here is the data Gerbner, Gross, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox & Signorielli (1978a) made use of in their analysis of Violence Profile No. 9. The data is taken from the National Opinion Research Center's General Social Survey of 1975, 1977, & 1978.

[41] See table 2 in Hirsch (1980a). To limit the number of tables, this one has not been included.

[42] Hirsch makes use of several tables and statistical data to justify his objections. In Hirsch (1980a) alone 16 different tables are made use of. Although if all the tables and statistical data were provided, it would make interesting reading, the scope and limitations of this dissertation force me to present only very few of them. For further detail refer to the original articles of Hirsch as given in the bibliography.

[43] See tables 3 and 4 in Appendix E.

[44] Hirsch (1980a) also laments the fact that the definitions of light/heavy viewers were not the same, in the two samples.

[45] The data given in table 4 of Appendix E (from NORC) according to Hirsch (1980a) is not reported by Gerbner as it is damaging to the cultivation hypothesis.

[46] The insinuation here is that Gerbner deliberately did not report the items as they went contrary to his cultivation hypothesis.

[47] The first set of data dealt with questions about suicide and the second set of items (consisting of six questions), was concerned about 'alienation'.

[48] The results of this inquiry of Hirsch (1980a) are given in several tables. As it is inconvenient to present all the tables in this dissertation, the reader is advised to refer to the original.

[49] For details read Hirsch (1980a).

[50] Gerbner insists often that what interests him is not a cause-effect study of television but the symbolic environment

that TV creates for us, an environment which subsumes our way of thinking, acting and living.

[51] The blacks, being in general economically more backward, are forced to live in ghettos where crime rate is higher. Thus Hirsch feels that what is attributed to race may be due to local crime rate and not race in itself.

[52] Doob & Mcdonald's (1979) findings will be treated later on in the same chapter.

[53] The defence of Gerbner et al. (1981d) will be treated in the next chapter.

[54] Michael Hughes is Professor of Sociology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University.

[55] Apart from reducing the volume of this dissertation, the motive of a brief presentation is that Hughes' (1980) reanalysis is similar to that of Hirsch. It is interesting to note that though Hughes disagrees with Gerbner, he does not seem to have any of the bitterness that is present in the accusations of Hirsch.

[56] Hughes (1980) illustrates his argument by making use of 3 different statistical tables. For obvious reasons all the tables are not reproduced here. The interested reader may refer to the original article.

[57] The reason may be because black people in the U.S.A. are more likely to be victims of violence than the whites.

[58] Alan Wurtzel, at the time of the debate, was vice president of broadcast standards and practices, East Coast, for the American Broadcasting Companies, Inc. (ABC). Previously, he taught at the University of Georgia and the City University of New York.

[59] Guy Lometti, at the time of this debate, was manager of social research for the American Broadcasting Companies, Inc. He also had taught at West Virginia University.

[60] The National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) in 1982 came out with a two-volume report entitled: "Television and behavior: Ten Years of scientific progress and implications for the eighties". Gerbner was one of the researchers commissioned to review and evaluate all the studies to date, on television and social behavior. He was also a member of the NIMH seven member Advisory Panel. Many of the conclusions of the report have been heavily influenced by Gerbner's theory and research and hence in their critique of the report, Wurtzel & Lometti find fault with Gerbner.

[61] Convergence theory is used in the social sciences to arrive at a certain conclusion when definitive evidence cannot be found. Convergence here would be the analysis of many different studies which point in the same basic direction.

[62] The author referred to here is Gerbner himself.

[63] Unlike the Gerbner research, the CBS content analysis indicated that the level of violence decreased during the period in question.

[64] The reference here is to Hirsch's criticism. See Hirsch presented in the previous pages of this chapter.

[65] Horace Newcomb is Associate Professor of English at the University of Texas, Austin. He is the author of *TV: The Most Popular Art* (1974) and editor of *Television: The Critical View* (1976). His articles on television in American culture appear regularly in *Prospects, Christian Century, the Wall Street Journal, the Journal of Popular Culture* etc. He is also the Associate Editor of the *Journal of Popular Film and Television.*

[66] Gerbner in fact courageously used mixed methods of research, both quantitative and qualitative, to attain his end. His cultural indicators strategy advocates the above mixture.

[67] A humanistic approach is primarily concerned with the question of meaning: What does it all mean? In a personal interview that the writer of this dissertation had with Gerbner (in September 1992) Gerbner asserted that he was not a psychologist but a humanist and a social scientist.

[68] Although given earlier, for convenience sake it is repeated here. Gerbner defines violence as "the overt expression of physical force against self or other, compelling action against one's will on pain of being hurt or killed, or actually hurting or killing".

[69] The terminology is used by Carey J.W. (1975).

[70] The allusion is to Gerbner's definition of violence which Newcomb thinks does not include "the archeology of ideas" regarding violence in the American culture.

[71] Incidentally, this fact that Gerbner uses mixed methods of research is part of the general conclusions of this dissertation.

[72] More explanations regarding the meaning of the term 'critical' will be provided in Chapter 6.

[73] Gerbner worked with Adorno and Lowenthal. See Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

[74] For details read Rogers, 1982.

[75] For further details refer Hardt, 1989.

[76] *ibidem.*

[77] Luc Van Poecke is Professor and Mass Communication Researcher at the Catholic University of Leuven in Belgium.

[78] It may be said here that most critical researchers as well as cultural researchers belonging to the British Cultural Studies School, will have problem with the content analysis model of Gerbner. Although the critical researchers use content analysis, they use it only on the macro level to understand the main structure of society. They trust literary criticism, semiotics and other qualitative methods, more than statistical tables.

[79] For details refer Van Poecke (1980), page 429.

[80] Robert A. White, though an American, has strong leanings towards the British Cultural Studies School. He has conducted studies on the role of educational, popular radio in Latin America and in particular in Honduras. He worked closely with the Latin American Educational Radio Association for ten years. Later he was Director of the Centre for the Study of Communication and Culture in London. Currently he is Director of the Institute of Mass Communication at the Gregorian University in Rome.

[81] The scope of this dissertation is also to establish Gerbner as a critical analyst of the world of mass communication (see hypothesis and main conclusions of this work).

[82] J.M. Wober was Deputy Head of Research of the Independent Broadcasting Authority in England, at the time of this debate.

[83] Anthony N. Doob and Glenn E. Macdonald belonged to the Department of Psychology, University of Toronto, at the time of this article. Their research was supported by the Ontario Royal Commission on Violence in the Communication Industry. The data analysis of the research was partly funded by the Centre of Criminology, University of Toronto.

[84] For lack of space, the results are not presented here. The interested reader should refer to Doob & Macdonald (1979) pages 170 to 179, to have a complete picture.

[85] Refer the section on resonance in Chapter 3.

[86] Harry Bouwman is Research Fellow at the Institute for Mass Communication of the Catholic University of Nijmegen, the Netherlands.

[87] James Stappers is Professor of Mass Communication at the Catholic University Nijmegen, the Netherlands.

[88] For details read Bouwman (1984), pp.408-414. Several tables are presented. Lack of space prevents me to present the findings in detail.

[89] Elias Hedinsson is Lecturer at the Department of Sociology, at the University of Iceland, Reykjavik.

[90] Sven Windahl is Senior Lecturer in Communications at the University College of Vaxjo, Sweden.

[91] "The Media Panel Research Program is located at the Department of Sociology, University of Lund, and at the Department of Information Techniques, University College of Vaxjo, Sweden. Its aim is to study media use, as well as its causes and effects, among children and adolescents. This is done within two panels, the pre-school panel in Malmo and the primary school panel in Vaxjo. It is from the Vaxjo panel that material for this study is drawn. Data for this panel has been collected three times: in 1976, 1978, and 1980. Each time, approximately 1,000 children and adolescents were interviewed" (Hedinsson & Windahl, 1984, p.393).

[92] The Retribution Index consists of seven items where the respondents suggest "what penalties should be given to persons who: a) rob a bank, b) steal a car, c) cheat to get money, d) shoplift, e) sell narcotics, f) drive when drunk, g) commit murder. The higher the suggested penalty, the higher the index score" (Hedinsson & Windahl, 1984, p.396).

[93] As it is beyond the scope of this dissertation, a description is not attempted here. The interested reader could refer to Hedinssson & Windahl (1984).

[94] Unfortunately they cannot be reproduced here as it is necessary to limit the volume of this work.

[95] For a brief presentation, see the previous chapter under the sub-heading - 'International Cultivation'.

CHAPTER 5

GEORGE GERBNER'S DEFENCE

Although the list of the critics of Gerbner is a long one, Gerbner has never really accepted the validity of their criticisms. Often he and his team replied to criticism point by point, but has also welcomed the efforts of his critics in the continuing dialogue. For instance, though he rejects all the criticisms of Blank, he does not forget to add: "What we have profited from this and other exchanges will thus be put to use in our continuing studies" (Ledger 1984, p.37). In his reply to Newcomb (Gerbner & Gross, 1979), he welcomes the "serious attention and critique of scholars like Newcomb" (p.229). In his concluding words to the reply to Hirsch (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981c) he accepts "the charge of the need to be more precise, cautious and clear" (p.68). Added to this, the development of the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance, besides being the result of progressive research, could have also been in all probability, as a result of the exigency to answer to certain criticism. Stringent criticism must have certainly pushed Gerbner to refine and increase the scientific rigor of his research methodology.

1. THE MAIN OBJECTIONS - A SUMMARY

Before proceeding to the defence put up by Gerbner and his Team, it may be helpful to recall the main objections of his critics in a summary way.

1.1 OBJECTIONS OF A GENERAL NATURE

Voort (1984) sees Gerbner's cultivation theory as a 'syringe theory' as he seems to see the viewer a victim at the mercy of television, which position does not find support in cognitive

psychology. Further Voort (1984) classifies cultivation effect as only an approximation effect. Bryant (1986) would want Gerbner's concern with the impact of the media to grow into a greater concern with the processes - the 'whys' and 'hows'; and not only the 'whats', 'whos' and 'where's'. He would also like to see Gerbner integrate the cultivation theory with other theories like the social learning theories (e.g. that of Bandura).

Unlike Gerbner who thinks that television is an agent to promote the *status quo*, Newcomb (1978) would think television could make some people resist change and others may be encouraged to change. He would see the positive and the negative existing together in creative tension. White (1983) also, sees the possibility of television acting as an agent of change.

There are other critics who think that Gerbner is wrong in blaming only television for any cultivation effect that may occur. Thus Voort (1984) argues that any possible cultivation effect cannot be blamed on TV alone, but other media also should be taken into account. White (1983) doubts whether a national culture can be identified with the symbolic content of the media of television only as it is one (may be the most important) among many. Further, Van Poecke (1980) and White (1983, 1985) find Gerbner deficient in cultural theory. Newcomb (1978) finds that Gerbner though talks about a ritual model of communication, in fact follows a transportation model.

There are a few critics who have problems with the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance. Hirsch (1981b) uses strong language and says the two concepts lack logical adequacy, and empirical support. He sees them as sub-theories that are far from refinements. He also reminds Gerbner that it is better to admit past errors rather than hide behind the concept of 'refinements'. White (1983) accepts the idea of mainstreaming but holds that some conceptions of reality are arrived at not by conformity but through critical response. Voort (1984) also, feels that these concepts are not actually refinements of the theory as claimed by Gerbner but rather, attempts at explaining

away the problem when he found his theory may not have universal application.

Tannenbaum (1984) does not see anything new in the Cultural Indicators of Gerbner. It is, according to him, just old research with a catchy new label. Further he adds that there is little that is cultural in what is measured and hardly anything is being really indicated. So he would see it as more of some 'popular indicators' rather than cultural.

Hughes (1980) posits the possibility that there may not be a causal connection between fear of victimization and TV watching. It is possible that fearful people stay at home and watch more TV. Thus TV watching and fear of victimization may not really indicate that fear and alienation are produced by exposure to TV, as thought by Gerbner.

1.2 OBJECTIONS TO CERTAIN ASSUMPTIONS AND DEFINITIONS

Some critics of Gerbner challenge some of his assumptions and definitions. Thus, Tannenbaum (1984) and Bryant (1986) find it difficult to accept the assumption of Gerbner that TV viewers watch non-selectively. They feel that there is viewer selectivity which is further enhanced by widespread VCR use. Newcomb (1978) on the other hand, feels that the assumption of Gerbner - what is taught by TV is learned by the viewer - is unwarranted. Further Newcomb (1978) would think that all the viewers do not learn the same lessons. Some viewers thus may resist change and others use TV to effect change. He is of the opinion that from large counts of violence Gerbner cannot jump to the conclusion that the symbolic world is ruled by violence. It is only one factor even if it is the factor most appealing to the researcher. Thus the jump is unwarranted according to Newcomb. He also questions Gerbner's assumption regarding TV's realism. Though Gerbner does not consider the world of television to be real, he presumes that the viewers do consider it real.

As given earlier Gerbner defines violence as "overt expression of physical force against self or other, compelling action against one's will on pain of being hurt or killed, or actually hurting or killing". Many researchers have problem with this definition of violence as it also includes comic violence, accidents and natural calamities. (see Coffin & Tuchman, 1972; Newcomb, 1978; Voort, 1984; etc.). Newcomb (1978) argues that the definition of violence is clear but he feels that the application of any stipulated *apriori* definition to a world of fiction is highly questionable. He would feel that the meaning of violence as understood by the characters themselves should be taken into account. This meaning thus acquired should be compared with the definition of violence. Further Newcomb (1978) would feel that the meaning of violence to the respondent is more important than the amount of violence itself as the meaning can differ with persons. Thus for example, for one witnessing an accident could be a violent experience, for another visiting a hospital, for yet another engaging in a quarrel, etc. Gerbner does not take account of these possibilities in his definition of violence.

People have difficulty not only with the definition of violence but also the criteria used for counting acts of violence. Whenever a third party enters a situation of violence it would be considered a new act of violence by Gerbner. This according to Coffin & Tuchman (1972) and Blank (1977a; 1977b) would give exaggerated numbers of violent acts. Coffin & Tuchman (1972) compared the counts of violence obtained by Gerbner with that of four other studies that analyzed the same programs as Gerbner, and found that Gerbner obtained a much higher count of violence than the others. This according to the critics is the result of the faulty units of analysis used by Gerbner.

1.3 METHODOLOGICAL OBJECTIONS

Many critics have found fault with the methodology used by Gerbner to test his theory. Thus the Violence Index used by Gerbner is seen as composing of arbitrary weights and the Risk Ratio

defective. Some accuse Gerbner of using biased and ambiguous questions in his survey analyses while others see the questions used by Gerbner to be highly selective and hence the results do not support his theory. Yet others consider the Cultural Indicators as merely some Sociological Indicators and the results obtained by Gerbner are deemed not to be statistically significant to claim any support for his theory. There are some who question the need of any such research at all and others would want Gerbner to integrate in his research more qualitative methods of research. Some lament the lack of subjective interpretation in his methodology while others think that the sampling used is not sufficiently representative. There are some who feel that the dependent variables used by Gerbner are not sufficiently exhaustive while others talk about the meaninglessness of the demarcation of heavy and light viewers. Some feel that when multivariate analysis is used Gerbner's case would evaporate into thin air. As seen in the previous chapter, the objections against the methods used by Gerbner are many. These objections helped to clarify further the cultivation theory and the Cultural Indicators Strategy and hence we have seen them in some detail in the previous chapter. Before seeing in detail Gerbner's answers and clarifications let us in a summary way recapitulate the objections mentioned above in a summary way.

Coffin & Tuchman (1972), Blank (1977a, 1977b), and Voort (1984) consider the Violence Index of Gerbner to be arbitrary. It is seen only as a sociological indicator and not a violence rating index that can help parents decide what their children should see and what not to see. A violence rating needs more stringent criteria according to them. Blank (1977a; 1977b) in particular thinks that the Risk Ratio used by Gerbner is defective as it measures relative rather than absolute risk, and moreover there is no guarantee that the findings correspond to viewer perceptions.

Newcomb (1978) feels the effort of Gerbner to link content analysis with cultivation analysis is futile as his methodology is

deficient. He would want Gerbner to use tools of literary analysis if he is to succeed in that task. White (1983) laments the fact that Gerbner's theory lacks subjective interpretation and hence his methodology limited. He (1983; 1985) and Van Poecke (1980) think that Gerbner to achieve the results he wants, should resort to a much broader structural analysis. Van Poecke (1980) is convinced that a profound social analysis is not achieved through Gerbner's content analysis model. So he suggests projects of rhetoric, semiotics, and a structure theory for Gerbner if he wants to be more effective. White (1983; 1985) as mentioned already, wants Gerbner to resort to a broader structural analysis of society without which his cultural theory would be deficient. He also laments the dependency of Gerbner on statistical analysis which according to White need not be suitable for cultural analysis. In short, White would want Gerbner to be a more radical critical researcher making use of more qualitative methods of research and subjective interpretations while having a broader structure theory.

Newcomb (1978) argues that the questions used by Gerbner in his analyses are biased as they contain prior interpretations of the meaning of their answers. Hughes (1980) finds fault with Gerbner for the ambiguity present in deciding the 'TV answer'. This is according to our critic, more so in the case of 'anomia' and U.S. involvement in world affairs. If as Gerbner says TV cultivates not change but resistance to change, the reasonable expectation should be that those who watch a lot of TV should reflect the interests of the established order. So TV watchers (heavy) should hold that the U.S. should involve in world affairs. But Gerbner has chosen the opposite as TV answer. The same discrepancy is noticed (according to Hughes) in other questions like: the lot of the common man is getting better; it is fair to bring children into the world; etc. but wrong answers are chosen by Gerbner as TV answers. Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) also complain that the TV answer is often arbitrarily determined. Further they regret that sometimes a respondent is forced to select between two incorrect answers.

Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) further felt that the methods used by Gerbner to measure attitudes were questionable. They were convinced that the use of correlation to imply causation was not justified. Gerbner was accused of trying to do that precisely. Added to this, his faulty definition of violence made Gerbner's work 'reliable' but lacking in validity. Hirsch (1981a; 1981b), earlier, had gone further and said that the results found by Gerbner were statistically insignificant and hence did not warrant support for a theory at all. Hirsch (1981a; 1981b) and Hughes (1980) accused Gerbner of not reporting data that did not support his theory. Also Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) contented that Gerbner's questions were highly selective and items that did not support his theory were omitted.

Hughes (1980) complains that the list of dependent variables used by Gerbner is incomplete. He feels that variables like income, race, hours of work outside home, Church attendance, membership of voluntary organizations, size of the population where one lives, etc. are connected to TV watching. Hughes' reanalysis showed that exclusion of race, hours of work and church attendance from the analysis of Gerbner, was a serious lapse. Hirsch (*ibidem*) tried to show that when multivariate analysis is used, Gerbner's case evaporates. Hughes (1980) also argued that the fact Gerbner was using one control at a time, instead all of them simultaneously, would show results that do not indicate cumulative influence. Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) also insisted on the use of multivariate analyses.

Blank (1977a; 1977b), Hirsch (1981a; 1981b) and Tannenbaum (1984) have problems with the sampling used by Gerbner as they consider that it is not sufficiently representative. One week's programs cannot represent a whole year according to them. Hirsch points out discrepancies in the selection and treatment of the items, samples, and coding categories employed by Gerbner.

Tannenbaum (1984) has some fundamental questions regarding the necessity of a research like that of Gerbner. He feels that the CI research arose out of the personal interests of the researchers. Those

concerned about the role of women in society accordingly try to see how women are depicted on TV. Such type of research has limited utility according to him. Besides, to arrive at normative standards for society[1] he feels that more rigorous methodology is needed. Besides he questions the assumption of the Cultural Indicators that mass media is a faithful reflection of society's underlying culture, its values, etc. The producers of programs admit that they select and distort the elements of the cultural environment. Then why such a research effort to arrive at the same conclusion? Besides, the motives for the producers' selections and intentions according to Tannenbaum, can be got from them directly. Again, if such is the case he asks why such research effort in needed to arrive at the same conclusions. He goes on to say that Gerbner's methodology only helps to support his theory, but not to test it rigorously. For testing he suggests that Gerbner use multiple regression techniques like Logit and Probit. He also adds that many more cross-national and cross-cultural studies are needed for an adequate testing of the theory. Ironically he hints that perhaps political motives more than pure science, are behind the CI research.

Critics like Hirsch (*ibidem*) as well as Wurtzel & Lometti (*ibidem*) have difficulties with the light/heavy viewer categories of Gerbner. Hirsch holds that such a demarcation is meaningless and showed that an analysis making use of zodiac signs can produce the same results. He further adds that if the effects of television on the American society are so pervasive, comparison of light and heavy viewers will result in inconsistent and largely unpredictable findings. Further, he demonstrated that the addition of non-viewer and extreme viewer categories do not produce results as expected by the cultivation theory, thus putting the theory into doubt. He found that extreme viewers were less appreciative of violence and less fearful than heavy viewers; and non-viewers were found to be more fearful and more appreciative of violence than light viewers (all contrary to the cultivation logic). Because of these findings Hirsch goes on to dump Gerbner's theory as an interesting speculation and far from a theory.

Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) accuses Gerbner of not using the same criteria for deciding light and heavy viewers. The criteria used were seen to change with the samples. This according to them, makes the definition of light and heavy viewers very arbitrary and hence unscientific.

1.4 RE-ANALYSES AND OTHER STUDIES AGAINST GERBNER

We have already seen that the re-analyses of Hirsch and Hughes did not produce the same results as that of Gerbner. We have already mentioned, in the above pages, the reanalysis of Hirsch. Hughes (1980) in particular found that the reanalysis of *anomia* items did not produce results consistent with the cultivation theory. As for example, regarding the lot of the average man getting better or worse, more similarity was noticed between light and heavy viewers than either when compared to moderate viewers. This does not fit the logic of the cultivation theory. As he did not find uniform support for the cultivation theory in his reanalysis, Hughes (1980) posits three different possible explanations. 1) It could be that cultivation theory is incorrect and in point of fact TV cultivates many realistic and functional conceptions of the world. 2) It may be that the cultivation theory is correct but the analytical procedures of Gerbner is incapable of uncovering such effect. 3) It could be that the cultivation theory may be an oversimplification of how TV affects behavior through culture. TV may be connected to the diffusion of culture as well as alterations of social structure regardless of how much TV one watches.

Regarding the replication of Cultivation Analysis outside the U.S., some studies did not find any cultivation effect. Thus Bauwman (1984) found no cultivation effect in Holland. From that he concluded that it does not apply to Holland. But Voort (1984) feels that this makes the theory suspect even in the U.S.A. He also holds that the dangerous-world syndrome does not hold good for Holland; and if there are any cultivation effects at all, they can be from informational

programs rather than violent ones (in the case of the Dutch). Doob & Macdonald (1979) could not replicate the cultivation effect in Canada. They found that the dangerous locality where one lived had much more to do with developing a 'mean world syndrome', than watching a lot of violent TV programs. Wober (1978) also did not find traces of cultivation in England. This made these critics to wonder about the application of the theory even in the U.S.

The Annenberg Research Team has engaged in debates with those who have criticized Gerbner's methodology of research. Specifically, Gerbner and his colleagues have engaged in debate with Coffin & Tuchman, Blank, Hirsch, Wurtzel & Lometti, Newcomb, and Wober; and answered their criticisms. Those replies are presented briefly in the following pages of this chapter. The accusations and replies have clarified the cultivation theory and research very much and hence the necessity of dealing with them at length.

2. THE QUESTION OF VALIDITY

Coffin and Tuchman (1972; 1972-1973) had a debate with the Annenberg Team of Researchers.[2] Eleey, Gerbner, & Tedesco[3] (1972-1973) in two articles "Apples, oranges, and the kitchen sink: An analysis and guide to the comparison of 'violence ratings'" and "Validity indeed!", replied to the objections of Coffin & Tuchman.

Eleey, Gerbner & Tedesco (1972-1973) hold that studies that differ in purpose, method, and rigor cannot be effectively compared without violating basic distinctions of communication research. Added to that, they charge Coffin & Tuchman (1972) of not using the right comparative measures. This gave them erroneous conclusions. The defence sees Coffin & Tuchman (1972) confusing the two possible functions of a 'violence rating' system: that of providing a consumer's guide for the television viewer and supplying the overall trend indicators useful in planning public policy. Eleey, Gerbner & Tedesco (1972-1973) argue that for providing a consumer's guide for the TV

viewer, a program by program analysis would be necessary; while for having an indicator to plan public policy, what is needed is a cumulative, longitudinal data of trends in network television which can be obtained only through a systematic, objective, and reliable inventory of the relevant aspects of television. In the view of the Annenberg Group, none of the studies quoted by Coffin & Tuchman (1972) reach the scientific rigor and reliability, that the Cultural Indicators study possesses.

Eleey, Gerbner & Tedesco (1972-1973) also find the statistical measures of comparison used by Coffin & Tuchman (1972) inadequate. They analyze in detail the methodological limits of the Clark & Blakenburg studies, the Greenberg & Gordon studies, the Christian Monitor studies, and the NAAB evaluations. They insist that none of them can be compared on an equal footing with Gerbner's studies.

> None of the studies discussed provides the sufficiently objective and systematic information on specific series needed for the consumer guide function. The two content analyses conducted by Clark and Blankenburg and Gerbner yield information on overall pattern and trends, and are potentially useful for the public policy purpose. Furthermore, on their common variable they demonstrate encouraging cross-validation. The richer dimensionality of Gerbner's continuing analysis renders it more useful in terms of a range of measures to be included in a violence "profile" rather than a mere "rating" (Eleey, Gerbner & Tedesco, 1972-1973, pp.29-30).

The defence is ready to agree with the position of Coffin & Tuchman (1972) that if a rating system has to be developed, the first vital step is to develop a research design that would discriminate between 'harmful' and 'harmless' television violence. But they argue that "there is a basic confusion between research on the effects of televised violence and the reliable determination of violent action in television programs" (p.30). They insist that the determination of violent actions in TV programs can provide the "basis for research about the role of symbolic functions of dramatic violence in real-life conceptions and behavior, but not the other way round" (p.30). When Coffin & Tuchman (1972-73) insist the proper course of action is first

to understand the effects of TV violence; and after that to measure it in terms of some sociological or psychological effects that could matter, they are betraying the above-mentioned confusion, according to Eleey, Gerbner & Tedesco (1972-73). They go on to add: "Scientific study should begin with the reliable determination of common message elements and not with presumed social, moral or policy effects of unknown or vaguely specified messages" (p.30). Further, they consider the contention that violence in a humorous context has no serious effects as mere speculation without any scientific basis. On the contrary, they feel that humor[4] could be the best vehicle for the effective cultivation of certain definitions, images, and attitudes. They add: "To weight slapstick violence less heavily than serious dramatic violence may be convention wisdom, but in fact it is scientifically unacceptable" (p.30).

The position of Coffin & Tuchman (1972) that no clear information regarding the actual effects of TV violence on viewers exists, is contested by the Annenberg Team. To support their contention they quote the Surgeon General's Committee (of which Dr. Coffin was a member) that indicated "a sufficiently strong relationship between violent tendencies and the sheer frequency of exposure to *any* TV violence to suggest a public health problem" (p.30, italics in original). Further they feel that:

> What is needed for a more precise definition of the nature of these effects is the systematic and cumulative indexing of unambiguous message configurations which can then be related to (but not equated with) viewer perceptions and cognitions. This is what our studies attempt to provide (p.30).

The above defence of the Annenberg Team provoked a rejoinder from Coffin & Tuchman (1972-73), entitled "A question of validity: Some comments on "Apples, oranges, and the kitchen sink". They argued: "While Eleey, Gerbner, & Tedesco raise a number of technical issues about our paper (e.g., should we have employed rank-order correlations rather than product-moment correlations?), these tend to be rather minor and peripheral points which do not get to the really

essential differences between us" (pp.31-32). They are ready to grant a high degree of reliability to the Gerbner studies in comparison to the other studies; but what bothers them is the validity of Gerbner's research as in it even situation comedies are classified as violent. Further, they are not ready to dismiss common-sense judgements of television programs obtained from teachers, parents, journalists, TV critics, etc., on the score they are subjective evaluations and do not follow rigorous measurement procedures or full procedural documentation. For them reliability is important but "even more important, in our estimation, is *validity*" (p.32, italics in original).

With an article entitled "Validity indeed!", Eleey, Gerbner and Tedesco (1972-73) reacted to the above rejoinder. They feel that Coffin & Tuchman's (1972-73) argument about validity does not concern the validity of the definition of violence that they have employed. According to Eleey, Gerbner, & Tedesco (1972-73):

> Their choice of validation criteria reveals once again a basic confusion between studies of content and investigations of effects, a confusion in which the logical order of this research is reversed. The task of content studies is to provide reliable assessments of images, which can then be related to studies of effects. To predicate analyses of content on the basis of presumed effects is an uncritical approach (p.34).

The Annenberg Team feels that Coffin & Tuchman's insistence on the exclusion of humorous violence as recommended by the popular wisdom of teachers, parents, journalists, etc., arises from the above-mentioned confusion of concepts. Eleey, Gerbner, & Tedesco (1972-73) are convinced that feelings of panic or power, the peaceful acceptance of violence, the learning of how to be a victim, etc. are behavioral outcomes or effects of TV watching; effects that should cause social concern as much as the presentation of shootings, knifings, fist-fights etc. They ask rhetoric questions like:

> Why not assume that by demonstrating power and differential risks in life, violent symbolic portrayals accomplish the tasks of real-life violence in a cheaper and more entertaining way? Why not assume that situation

> comedies ... ... are especially effective devices for accomplishing the social functions of symbolic violence? These are equally plausible assumptions, but if one adopts Coffin and Tuchman's "common-sense" restrictions a priori, one could never determine which were the most "likely" or important effects. We are all children of our culture, and only to the extent that we can critically examine its axioms will our research elucidate its dynamics and structure (pp.35).

According to Eleey, Gerbner, & Tedesco (1972-73) the question that communication researchers should try to solve is: "What types and ranges of conceptions and behavior (other than naive semantic equivalents) do symbolic representations in fact cultivate?" (p.35). But the position of the critics seems to suggest that the validity of communications research rests "on a naive semantic correspondence between a symbol and certain arbitrarily selected type of behavior" (p.35). This is begging the very question that should be answered by research. Further, they compare Coffin & Tuchman's 'validity' to an alchemist who is so hypnotized by the elusive prospect of creating gold, overlooks more profound and varied results of his experiment. Eleey, Gerbner, & Tedesco (1972-73) say that symbolic violence can have many functions, some of which may have nothing to do with violent actions. Such unvalidated preconceptions like humorous violence has no harmful effects, and will prevent the researcher from reaching valid conclusions are unscientific according to the defence. Gerbner claims to avoid all unvalidated preconceptions in his research, and has included symbolic violence in all its aspects. Contextual aspects are not ignored; but rather detailed breakdowns are provided separately for serious drama as well as comedies, cartoons etc. Eleey, Gerbner, & Tedesco (1972-73) conclude their defence saying:

> To the extent that we avoid simplistic preconceptions and employ a stringent definition of violence, our studies should differ from others selected by Coffin and Tuchman to fit their presumptions. But here we leave it to the reader to decide whether the technical issues we raised earlier are really so minor as Coffin and Tuchman would have us believe. We only reiterate that closer attention to the methodological aspects involved leads to a

> comparative picture quite different from the one they have advanced (p.35).

Thus in **conclusion**, it may be said that the Annenberg Team contests all the objections of Coffin and Tuchman. They first punch holes in the concerned 4 studies, thereby establishing that they lack reliability due to numerous methodological flaws. Then they question the appropriateness of comparing them with the more rigorous scientific findings of the cumulative research of Gerbner. They find Coffin & Tuchman, very unscientific in relying on popular wisdom to dismiss comic violence as irrelevant. Further, they are accused of confusing the two concepts of finding a 'violence rating' that should act as a guide to parents and teachers; and the necessity of having a 'violence profile' on which political decision-making has to be based. The two calls for different types of research. They are further advised to avoid simplistic preconceptions and employ a stringent definition of violence, to arrive at the right conclusions. Also, in their opinion, closer attention to methodological aspects of the comparison would produce a different picture from what Coffin and Tuchman, actually produced.

3. AN ANALYSIS OF CBS REPORT (REPLY TO BLANK)

The Cultural Indicators Research Team[5] replied to the criticism of Blank (1977a) with an article entitled: "The Gerbner Violence Profile - An Analysis of the CBS Report". Blank (1977b) reacted to that with an article entitled: "Final Comments on the Violence Profile" to which a rejoinder was added by Gerbner: "One more time: An Analysis of the CBS 'Final Comments on the Violence Profile'". The main answers that Gerbner gave to Blank in the two articles concerned, will be briefly presented in the following pages.[6]

The objections of Blank (1977a; 1977b)[7] drew immediate reaction from the Annenberg Research Team[8] consisting of Gerbner, Gross, Eleey, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox, & Signorielli (1977a; 1977b)[9]. Gerbner rightly summarized the objections of Blank (1977a) into four

main criticisms and answered them point by point (see Gerbner et al., 1977a). The four main criticisms as given in Gerbner et al. (1977a) are:

> 1. The Violence Index is deficient because (a) it defines violence too broadly and (b) it is composed of "an arbitrarily weighted set of arbitrarily chosen measures of violence on television, whose meaning is totally unclear."
>
> 2. The Violence Index employs faulty units of analysis because "It counts as multiple acts of violence, single incidents which should be counted as single incidents."
>
> 3. A single week's sample is inadequate for representing an entire television season.
>
> 4. "The Risk Ratio analysis is equally defective" because it measures relative rather than absolute victimization which "in all likelihood" does not correspond "to viewers' perceptions."(p.280).

Gerbner feels that each of the above claims rests on "erroneous -if convenient- assumptions and result in highly misleading conclusions" (*ibidem*).

3.1 THE VIOLENCE INDEX

Blank (1977) finds fault with Gerbner for defining violence too broadly including in it comic violence, accidents, and natural disasters. Gerbner argues that Blank is confusing communication content with the assessment of effects. His stated aim is to study communication content and not to presume useful or harmful effects. He finds Blank's desire to exclude comic violence from the definition of violence strange, as CBS (whose Vice President Blank was that time) produced a booklet that specifically extolled the comic context as a highly effective form of conveying serious lessons (Gerbner et al., 1977a). Gerbner also argues that in fiction there are no accidents. "The author invents (or producer inserts) dramatic disasters and "acts of nature" for a purpose" (Gerbner et al., 1977a, p.282). The contention of Blank (1977a) that "serious violence is only what

reasonable citizens would consider harmful" (p.275), is according to Gerbner et al. (1977a) specious and unscientific, resulting from a confusion between assessment of effects and communication content. Gerbner et al. (1977a) quote the example of independent studies on foods and pharmaceuticals that show that ordinary citizens are unaware of "the full range of consequences of many of our industrial activities and products, including the products of the television industry" (p.282). Hence Gerbner feels it is foolhardy to base oneself only on the wisdom of reasonable citizens and independent research becomes of paramount importance.

The objection of Blank that the Violence Index[10] of Gerbner includes a set of measures instead of a single indicator, with the resulting possibility of these measures moving in different directions, is also answered by Gerbner. Blank (1977a) cites the OTP Staff Paper by Bruce M. Owen (1972) that ridicules Gerbner's Index as involving the addition of apples and oranges. Gerbner feels that Blank could in the same vein "criticize any set of comprehensive indicators such as the GNP, labor statistics, or the weather report" (*ibidem*). He further claims that "the usefulness of any index is precisely that it combines measures of different aspects of a complex phenomenon. One *must* add apples and oranges if one wants to know about *fruit*" (*ibidem*, italics in the original). The CBS also complained that while the absolute number of violent incidents in CBS family hour programs declined in 1976, the Violence Index of Gerbner for the same period showed an increase. The reason for this according to Gerbner et al. (1977a) was that "although the number of violent acts was reduced in 1976, the percent of leading characters involved in violence increased and violence was found in many programs" (*ibidem*, p.283); which situation made it difficult for everyone to escape the violent content, even if they wanted to do so.

3.2 THE UNITS OF ANALYSIS

Gerbner et al. (1977a) find the CBS complaint about counting multiple acts of violence when they should be counted as a single act, unfounded. His definition of violence calls for the counting of a new violent act when a new agent enters the picture. The CBS definition of violence, on the other hand, sees a violent act as one "sustained, dramatically continuous event involving violence, with essentially the same group of participants and with no major interruption in continuity" (Gerbner et al., 1977a, p.283). Gerbner claims that the CBS definition differs from that of his only in the qualification of "essentially". The CBS according to him, does not specify the criteria for determining "essential" and thus permits "the arbitrary and subjective manipulation of the unit of violence" (*ibidem*, pp.283-284). This ambiguity according to Gerbner, reduces the reliability of measures and facilitates the coding of an entire program (erroneously) as a single violent act; if "essential" is interpreted to ignore shifting participation in a long series of violent scenes. So Gerbner would feel that his own definition of violence is more precise and reliable.

3.3 THE SAMPLING METHOD OF GERBNER

CBS considers the single week sampling of Gerbner to represent one full year, to be inadequate. Gerbner et al. (1977a) replies to this by saying:

> Our own interest in assessing the representativeness of the one-week sample led to an initial analysis in 1969, to repeated spring-season test samplings in 1975 and 1976 programming. These studies indicate that while a larger sample may increase precision, given our operational definitions and multi-dimensional measures that are sensitive to a variety of significant aspects of TV violence, the one-week sample yields remarkably stable results with high cost-efficiency (p.284).

So Gerbner would feel that one-week sample gives a stable set of results representative of the whole year and additional sample

reasonable citizens would consider harmful" (p.275), is according to Gerbner et al. (1977a) specious and unscientific, resulting from a confusion between assessment of effects and communication content. Gerbner et al. (1977a) quote the example of independent studies on foods and pharmaceuticals that show that ordinary citizens are unaware of "the full range of consequences of many of our industrial activities and products, including the products of the television industry" (p.282). Hence Gerbner feels it is foolhardy to base oneself only on the wisdom of reasonable citizens and independent research becomes of paramount importance.

The objection of Blank that the Violence Index[10] of Gerbner includes a set of measures instead of a single indicator, with the resulting possibility of these measures moving in different directions, is also answered by Gerbner. Blank (1977a) cites the OTP Staff Paper by Bruce M. Owen (1972) that ridicules Gerbner's Index as involving the addition of apples and oranges. Gerbner feels that Blank could in the same vein "criticize any set of comprehensive indicators such as the GNP, labor statistics, or the weather report" (*ibidem*). He further claims that "the usefulness of any index is precisely that it combines measures of different aspects of a complex phenomenon. One *must* add apples and oranges if one wants to know about *fruit*" (*ibidem*, italics in the original). The CBS also complained that while the absolute number of violent incidents in CBS family hour programs declined in 1976, the Violence Index of Gerbner for the same period showed an increase. The reason for this according to Gerbner et al. (1977a) was that "although the number of violent acts was reduced in 1976, the percent of leading characters involved in violence increased and violence was found in many programs" (*ibidem*, p.283); which situation made it difficult for everyone to escape the violent content, even if they wanted to do so.

3.2 THE UNITS OF ANALYSIS

Gerbner et al. (1977a) find the CBS complaint about counting multiple acts of violence when they should be counted as a single act, unfounded. His definition of violence calls for the counting of a new violent act when a new agent enters the picture. The CBS definition of violence, on the other hand, sees a violent act as one "sustained, dramatically continuous event involving violence, with essentially the same group of participants and with no major interruption in continuity" (Gerbner et al., 1977a, p.283). Gerbner claims that the CBS definition differs from that of his only in the qualification of "essentially". The CBS according to him, does not specify the criteria for determining "essential" and thus permits "the arbitrary and subjective manipulation of the unit of violence" (*ibidem*, pp.283-284). This ambiguity according to Gerbner, reduces the reliability of measures and facilitates the coding of an entire program (erroneously) as a single violent act; if "essential" is interpreted to ignore shifting participation in a long series of violent scenes. So Gerbner would feel that his own definition of violence is more precise and reliable.

3.3 THE SAMPLING METHOD OF GERBNER

CBS considers the single week sampling of Gerbner to represent one full year, to be inadequate. Gerbner et al. (1977a) replies to this by saying:

> Our own interest in assessing the representativeness of the one-week sample led to an initial analysis in 1969, to repeated spring-season test samplings in 1975 and 1976 programming. These studies indicate that while a larger sample may increase precision, given our operational definitions and multi-dimensional measures that are sensitive to a variety of significant aspects of TV violence, the one-week sample yields remarkably stable results with high cost-efficiency (p.284).

So Gerbner would feel that one-week sample gives a stable set of results representative of the whole year and additional sample

weeks on the whole never increase precision significantly. Considering the high cost involved, he feels that it is not worth the trouble. The differences in the findings of CBS and Gerbner are (according to Gerbner) due to the differences of methodology used by the two. Gerbner accuses CBS of excluding in their analysis lots of violence by assigning arbitrarily the title of 'comic, accidental, or acts of nature' labels to units of violence present in the programs. These would naturally cause gross statistical aberrations. Such errors, Gerbner feels, would be missing in his "broadly-based and precisely operationalized methods" (*ibidem*, p.285).

3.4 THE RISK RATIOS

Blank (1977a) rejects the Risk Ratio analysis of Gerbner as defective because it measures relative victimization rather than the absolute and may not correspond to viewer perceptions. Gerbner et al. (1977a) claim that the Risk Ratios measure both absolute and relative risks. The position of CBS that relative victimization is difficult to grasp and hence 'meaningless statistics', is rejected by Gerbner as untrue. Gerbner asserts again his conviction that "the validity of TV content indicator does not depend on viewers' conscious understanding of its meaning" (*ibidem*, p.286). The Cultivation Analysis of Gerbner has found that "exposure to violence-laden television drama cultivates a sense of exaggerated fear and mistrust in the minds of heavy viewers. Young women - with an especially unfavorable Risk Ratio - are particularly affected, despite the fact that in absolute terms they are not as likely to get involved in violence as are the men" (*ibidem*). Thus Gerbner claims that relative victimization that CBS rejects as 'meaningless statistics' has potentially important consequences.

The CBS through Blank (1977b) rejoined with another article, renewing many of the old criticisms. According to them, comic and accidental violence as well as violence resulting from nature should not be included in the definition of violence. The mode of counting

violent acts by Gerbner comes under renewed attack. They further do not find any objective support for the particular elements combined in Gerbner's Index, and question the reasons why Gerbner uses weights for certain measures. Further, the sampling used by Gerbner is overly-narrow according to the CBS[11]. The Gerbner team replied to this second article of Blank (1977b) with an article entitled "One more time : An Analysis of CBS "Final Comments on the Violence Profile". (See Gerbner et al., 1977b).

3.5 ONE MORE TIME: AN ANALYSIS OF THE CBS REJOINDER

Gerbner et al. (1977b) begin their rejoinder saying that "symmetry more than substance compels us to pursue a dialogue" (p.297), with CBS and Blank. He asserts that the insistence of the CBS to exclude comical violence, accidental violence as well as violence from the acts of nature arises because the Network considers it damaging to itself if a higher, more inclusive count of violence is attributed to its programming. It would be more troublesome from the point of view of corporate policy. "It seems, therefore, that the need for the exclusion does not come from research considerations but from pressures for a "better bottom line" (Gerbner et al., 1977b, p.298). The Gerbner team also sees a discrepancy between what Blank writes and what the CBS Office of Social Research reports.

> The May 1977 CBS Monitoring Report states (on pages 15-16) that the CBS definition (modeled on and very similar to ours) "included accidents or acts of nature which occurred in a violent context as, for example, a person being killed in an automobile accident while escaping from a crime." In another passage, the CBS report notes (page 6, footnote) that "In this season's tabulations, episodes of dramatic violence that occur in situation comedies were included in the totals for the 'other programs' category (Gerbner et al., 1977b, p.298).

So in some cases the CBS includes accidents and acts of nature in their violence counts, though Blank seems to be denying it. In the same vein, the Annenberg School feels that CBS is constrained by the

nature of public criticism levelled against it and is forced to resort to "corporate defence even at the risk of distorting the research issue" (*ibidem*, p.299). Gerbner finds it strange that an economist like Blank who would understand "the validity of multidimensional measures of GNP or unemployment" (*ibidem*), dismisses as 'nonsense' the weighted measures used in the Violence Index.

> What are these weightings and components? The Violence Index is composed of (1) the percent of programs containing any violence, plus (2) the rate of violent episodes per program, plus (3) the rate of violent episodes per hour, plus (4) the percent of major characters involved in any violence, plus (5) the percent of major characters involved in any killing. Each of these measures has a specifically defined meaning and function in our analysis. The *only* "weighting" is that we double two rates (2 and 3) in order to raise the low numerical values of these ratios to the level of importance that we believe the concepts of the frequency and program saturation of violent incidents deserve when combined with the other numbers which, being percentages, typically have much higher numerical value. No one is forced to agree with or follow that simple assumption. The individual components for all years are included in our reports and are available for any combination (*ibidem*, p.300, emphases in the original).

Thus in the above quotation Gerbner explains in detail what his Violence Index means. He further adds that the bulk of the tables in the Violence Index are not statistical findings in themselves, but serve as "illustrators of the basic findings and facilitate gross comparisons" (*ibidem*). The declared purpose of Gerbner and his team, is to disseminate complete information; "it is up to the media to do their homework and use such Violence Index components or combinations of components as they see fit" (*ibidem*). The CBS objection to Gerbner's accusation that in 1976, the same network lifted the lid on family viewing time violence, was that it was contrary to fact[12]. Gerbner et al. (1977b) analyzing the individual components of the said 'family hour' reiterated the accusation; with the addition that: "If next season's program mix shows a policy of replacing the "lid" on more or all aspects of violence, we shall be pleased to report it" (*ibidem*, p.301). In the same final comments of Blank (1977b), he,

listing the names of the programs in question asks the rhetoric question "which of these programs did parents need to have their children avoid because of violence?". Gerbner claims that the Violence Index was never intended to give direction to parents regarding specific programs; rather it only measures 'aggregate programming policy and its consequences'. The controversy regarding the way of measuring the units of violence and sampling, does not produce any new insights and hence Gerbner reaffirms his earlier stand on the issue.

Blank (1977b) argues that according to the theory of mainstreaming of Gerbner, the women and nonwhites due to the influence of television should be meeker and less aggressive in defending their rights than they used to be. (Refer section 2.2.3 in chapter 4). Gerbner et al. (1977b) find this "careless reading and tendentious reporting" (p.302) of what Gerbner actually found and reported. What the Annenberg team is concerned about is the pattern of television violence; the pattern that they found was that the television places "a higher burden of relative victimization upon women, nonwhites, and other minority groups such as children and the elderly than upon the white male majority" (302). Their contention is that heavy viewing also is related to exaggerated danger and mistrust. But television is not the only contributor that determines human behavior, but nevertheless, an important one.

In **conclusion** it may be said that Gerbner has a reasonable answer to every accusation levelled at his research by Blank and the CBS. The only trace that he has gained something from the dialogue comes from his admission: "What we have profited from this and other exchanges will thus be put to use in our continuing studies" (p.303). In his final comments there is an allusion to the lack of openness on the part of the networks to accept credible research without any bias. In fact Gerbner et al. (1977b) affirms: "Only an independent effort can afford to let the chips fall where they may" (p.303). Blank being Vice President of CBS Network was definitely an interested

party, trying to protect the interest of his network. But it has to be admitted that many of his accusations, forced Gerbner to clarify and elucidate clearly his stand on several issues like the definition of violence, counting units of violence, the components of the Violence Index, the adequacy of the sampling used, etc. and hence the debate has been a contribution to science.

4. THE SCARY WORLD OF PAUL HIRSCH

One of the most serious technical criticism of Gerbner came from Hirsch. Hirsch (1980a; 1980b; 1981a; 1981b) contested every claim of Gerbner and reanalyzed[13] some of the data of Gerbner.[14] Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli[15] (1981c; 1981d) replied to every accusation. The exchanges at times were particularly sharp, and even personal.

Gerbner et al. (1981c) begin their response to Hirsch ironically, saying "... one must entertain the likelihood of a brilliant scholarly surprise attack making mincemeat out of a plodding band of academic poachers" (p.39). They continue: "Unlikely as that dramatic coup for pure science might be, we intend to demonstrate that Hirsch's analysis is flawed, incomplete, and tendentious" (p.39). In the same vein, Gerbner et al. (1981c) assert that numerous cumulative samples even from NORC, provide considerable evidence that television makes an independent contribution to viewers' assumptions, outlooks and beliefs about social reality. Further they claim that the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance were implicitly present in their previous writings and not something dreamed up to explain situations where the cultivation theory does not apply. Referring to the critique of Hirsch, Gerbner et al. (1981c) has this to say:

> Certain problems pervade both pieces of his "critique," such as overstatement, exaggeration, and inaccuracy, but each contains its own primary flaws. The outstanding gaps in Part I are the neglect of subgroup specifications and the unsubstantiated claim that the overall associations are "nonlinear". In Part II he misrepresents our recent

> refinements and makes the claim that they are logically contradictory, ambiguous, untestable, and thereby incapable of being disproved (p.40).

4.1 REPLY TO PART 1 OF HIRSCH

Basing on the reanalysis of one data-set (that of GSS/NORC) and incorporating some questions regarding the data on suicide, Hirsch (1980a) has come to the conclusion that Gerbner's claims are unjustified. To this Gerbner et al. (1981c) answer that the questions regarding suicide have no known connection with the television world; and the other questions that Hirsch used were precisely the ones that exhibited the weakest associations in the research of Gerbner. Hirsch claims that Gerbner's empirical research is based on secondary analysis of NORC; but Gerbner et al. (1981c) argue that they have used four others as well: "two from Opinion Research Corporation, one from Starch, and one from Harris" (p.41). They add that "... we have used many questions and many samples because all data are flawed in some way, and knowledge accumulates gradually, if not linearly, over many studies. In fact, it is the cumulative consistency of our findings that makes them most compelling" (p.41).

The accusation of Hirsch (1980a) that Gerbner et al. impose their categories onto the 'interpretive mind of the viewer', for the purpose of content analysis, is found by Gerbner et al, to be groundless. The implication of this accusation is that Gerbner believes that viewers are aware of the specific messages of TV programs. Gerbner et al. (1981c) vehemently deny this saying "... we impose neither categories nor awareness upon the "interpretive mind of the viewer" (p.41). According to them what they try to do is to identify the clear-cut and pervasive patterns present in the television world, and try to see how much of it is being taken in by the consumers of television. The respondents need not be aware of the source of their information; and in fact in their Cultivation Analysis questions, television is never directly mentioned. What they have found from such Cultivation Analysis is that television does cultivate viewer

conceptions of reality. The four primary charges of Hirsch (1980a) are rightly summarized by Gerbner et al. (1981c) as:

> (1) that our definition of "light", "medium", and "heavy" viewers varies across different samples of respondents; (2) that when "non-viewers" and "extreme viewers" (over eight hours a day) are separated from the light and heavy viewing categories, the resulting relationships between amount of viewing and attitudes are nonlinear, with non-viewers more imbued with the "TV perspective" than light viewers, and extreme viewers less afraid/anomic than heavy viewers; (3) that we have selectively reported findings to support our theory, overlooking other "relevant" items; (4) that the application of multiple controls eliminates the evidence for any overall, independent contribution of television viewing to conceptions of social reality (p.42).

Gerbner et al. (1981c) do not deny the charge that their operational definition of light and heavy viewers varies across samples: "We have never implied nor argued that the terms "light" and "heavy" viewers are anything but *relative*, determined by the distribution of responses in any given sample" (p.46, italics in original). They further add that they do not take the self-reports of respondents regarding the hours of TV watched, at face value but merely presume that those who consistently report watching more than 4 hours of TV daily, in fact watch more than those who report less than two hours of TV per day.

The claim of Hirsch (1980a) that his analysis of non-viewers and extreme viewers, show that these categories do not follow the cultivation logic and hence the theory is suspect, is ridiculed by Gerbner et al. (1981c) saying that such a study "... is a little like trying to study religion by comparing atheists and fanatic fundamentalists" (p.46). For Gerbner the two categories of non-viewers and extreme viewers together constitute less than 10% of the population and hence their reaction is statistically insignificant. Further, that would show that for more than 90% of the population, cultivation theory would apply; and even the two categories that differ may be doing so because of some uncontrolled third variables. Quoting other studies[16], Gerbner et al. (1981c) try to demonstrate

that the two groups of non-viewers and extreme viewers are problematic as they have a contradictory profile. Gerbner protests at the use of questions connected with approval of suicide, in Hirsch's (1980a) reanalysis, as no discernible connection between TV message system analysis and suicide has never been claimed by him. Besides, Gerbner et al. (1981c) assert "Hirsch's claims of nonlinearity are simply false" (p.48). Presenting other tables[17] Gerbner demonstrates that out of "22 comparisons 17 (77%) show significant linearity beyond the .05 level. *Only one item is significantly nonlinear at the .05 level*" (P.48, italics in original). They also admit that it is reasonable to question why non-viewers should be lumped with light viewers; the reason for doing so is the fact that as they represent such a tiny number they ar not going to affect statistically, the linear relationships that over 90% of the population have between TV viewing and conceptions of social reality.

Hirsch (1980a) in his reanalysis resorts to Multiple Classification Analysis. Here he accuses Gerbner of not reporting certain data that went against the cultivation hypothesis. He tries to find the relationship between amount of viewing and attitude toward violence. Gerbner et al. (1981c) feel that Hirsch (1980a) is mistaken to think the two items under discussion are comparable.

> To begin, he claims that the following two items are "comparable":
>
> --How often is it all right to hit someone if you are mad at them for a good reason? Is it almost always all right or almost never all right?
>
> --Are there any situations you can imagine in which you would approve of a man punching an adult male stranger? (Gerbner et al., 1981c, p.50).

The first of the above questions was asked to adolescents by Gerbner and the second came from 1978 GSS/NORC Survey. Hirsch (1980a) charges that Gerbner et al. never discussed or referred to the findings of the second question of NORC, because it was not convenient for the cultivation theory. Gerbner et al. (1981c) hold that

the two questions concerned, are neither substantively or empirically comparable. The second question specifically is asking the respondent to imagine a situation alien to himself/herself. Now the ability to imagine can depend on education, cultural level, higher income level, etc. Because of this, Gerbner et al. (1981c) give low reliability to the NORC question; and "we chose not to report or analyze its association with amount of viewing on the grounds that we cannot tell what indeed it is measuring" (p.51). But the same questionable item is used by Gerbner et al. (1981c) to demonstrate the presence of mainstreaming (pp. 51-52).

The criticism of Hirsch (1980a) that the application of multiple controls eliminates the evidence of any overall independent contribution of TV viewing to conceptions of social reality, is considered by Gerbner et al. (1981c) to be the most serious accusation[18]. After Hirsch's reanalysis of certain GSS/NORC data, he came to the above conclusion. But Gerbner et al. (1981c) feel that: "A conclusion of "no overall relationship" is of limited value because there may be (and often are) significant, meaningful, and nonspurious associations within specific subgroups" (p.42). These variations according to Gerbner can be explained by either mainstreaming or resonance[19]. Gerbner et al. (1981c) admit that:

> Both Hughes and Hirsch implemented all controls simultaneously, and both convincingly demonstrate that this procedure in some cases results in either curvilinear or negative overall relationships; in most cases in the GSS/NORC data-set, the aggregate associations are reduced to trivial proportions.
>
> But an overall aggregate relationship is simply the product of subrelationships which may tug and pull at each other in different directions and with varying intensity (pp.43-44).

Gerbner et al. (1981c) further adds that the RE-ANALYSES of Hirsch (1980a), Hughes (1980) and their own, all show that "amount of viewing has no single, universal, across-the-board impact, in the same direction for all groups of respondents" (p.44). But this is not the

final word on the subject, as Hirsch claims, and Gerbner feels that Hirsch should take into consideration "the number of subgroup variations that almost jump out of his own tables" (p.44). Further, Gerbner et al. (1981c) feel that Hirsch should try to understand the subtle aspect of the cultivation process, called "mainstreaming". The foundations of this concept according to the same authors, were implicit in their theoretical and conceptual considerations; and they were building fast on the empirical side of it. They think that while "Hirsch was controlling for everything at once and finding no *overall* associations, we were paying closer attention to the "exceptions" (p.45, italics in original). These exceptions according to Gerbner were not showing 'no relationship' but rather the process of mainstreaming or resonance. "While this recognition confirms our hypothesis that - television cultivates common conceptions of social reality - it refines, extends, and amplifies our conclusions" (p.46).

Because of the above mentioned reasons, Gerbner et al. (1981c) feel that Hirsch's Part I fails to demonstrate their conclusions to be unjustified. Further, many of the 18 items used by Hirsch in his reanalysis fail to constitute fair or meaningful tests of the cultivation hypothesis, as they are either irrelevant (with no basis in TV message analysis, as in the case of suicide questions) or problematic reliability and validity (as in the case of "approval of violence" item). The charge of shifting definitions of light, medium, and heavy according to sample's distribution also does not hold water for Gerbner, as the categories were never intended to be absolute. Further, the adding of bizarre groups of extreme viewers and non-viewers, does not add anything to the general argument. Added to that Hirsch's claim of nonlinearity are statistically unsound (according to the defence) as vast majority of his own items do show linear trends. Gerbner et al. (1981c) express their particular affront at Hirsch's insinuation that they intentionally misreported data. They continue to insist that "Hirsch's failure to consider differential patterns within subgroups and his emphasis on global associations blinds him to findings which may be more critical than overall "effects" (p.54). According to

Gerbner et al. (1981c) the 'disconfirmation' by Hirsch of the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance is based on fundamental misconceptions.

4.2 REPLY TO PART II OF HIRSCH

Hirsch (1981a) in Part II of his reanalysis, stepped up his attack on the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance[20]. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1981c) responded to it in detail and some of the more important points of this response, are given below.

Gerbner et al. (1981c) express their disappointment that Hirsch (1981a) did not come out with some "challenging and novel insights into potential flaws in the conceptualization and analysis" (p.55) of the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance. "Instead, Hirsch demonstrates an astonishing ability to selectively attack limitations and ambiguities *which we explicitly acknowledge and discuss* in our work, and to present them as if he has discovered some "hidden" flaw which we are trying to obscure" (*ibidem*, p.55). Gerbner et al. (1981c) rightly summarize the objections of Hirsch (1981a) as follows:

> (1) our initial hypothesis specified universal, across-the-board effects of television viewing on people's conception of social reality; (2) growing aware of subgroup differences, we contended that real-life subgroups whose fictional counterparts are overly victimized will show the strongest cultivation patterns; (3) finding this not to be the case, or ignoring the idea altogether, we scrambled around trying to find post hoc explanations for random or damaging subgroup patterns; (4) these post hoc explanations are logically contradictory, ambiguous, and untestable, and thereby nonrefutable (p.56).

Gerbner et al. (1981c) dismiss the first two accusations as illusory, as they have never ever asserted any absolute, or global impact of television. Further, they argue that "Hirsch is incorrect when he states that our latest work "instead substitutes an entirely new method of measurement and statistical procedure", the "across-

group" comparisons" (pp.56-57). The contention of Gerbner that cultivation will be most evident within the groups most victimized on television, was interpreted by Hirsch to mean that viewers will adopt as their own attitudes and perceptions the same interpretations of TV content as derived from the message system analysis. But Gerbner et al. (1981c) argue: "These claims are nowhere to be found in our theory. They are *his*, not ours" (p. 58, italics in original). Further "Hirsch also imputes into our theory a level of "identification" with television characters which we have never asserted" (*ibidem*). In the same vein, Gerbner et al. (1981c) think that Hirsch's reformulation of cultivation depending upon how demographically similar characters fare in the TV world is over-simplistic, though rather interesting. His reanalysis provides an actual test for the hypothesis which is rejected by him. But Gerbner thinks that the test lacks validity as the number of groups examined as well as the comparison of matched groups are too few. Gerbner et al. (1981c) would want a convincing test of this hypothesis based on a large number of groups and at the time were working on it.

Hirsch (1981a) from a reanalysis of NORC data found no evidence that television cultivates fear. Gerbner et al. (1981c) think that the reason why Hirsch found weak association between TV viewing and cultivation of fear was probably because of the defect of the question used. The question from NORC used by Hirsch runs thus:

"Is there *any* area right around here - that is, within a mile - where you would be afraid to walk alone at night? (Yes, No) (p.59, italics added by Gerbner et al.).

The question used by the Gerbner group for the same cause was: "How safe do you feel walking around in your own neighborhood *alone, at night* - very safe, somewhat safe, or not safe at all" (Gerbner et al., 1981c, p.59).

When the latter question was used, Gerbner et al. (1981c) found different results. The problem with the NORC question according to

them, is its off-center focus. It is possible that we feel afraid to walk alone at night, which does not necessarily mean that we have the same fear when walking in our own neighborhoods.

Gerbner et al. (1981c) take care to add that cultivation of fear is a secondary hypothesis. What they have found is that in nine out of ten samples, heightened estimates of people involved in violence in the real world, was connected with heavy television viewing (with or without multiple controls). This clearly represents the cultivation of a conception of social reality mediated through television. Through analysis, Gerbner found that the perceptions of the number of people involved in violence and the level of one's own safety were distinct concepts. The correlation between the two concepts at times evidenced the presence of mainstreaming or resonance.

The concepts of mainstreaming and resonance are the most important issues in Part II of Hirsch. Gerbner et al. (1981c) admit that "It is particularly difficult to respond to Hirsch's "critique" of these concepts because it is not apparent that he understands them" (p.61).

Hirsch's (1981a) contention is that Gerbner developed a theory to explain the effects of television on light and heavy viewers; and in empirically testing them when he found that the theory does not hold water for certain data, he concocted the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance to explain away the contradiction. Gerbner et al. (1981c) argue that these concepts were implicit in their work and came to the fore fully only lately as refinements of the cultivation theory. The earlier cultivation theory explained the overall consequence of living in a symbolic world created by TV. Mainstreaming and resonance deal with the exceptions; and are actually subtle processes of cultivation involving no contradiction with the original theory.

> The refinement which aggravates Hirsch so is simply the proposition that many (if not most) of the specifications which emerge when overall relationships disappear, as well as other systematic variations in susceptibility to cultivation can be explained by one of these two concepts.
>
> His disregard of our observation that a majority of cultivation questions do show consistent and robust effects for most groups is based on his use of a number of problematic items from virtually one data base, which, for whatever reasons, show incongruous results. Other data of comparable quality, representativeness, and scope show dramatically different patterns (Gerbner et al., 1981c, p.61).

Gerbner et al. (1981c) present other tables from NORC to show that the associations between amount of television viewing and the index of perceptions of violence and danger, are persistent and potent. They chide Hirsch for sticking on to only one data from NORC to contest the conceptions of mainstreaming and resonance. Further, even if the correlations are not very strong, when found in large number of samples, it becomes significant. Added to that Gerbner was never bothered about the size of an effect but more worried about the direction of its steady contribution. Quoting tables from NORC,[21] Gerbner et al. (1981c) point out that 83.3% of double-controlled correlations remain positive and significant. "In this light, our contention that "most groups" show evidence of cultivation hardly deserves Hirsch's sarcasm" (*ibidem*, p.64).

The Annenberg Team feels "Hirsch's superficial and slanted recounting of "mainstreaming" and "resonance" reflects either incomprehension or misrepresentation. The accusation that they are "all-encompassing" and nonfalsifiable reveals scanty contemplation" (*ibidem*). Making use of several figures Gerbner et al (1981c) demonstrate instances where the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance are clearly falsifiable[22]. Examples of instances where either or both are absent are also given, proving that these concepts are not all-encompassing as Hirsch would have them. The insistent demand of Hirsch (1981a) that Gerbner et al. should specify the conditions under which mainstreaming and resonance will occur, (according to Gerbner et al.) is an overstated concern that forgets the said phenomena could be taking place in subgroups of the very data, that he rejects as not showing any cultivation. Even where overall

relationships disappear, identifiable subgroups show systematic nonspurious, and significant cultivation patterns; and Hirsch is advised to look into these. Gerbner et al. (1981c) considers ridiculous the accusation of Hirsch that they would explain the absence of within-group relationships by saying that the simultaneous happening of mainstreaming and resonance have cancelled each other out.

> A single variable would not simultaneously generate both "mainstreaming" and "resonance", but the implementation of additional controls might uncover their presence in distinct subsets of the group, just as it does in an overall association (Gerbner et al., 1981c, p.67).

The Annenberg Team considers such elaboration to be the fundamental task of scientific analysis. They would want Hirsch not to stop at discovering no overall associations between TV viewing and social conceptions of reality, but to delve more deeply into the phenomena to discover the systematic processes which are both more subtle and more profound. Further, Gerbner et al. (1981c) in conclusion add that their remarks "should not be taken as a reflection of olympian smugness" (p.68). They also welcome criticism.

> We welcome critiques and find them, for the most part, helpful; they indicate a healthy scientific skepticism and often lead us to more rigor, new directions, and valuable insights.
>
> But, we must wonder, what compels the gleeful and sarcastic hostility in Hirsch's two pieces? We are saddened by his ad hominem intimations. Surely, it is possible to reappraise our work and reach different conclusions without virulence; see Hughes (1980) for one example. Hirsch's vituperations are embarrassing, unbecoming, and serve no scientific purpose; we regret if he has provoked harsh treatment from us (*ibidem*).

They admit that the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance are in the process of development and hence "look forward to a more even-handed and collegial scientific scrutiny and dialogue" (*ibidem*).

4.3 FINAL REPLY TO HIRSCH

Hirsch (1981b) reacted to Gerbner et al. (1981c) with a rejoinder that restated many of his previous objections to the cultivation research of Gerbner. To this, an article pointedly entitled "Final reply to Hirsch" was the reply from the part of Gerbner's team (1981d). Referring to the rejoinder of Hirsch, Gerbner et al. (1981d) says that it:

> ... contains an impressive number of inaccuracies, errors, and convolutions of our statements and findings. His illusions about our "concessions" are particularly puzzling. He raises very few new points and seems oblivious to numerous issues we presented, choosing instead to rehash his "findings" and "conclusions" and ignoring contrary explanations and evidence (p.259).

Then they go on to address the few salient objections (salient according to them) raised by Hirsch in his rejoinder (1981b).

4.3.1 On Gerbner's Rejection of the GSS

In their reply to Part I of Hirsch,[23] (Gerbner et al. (1981c) expressed reservation about the validity and reliability of two items taken from the data-set of NORC/GSS. This made Hirsch (1981b) to suggest that Gerbner et al. consider the findings of NORC unreliable. For him it is a little presumptuous to consider such prestigious data-set as that of NORC to be unreliable, while accepting other less renowned research data. Gerbner et al. (1981d) assert that they continue to use the data from NORC for reanalysis and never considered the whole data-set as unreliable. They expressed doubt about the validity and reliability of only two items in the whole data-set; that should never be taken to mean that the whole data-set of NORC was flawed.

4.3.2 On Gerbner's Cover-up of Damaging Results

The two items (fear and approval of violence) about which Gerbner expressed reservations,[24] form the central items of Hirsch's reanalysis (1981b). Gerbner does not consider the findings from these items to be central to the conclusions he has reached in his Violence Profile. The questions for the 'approval of violence' runs thus: "Are there any situations that you can imagine in which you would approve of a man punching an adult male stranger?" In the reanalysis of Hirsch (1981b) he found that adults who are heavy viewers, were seen less likely to condone the use of violence. This he says is contrary to the cultivation hypothesis and hence the theory is rejected. Hirsch (1981b) further accuses Gerbner of not reporting this item that was damaging to his cultivation theory and presenting only those data that are consistent with his theory. The same question of NORC, after adapting a little was used by Gerbner on adolescent respondents; the results were contrary to Hirsch's reanalysis and supportive of the cultivation hypothesis. The question asked by Gerbner et al. (1978) was: "How often is it alright to hit someone if you are mad at them for a good reason? (almost never, almost always)". A significant number of heavy viewing adolescents responded "almost always".

Gerbner et al. (1981d) argue that strictly speaking there is no relationship between cultivation theory and approval of violence (at least not directly). But the above question was asked by Gerbner, to test the common view point that television desensitize young people to violence; and from the responses of adolescents there seems to be some grounds for believing that. The crucial question in the debate with Hirsch, according to Gerbner et al (1981d) are: 1. Why are the findings different for adults and adolescents. 2. Why the results from GSS/NORC for adults, were not reported by Gerbner. The cultivation theory according to Gerbner et al. (1981d) is not affected by the apparent discrepancy between the results for adults and adolescents as:

> (1) There is substantial evidence to indicate that the GSS/NORC question asked of adults is unreliable;
>
> (2) Regardless of whether or not the GSS/NORC question is indeed reliable, it is simply not comparable to the question we asked of adolescents (p.262).

The Annenberg Team is convinced that the above question asked by NORC is problematic. Hirsch (1981b) makes use of only the lead question. But there are five other questions concerning specific situations of a man punching an adult male stranger; and in the data of NORC every adult who said 'no' to the lead question, approved of at least one of the five instances of specific violence with the heavy viewers among them scoring higher. This according to Gerbner et al. (1981d) is a clear sign that the lead question is problematic; and in all probability those who answered 'no' were not able to imagine a situation as posted by the question. "Thus, being unable to imagine a situation spontaneously is quite different from approving the use of violence in specific situations - especially for adult heavy viewers" (p.263).

Besides, according to Gerbner, the two questions are not comparable. His question to adolescents asked: "*how often is it alright* (a value judgement about frequency of approval, not yes/no dichotomy) to hit someone *if you are mad at them for a good reason* (providing a justification for the act, dealing with the respondents' own projected behavior, establishing some level of interpersonal familiarity between assailant and victim). The GSS/NORC question asks *are there any situations that you can imagine* (more abstract and partially dependent upon the respondent's ability to imagine) in which you would approve of *a man punching an adult male stranger* (the assailant is someone besides the respondent, and the victim is unknown to the victimizer)" (p.263, italics in original).

Because of the above reasons Gerbner et al. (1981d) question the reliability of this particular NORC item and hold that the question used by Gerbner is not comparable with that used by NORC (and in the reanalysis of Hirsch). If one is to reject this argument, there can

be many reasons why the results acquired by Gerbner (with adolescents) differ from the NORC results got from adults.

> These include: (1) the question we asked of adolescents is bad; (2) our adolescent samples are bad; (3) what is true for adolescents may not be true for adults; and (4) cultivation theory is wrong. As we shall see, none of these seems to be a strong possibility (Gerbner et al. 1981d, p.264).

All the above 4 possible explanations are analyzed by the accused and a credible defence offered.

1. Problems with the adolescent question. Gerbner et al. (1981d) consider this possibility very unlikely as their earlier findings were very similar to the present one. Besides, the findings of several independent studies support the position of Gerbner. Reference is made to the studies of Dominick & Greenberg (1972), McLeod et al. (1972), and McIntyre & Teevan (1972)[25].

2. Problems with the adolescent sample. Hirsch (1981b) considers the adolescent samples used by Gerbner to be "convenience samples" and hence rejects them. Gerbner et al. (1981d) claim that their adolescent sample of New Jersey children to be of the best category, as it combines 6 questionnaires over 3 years. If Hirsch were to accept only national samples, he would (according to Gerbner) have to reject much research in social or experimental psychology and even sociology. All the conclusions of Hirsch are drawn from a single sample data, whereas the findings of Gerbner (according to them) are spread over several samples. Besides, they feel that a number of studies that used samples of children and adolescents of different ethnic background, geographic areas, etc. have found similar results as that of the Gerbner group. The findings of Dominick & Greenberg (1972) are again quoted as an example to support this argument.

3. Adults and adolescents are different. There are certainly differences between adults and adolescents. One could even argue that children may consider violence as an appropriate way of

resolving crisis whereas adults know that 'violence does not pay' and the violent are often punished. It may be true that what holds good for adolescents need not be so for adults; but Gerbner et al. (1981d) feel that this cannot be the primary reason for the differences in the results obtained from adults (NORC) and adolescents (Gerbner).

4. Cultivation theory is wrong. Basing on the NORC data under discussion here, Hirsch (1981b) concludes "that the theory, which predicts that heavy viewers should be more likely to condone the use of violence, is faulty" (p.267). He goes on to add that the said damaging negative association is one of the few in GSS/NORC that persists after multiple controls. But Gerbner et al. (1981d) insist that their own reanalysis over the three years of GSS (1975, 1978, 1980) do not show anything to support this claim of Hirsch. They used the multiple controls of sex, age, education, race, and income. Besides, heavy viewers tend to belong to lower socioeconomic class and hence are less capable of imagining a situation when compared to the more educated and better economic class. The item reanalyzed by Hirsch (as said before) calls for such imagination. Hence it is not surprising if for such heavy viewers the relationship turns out to be spurious.

Gerbner et al. (1981d) gives the reason why the so called "damaging data" was not reported by them. First of all the 1978 GSS/NORC data was not yet available when they published their Violence Profile No. 9. Besides, ...

> In all frankness, internal disagreement about the validity and meaning of the item led us not to report the data for 1975. The so-called "suppression" derived from conflicting viewpoints over what the item actually measured, given its clear conceptual divergence from the question asked of adolescents (p.268).

4.3.3 Relationship between Message & Cultivation Analysis

Hirsch (1980a; 1981a; 1981b) has insisted that there is no relationship between the Message System Analysis and the Cultivation Analysis. But in Gerbner's theory, the two are explicitly related.

Gerbner et al. (1981d) argue that the Cultivation Analysis begins with the patterns found in the world of television drama. "Television drama presents stories about how things work, how people behave, what it means to be a man, a woman, a child, an older person, a cop, "bad", "good", and so on" (*ibidem*, pp.268-269). Although most of what is presented on TV cannot be translated into discrete facts, "but can be construed to present potential lessons about life and society" (p.269). Hence viewers need not be expected to identify themselves with TV characters. As secondary analyses have been conducted, they had to make use of data from other sources like NORC, CPS, etc.; and these questions were framed to answer some other research objective. So secondary data has certain limitations. Hence Gerbner et al. (1981d) admit: "In some cases we probably have been overly cautious in not using certain questions, while in some other cases, we probably have not been cautious enough" (p.269). Over the years, the presence of several graduate students on the research team, necessitated to include their personal interests while trying to maintain the common objective of the research. Thus they admit that questions relating to "isolationism", "expectations for a world war", etc. entered the research design. They insist that the purpose of the whole research was always to ascertain to what extend the lessons found in the Message System Analysis were cultivated in the viewer[26]. To ascertain the cultivating effect of television, the results of Cultivation Analysis for heavy viewers are compared to that of light viewers. This intrinsic relationship between Message System Analysis and Cultivation Analysis is not understood by Hirsch (according to the defence).

4.3.4 Mainstreaming and Resonance

Gerbner et al. (1981d) lament the fact that they have not been able to convince Hirsch that mainstreaming and resonance are valid theoretical formulations having conceptual justification and empirical evidence. They argue: "Contrary to Hirsch's implications, "mainstreaming" and "resonance" were not "dreamed up" for our

response to his criticism" (pp.270-271). Gerbner even spots evidence of mainstreaming in the reanalysis conducted by Hirsch. As recounted by the accused: "After examining the conceptual and empirical underpinnings of "mainstreaming" and "resonance", Hirsch (1981b) rejects them as "speculative, nonpredictive, unspecified, post hoc, and irrefutable" (p.271, year specification added). Gerbner examines each of these charges and answers them.

Evidently, the charge of being "speculative" does not mean intellectual speculation marked by questioning curiosity, as that would be the basis for the development of any theory. So Gerbner et al. (1981d) think what Hirsch intends by "speculative" something merely theoretical without the possibility of being demonstrable. To this Gerbner takes exception and quotes several of his studies as well as the studies of independent authors[27] to show that the concerned concepts are demonstrable and have already been demonstrated.

The charge of Hirsch (1981b) that mainstreaming and resonance are nonpredictive, is contested by Gerbner et al. (1981d). They argue that the two concepts are in the process of development; and empirical evidence is being gathered pretty fast. Hirsch (1981b) claims that his test shows that "*there simply are not consistent patterns in any direction among the critical subgroups to which 'mainstreaming' and 'resonance' are presented as most applicable*" (p.83, italics in original). This is equal to saying that these two concepts are nonpredictive "because the results of his faulty test of his quite different hypothesis says so" (Gerbner et al., 1981d, p.274). Further they feel that their research shows the presence of both mainstreaming and resonance, consistent with their earlier expectations. What they have to say on the subject is that:

> ... the ability of television viewing to override or reduce the influence of demographic factors, with heavy viewers of "otherwise" divergent perspectives sharing a "television" view, reflects "mainstreaming", or the cultivation of common conceptions of social reality. When real-life experience or other dispositions increase the

congruence between environmental and television messages, we should get "resonance" (p.274).

The same two concepts are qualified by Hirsch as "unspecified". Gerbner et al. (1981d) think that this would resemble the charge of nonpredictive. Further, Hirsch would want explicit statements regarding which subgroup would show mainstreaming and resonance, and also wants to know the specific fixed point where "mainstreaming" would occur. Gerbner et al. (1981d) feel that demographics and especially education can often (not always) illuminate "mainstreaming". They add: "Our reluctance - even, refusal - to propose groups which will always show "mainstreaming" and "resonance" in all issues stems from our sensitivity to the exigencies of each analysis" (p.275). They hope that future research in the same field may suggest some dynamic process of specifications. They also in the same vein accuse Hirsch of reducing their theory into a "mechanical concept", and add "mainstream" is *not a point*. "Mainstreaming" is a *process* of convergence, homogenization, and standardization, *in the direction of television's version of social reality*" (p.275, italics in original). The operational procedure to detect the presence of the two[28], is (according to them) "simply the empirical identification of those groups who tend to deviate from the "mainstream" view for a particular issue or topic" (p.276). Here we have a clear definition of the concept of mainstreaming and the method to detect its presence.

The charge of the two concepts being "post hoc" is also refuted by Gerbner et al. (1981d). While admitting the potential dangers of post hoc analysis, they argue that "all theoretical developments are "post hoc" in the sense that they develop from the perceived structure of regularities in phenomena" (276). They feel this should encourage continued elaboration and refinement; not rejection.

Gerbner et al. (1981d) are surprised that Hirsch has dismissed their previous (1981c) comments on the falsifiability of mainstreaming and resonance. The charge of 'irrefutable' meaning nonrefutable signify exactly that. They accept the need to specify instances that

would constitute falsification as their refinements to be scientific calls for the ability to be falsified. They feel that:

> The only way he *can* dismiss our explanation of the criteria by which these concepts could be falsified, however, is by twisting what we actually said. Of the six possible subgroup patterns *which we claimed were inconsistent with "mainstreaming" or "resonance"*, Hirsch asserts that *three* would be interpreted as evidence *supporting* them. It is bizarre to take examples presented by us as explicit instances of contrary findings, and claim that we would interpret them in the opposite manner (*ibidem*, p.276, italics in original).

This definitely is a counter-offensive on the part of Gerbner et al. (1981d). They end their "final comment" with the following words:

> Finally, we must reiterate that Hirsch is clearly wrong, and his mistake stems from his basic misconstruction of our work, when he claims that we would interpret "no relationship" as evidence that "mainstreaming" and "resonance" cancelled each other out. Once again, his rejoinder ignores contrary explanations and evidence presented in our previous comment.
>
> Whatever the original impetus for the critique might have been, we can only conclude that Hirsch's attack on cultivation theory and each of his reasons for rejecting the concepts of "mainstreaming" and "resonance" are unwarranted and incorrect (p.277).

In **conclusion**, it may be said that the charges put forward by Hirsch were serious both on the methodological and theoretical level. Gerbner et al. (1981c; 1981d) did not give in an inch on any issue, except that the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance were still in the process of developing. The stepped up attack of Hirsch bordering on personal affronts, produced almost equally sharp reactions from the Annenberg Team. In the process many of the discrete points in the cultivation theory, were treated and hopefully purified by fire. A rather detailed presentation of the objections of Hirsch as well as the responses of Gerbner, were provided in the previous chapter and in this section, as I consider Hirsch's objections were rather all-embracing. The critics of Gerbner have in smaller degree cohered with Hirsch on some issue or other, but the criticism of Hirsch has been

thorough. As in the case of Blank, more so in the debate between Hirsch and Gerbner, many points of concern in the methodology of Gerbner, were expressed and discussed before the public eye. Although all may not agree fully with neither Gerbner nor his critics, the debate has contributed to the publicity of the cultivation theory.

5. DEFENDING THE INDEFENSIBLE - REPLY TO ABC

Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) representing ABC put up a stiff defence[29] against the NIMH (1982) Report that was not favorable to the interests of the television industry. The scientific advisors of NIMH namely, Chaffee[30] Stephen H., Gerbner George, Hamburg[31] Beatrix A., Pierce[32] Chester M., Rubinstein[33] Eli A., Siegel[34] Alberta E. & Singer[35] Jerome L., came out with a rejoinder entitled "Defending the Indefensible". The NIMH Report, according to Wurtzel & Lometti (1984), was heavily influenced by the research and conclusions of Gerbner and in that sense they were objecting to Gerbner in an indirect way. A summary presentation of the rejoinder of the NIMH experts is given below.

Chaffee, Gerbner, Hamburg, Pierce, Rubinstein, Siegel & Singer (1984)[36]pits the defence of Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) as neither rigorous nor objective, but a shallow attempt to deceive the public, very similar to the "stubborn public position taken by the tobacco industry on the scientific evidence about smoking and health" (p.31). Further, they find it difficult to understand why the ABC ignores the fact that the effects of TV are not limited to violence and aggression. According to them it is strange that the networks do not accept the obvious conclusion of researchers that "television is an influential teacher of children and adults" (p.31). Chaffee et al. (1984) are skeptical about the networks who trumpet about the positive effects of some of their programs and reject "by some convenient logic" (*ibidem*) the negative effects on violence and aggression. They also find the ABC arguments to reject the conclusions of NIMH to be scientifically indefensible. Further, Chaffee et al. (1984) strongly feel:

> The renewed attempt to evade, undermine, and discredit the work of hundreds of scientists summarized in the NIMH volumes and to shape the course of public discussion by selective attention and misrepresentation, is unworthy of an industry that professes - and is licensed - to serve the public interest (p.31).

The authors of the rejoinder consider the defence put up by Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) to be "replete with carefully worded misinterpretations, omission of large bodies of relevant evidence, and sheer misstatements of facts" (*ibidem*). To the NIMH conclusion that there seems to be a causal relationship between TV violence and aggressive behavior, Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) responded that research does not support such a causal relationship. Chaffee et al. (1984) feel that they are wrong in equating aggressive behavior with violent behavior. They also add that the study of Belson (1978)[37] which was funded by CBS did find such a direct relationship. Further, Chaffee et al. (1984) consider that even the stimulation of harmful tendencies in millions of young people cannot be dismissed as of little consequence. The argument of Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) that correlation cannot tell anything about causation (according to Chaffee et al., 1984) is not true. They rather feel that correlation is always present in causation although it is not sufficient condition for causation. The 'convergence theory' developed by Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) to argue that scientists can be made to accept any belief if many different studies seem to converge, is found by Chaffee et al. (1984) to be interesting. They ask if the same theory is not at the back of the TV industry that spends 10 billion dollars annually for advertisements, though no clear research has been able to establish the precise relationship between advertising and buying behavior of consumers. Further, they assert that the issue is not whether TV is the cause of aggression but the fact that TV is an influential teacher of children and adults. Chaffee et al. (1984) accept that all complex behavior has many causes[38] one of which could be television. Thus they feel that "ABC has not refuted the NIMH conclusion of a causal relationship between television violence and aggression, and has

misstated both the convergence and weight of evidence bearing on the issue" (p.32).

To the second conclusion of NIMH (1982) that there exists a consensus among research scientists that TV violence leads to aggression, Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) responded that there is a serious debate on the issue and not a consensus. To support this view they quoted an unpublished study that suggested a lack of consensus on the issue. According to Chaffee et al. (1984) that study (by Bybee et al.) was misrepresented by ABC[39] as the sample polled was not of academic researchers only (as claimed by ABC), and many reputed social scientists were missing in the sample.

> Even more deceptive is ABC's interpretation of the results of that survey. The issue is not whether television is *the* cause of aggression. No responsible researcher makes that claim. All complex behavior has many causes. What the research results showed is that television is a significant contributor to such behavior. On that point, the Bybee study cited by ABC actually showed a clear consensus. About two-thirds of those polled agreed that television increased children's aggressive behavior. Had more scientists from other fields been included, that consensus would probably have been even higher. The authors of the Bybee study are themselves distressed at ABC's misrepresentation of their findings (Chaffee et al., 1984, pp.32-33, italics in original).

To reduce the value of several published studies that talk of a consensus, Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) argue that studies that find an effect are more likely to be published than studies with no findings. Chaffee et al. (1984) see this as an attempt to discredit the entire formal process of scientific publications. What are published according to them, are well designed studies, with clear hypotheses, careful statistical analyses, and leading to scientifically defensible conclusions; 'findings or no findings' are not the issue.

To the third conclusion of NIMH (1982) that despite slight variations, the amount of violence on TV in the past decade has been on the increase, ABC responds that in the same period there has been

a decrease in overall amount of violence. Chaffee et al. (1984) argue such claim is based on an in-house CBS Report and not reflected in independent studies. The assertion of ABC that the Gerbner content analyses have generated a great deal of controversy in the research community and by implication should not be taken seriously, is contested by Chaffee et al. (1984). They accuse ABC of concealing the actual debate giving only the objections without mentioning the defence put up by the Gerbner group of researchers. They further object to ABC's repetition of perennial network objections as if NIMH never cared to address them. Chaffee et al. (1984) also remind ABC that at least 3 chapters in volume 2 of NIMH Report are dedicated to the controversy; and after addressing them, the conclusion was that despite variations, violence on TV remained constantly at high levels.

The argument of ABC that the CBS study[40] and that of Gerbner differed because of radically different definitions of violence, is contested by Chaffee et al. (1984) who claim the two definitions are almost identical[41]. "Both definitions include the use of physical force in any context. The difference is not in definition, as ABC claims; it is in what CBS chose not to include in its report" (*ibidem*, p.34). Chaffee et al. (1984) also point out that with all the exclusion of the violence counts CBS managed to reduce the violence score only to 105 a week (in 1980-81) from 138 incidents. They feel it is still too much violence and hence the conclusion of NIMH that TV violence is remaining at consistently high levels, still stands. Also the claim of ABC that 1/3 of violence counts in Gerbner studies are from acts of nature, is not true according to Chaffee et al. (1984). Quoting tables they insist that when regular programs (apart from cartoons) were considered in prime time, nine out of ten acts of violence were seen to be perpetrated by human agents. Further, in these acts of violence (of hurting and killing) only one-fifth can be termed comic violence. Also the one-third violence that ABC speaks of were not from acts of nature but from cartoon violence. Added to that:

> An analysis of Cultural Indicators data for fifteen sample periods since 1969 shows a grand total of only

> thirteen fictional "acts of nature" hurting and killing. The viewer bombarded with violence every hour of prime time has to watch an average of three and a half weeks to encounter one act of "accidental" violence. The social pattern of such victimization (i.e., what types of characters tend to get hurt or killed "accidentally" may be far from inconsequential. The rarity of the occurrence makes the ABC claim groundless. The argument that an "expanded" definition "distorts" even one set of violence figures used in the NIMH report is both deceptive and trivial (p.34).

The ABC's effort to discredit the Violence Index[42] of Gerbner is also contested by Chaffee et al. (1984) who do not understand why published responses since 1972, on the issue, are ignored by ABC. Further, they add:

> An extensive review of tests in Volume 2 of the NIMH report found that the Violence Index "meets the critical statistical and empirical requirements of an index: unidimensionality and internal homogeneity".
>
> ABC's quibble with the sample employed in the Violence Index is similarly misdirected. Without citing any support, the ABC authors state that "use of one week's worth of programming to represent the total content of a fifty-two-week season is clearly inadequate". As explained many times, and reviewed in at least two technical chapters of the NIMH Report, but ignored by ABC, experiments with up to seven weeks of programming have not produced notable different results (pp.34-35).

ABC's assertion that research does not support NIMH's conclusion that television significantly cultivates viewer attitudes and perceptions of social reality, is also contested by Chaffee et al. (1984). The contention of ABC that although NIMH report accepted many findings of the Cultivation Analysis, the authors of the technical report reached different conclusions, is explained away by Chaffee et al. (1984). Now, the technical report chapter was by Hawkins & Pingree who said that evidence concerning causal relationship between TV and social reality is not sufficient for strong conclusions.

> The technical report chapter by Hawkins and Pingree supports the cultivation theory and confirms findings cited by NIMH. "Causal direction" is not an issue in cultivation theory which holds that the pervasive and

> repetitive patterns of television cultivate, rather than only create, attitudes and perceptions. After the passage cited by ABC, Hawkins and Pingree observe that "the relationship between viewing and social reality may be reciprocal" (Chaffee et al., 1984, p.35).

The repetition of the accusation by ABC that Gerbner collapses[43] non-viewers into the category of light viewers when they have clearly different attitudes to TV, is answered by Chaffee et al. (1984). They reiterate that non-viewers and extremely heavy viewers form only 10% of the population; hence excluding them would only make cultivation patterns even stronger for the rest of the population. Chaffee et al. (1984) conclude:

> A series of additional repetitions of criticisms already dealt with in the research literature and reviewed in the NIMH report further strains the credibility of the ABC "critique". Clearly its authors are aware of the scholarly exchanges that have taken place; they seem not to have missed a single negative comment, no matter how far-fetched. Yet they seem to be oblivious to the more numerous extensions and confirmations of findings by independent scholars in the United States and abroad.
>
> The ABC statement deceives the reader not familiar with the research literature. It is thus the ABC statement and not the NIMH report that distorts, in its general design as well as its details, the evidence on television and violence that it purports to place in perspective (p.35).

To conclude this section, it may be said that the network ABC put up a stiff defence of the industry against the possible public criticism arising from the unfavorable comments about it in the NIMH Report (1982). Chaffee et al. (1984) representing the NIMH, tore to shreds the defence put up by Wurtzel & Lometti (1984). Gerbner was one of the scientific advisors of NIMH and his cultivation theory and research was accepted by the NIMH almost integrally; and hence the position of NIMH was actually a vindication of Gerbner. It is to be asserted that Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) had nothing to add to the debate apart from reiterating some points raised earlier by Hirsch, Blank and others.

6. A REPLY TO NEWCOMB'S 'HUMANISTIC CRITIQUE'

Gerbner & Gross (1979) responded to the 'humanistic critique' of Newcomb[44] with an essay entitled "Editorial response: A reply to Newcomb's 'Humanistic critique'". They welcome the suggestions of Newcomb and add: "... we welcome the serious attention and critique of scholars like Newcomb and accept the charge of the need to be more precise, cautious, and clear" (p.229). But they seem to be having an answer to every objection of Newcomb.

Newcomb (1978) objects to Gerbner for emphasizing the similarities in television programs without taking into consideration the differences in style, format, nuances of plot, etc. Gerbner & Gross (1979) insist that they are interested in the "commonalties of exposure and association that cultivate public conceptions, rather than in the variety of individual differences" (p.223). Newcomb (1978) questions Gerbner's assertion of TV's realism saying that while Gerbner does not consider the world of television 'real', he presumes that the viewers do. Gerbner & Gross (1979) answer this charge saying that they do not hold that viewers necessarily believe the reality of the foreground plots, but they "absorb much of the authentic-looking background detail" (p.224). They add that many viewers gather background facts like the look of a court room, police station, or surgical operating room, etc. from TV, without actually being ever present in one of them. Some viewers even believe the foreground plots. They quote from Violence Profile no. 9 of Gerbner et al. (1978) evidences to state that "viewers do absorb "broad facts" from their experience of many hours in the world of television. Whether they believe any specific plot is irrelevant to our argument" (p.225).

Gerbner's definition of violence is tackled by Newcomb (1978) who suggests that for the understanding of the meaning of violence, one must determine the meaning of violence understood by the characters in the fictional world themselves, and then compare it with other definitions. Gerbner & Gross (1979) admit that all forms of violence are not alike but as they are dealing with violence as an

"industrial ingredient injected wholesale into formula plays" (p.226), subtle differences of meaning is irrelevant. They add: "Plots may add "meanings" to standard fates assigned to different social types, but do not change the calculus of risks implicit in those fates" (*ibidem*).

The assertion of Gerbner that TV provides a symbolic world ruled largely by violence, is objected to by Newcomb (1978). Gerbner & Gross (1979) admit that they could be charged for rhetorical excess, but they mean literally what they said. The term "ruled by violence" is not merely a question of numbers (frequent occurrences) nor does it mean that violence is more prominent than other actions (as Newcomb suggests) but the situation "tends to exemplify power relations in the symbolic social order" (*ibidem*). This assertion that TV violence is a symbolic demonstration of power[45], is considered by Newcomb (1978) to be highly debatable. Gerbner & Gross (1979) insist that their research adds continual evidence of their position.

Newcomb (1978) has some problem with the methodology used to assess the contribution of television to viewers' conceptions of social reality. The objection may be termed as follows: Gerbner defines what is presented on TV, then turns around and questions viewers to find out whether the patterns implicit in those presentations are actually confirmed by heavy viewers more than light viewers. As a result the validity and reliability of his definitions would determine the soundness of the test. Gerbner & Gross (1979) admit that they "spend much time and effort assuring (and measuring) the validity" (p.227) of their definitions. As a result they find that heavy viewers do tend to provide television answers even after demographic controls are applied. From this they conclude that heavy viewers assimilate at least some of the lessons taught by TV, and this learning seems to take place independently of other media exposures and real-life differences. Gerbner & Gross (1979) add: "Newcomb does not offer an alternative explanation to what people think and do" (*ibidem*). They further argue that their research has found conclusive evidence to show "heavy viewers overestimate their chances of involvement in

violence and their general vulnerability (compared to light viewers in the same social groups)" (*ibidem*), and this is independent of any particular definition of violence. Further, they consider Newcomb's question as to what violence really means to the respondents, irrelevant and distracting. They insist that their interest lies in finding out the contribution of violence-laden television to viewers' concepts of the realities of their own lives, and nothing more.

Newcomb's (1978) point that "any attempt to determine 'the way things are in the observable world' is equally, if not far more, problematic as determining meanings in fictional constructs" (p.274), according to Gerbner & Gross (1979) is puzzling. They argue that their attempts at determining the fictional meanings are:

> ... simple and unambiguous events reliably coded and commonly recognized. ...
>
> The real world conceptions we study are those our respondents reveal in their answers. The two sets of data can be related in fairly straightforward ways. The procedure may be painstaking, but not particularly problematic (*ibidem*, p.227).

Gerbner & Gross (1979) welcome Newcomb's comment that in his theory, Gerbner has adopted a ritual or cultivation theory, rejecting the simple "opinion change" theories. But Newcomb feels that Gerbner although has embraced a ritual theory, implicitly is the slave of a 'transportation theory' designed to study influence and control; and not just ritual. This is the reason (according to Newcomb) why Gerbner's methodology has the above mentioned problems and limitations. To this accusation, Gerbner & Gross (1979) respond that Newcomb in saying so, is ignoring the fact that ritual must be learned. Rituals and stable images are not hereditary, nor are they transported into us, but are learned. To quote: "We are born into and grow up in a symbolic environment of which television is now the mainstream that *cultivates* stable images after some of its own patterns" (p.228, italics in original).

Connected with the transportation theory, Newcomb (1978) discusses the social sources of television content, where he correctly elaborates Gerbner's view that the concerned social sources are deeply rooted in the very structure of the society. What TV does is chiefly to standardize, ritualize, streamline, and diffuse assembly-line symbol masss production "into the life-space of an otherwise heterogeneous public" (*ibidem*). According to Newcomb (1978) such technological distinctions merely increase the pervasiveness of the symbols. Gerbner & Gross (1979) think that it is more than that, just like the coming of the automobile affected every aspect of human life, and not merely increase the pervasiveness of movement. Newcomb (1978) adds that mass dissemination of symbols calls for the importance of establishing the meaning of symbols as fully as possible. To this, the reply of Gerbner & Gross (1979) is:

> We can only respond that we study the relationships between patterns of messages and images regularly presented on television and what viewers think and do, especially as these relate to issues of public policy. That is enough "meaning" for us and, we submit, for most practical research purposes (228).

Newcomb (1978) has also some suggestions to offer for studying the history of ideas and symbols. But Gerbner & Gross (1979) with the characteristic impatience of empirical scientists respond: "We hope the rest of us will not be required to await their conclusion before we are permitted to investigate the relationships between television, ideas, and action" (*ibidem*). Further, Gerbner & Gross (1979) find the concluding remarks of Newcomb (1978) puzzling. In fact Newcomb (1978) asserts that symbols can have both negative and positive meanings. As a result one could at the same time be afraid in city streets and detest the idea of a police state; one could fear and resist change and at the same time work for democratic equality. He entertains the idea that "the fear of hell and the joy of salvation can operate together, perhaps in creative tension" (p.281). To this, Gerbner & Gross ironically respond:

> One can believe anything one wishes about "some members" of the TV audience. One can listen to the voice of "common sense" to justify anything, however historically improbable (p.229).

Gerbner & Gross (1979) go on to argue that the cultivation of fear and insecurity could never contribute to the acceptance of the massive changes that would be necessary for the realization of democratic equality for all. Besides the fear of city streets could lead one to welcome police protection and even repression although the idea may be unwelcome in the abstract. Further they add:

> To obscure these overriding general relationships in the name of some particularistic observation of presumably greater sophistication or complexity violates not only the lessons of social science, but also the principles of humanism (p.229).

The defence also insists that Newcomb is incorrect when he dubs the research of Gerbner as a "reductive view of human experience". Nevertheless they welcome objections and suggestions from him as they continue their research in different directions.

In **conclusion** it may be said that the exchanges between Newcomb and Gerbner had been cordial and mutually appreciative. Newcomb would urge Gerbner to adopt the ritual model of communication more thoroughly and also include much more literary analysis than he actually has done so far. Gerbner on his part feels that he could be more precise, cautious, and clear in his exposition of his theories; but considers that he is sufficiently critical and humanistic in his methodology and theory. The scope of the next chapter is precisely to establish Gerbner as a critical analyst of the world of mass media; and one who is interested in the emancipation of the consumers of the media from the cultural domination by the same media. Hence we shall not go into that here.

7. THE VIEW FROM GREAT BRITAIN - REPLY TO WOBER

Wober (1978) tried to replicate the research of Gerbner in Great Britain and failed to confirm his findings[46]. Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1979)[47] responded to it with their comments entitled "On Wober's "Televised violence and paranoid perception: The view from Great Britain". The main points of this argument are mentioned below. To this response of Gerbner et al. (1979) Wober (1979a) published a brief rejoinder entitled "Televised violence and viewers' perception of reality: A reply to criticisms of some British research".

Gerbner et al. (1979) accuses Wober (1978) of not making sufficient effort to understand their theory, and calls his research murky. To quote them: "We are surprised by the murky reasoning and dubious comparability of his study" (p.123). Further they accuse Wober (1978) of rushing to print his claims without taking care to clarify his questions or seeking additional data from them, which they would have been all too pleased to provide. They also add: "As Wober seems to be less than adequately informed of many aspects of the research he claimed to have replicated, we shall limit this review to a few of the most obvious errors" (*ibidem*).

In defence, Gerbner et al. (1979) claim that their research concerns responses about social reality provided by heavy and light viewers of American network TV where about 8 out of 10 programs contain some violence. Wober's replication on the other hand is concerned with British TV programming where (according to Wober) only 15% of programs are American and only 10% of shows are violent. Evidently, if that is the case, British TV is 'nonviolent' and hence cannot be expected to have the cultivation effect. Added to that Gerbner et al. (1979) object to Wober's (1978) method of assessing the violence counts. He claims to have followed Gerbner's definition of violence, but depended on the description of each item in the program journals and also on the advice of experienced program administrators. Gerbner et al. (1979) assert that this method of Wober cannot be compared to theirs, where actual content analyses are

conducted and their definitions of violence counts are coded by pairs of trained coders (and not administrators). Thus, as Wober's study lack the necessary content analysis, his conclusions have very limited value. Gerbner et al. (1979) take pains to point out that Wober (1978) has not understood the theory of Gerbner as he wrongly thinks that Gerbner's hypothesis rests on the absolute level of violence viewed. According to them: "This is simply wrong; we have never said this nor done this type of analysis" (*ibidem*). Further, if only 15% of programs in Britain are of American origin, and the rest of 85% are nonviolent, there is no question of having any paranoid effect on viewers; this finding according to Gerbner et al. (1979) may support the cultivation theory instead of negating it.

Gerbner et al. (1979) insist that Wober's (1978) fundamental misunderstanding of their position is evident in his implications, when he attributes to them the contention that watching television makes people paranoid about violence. They maintain that although most of their published work are related to violence, it is only a small part of their overall approach. Many other aspects of viewer conceptions regarding social reality, such as images of occupations, political socialization, beliefs about aging, roles of women, children, minorities, images of doctors and medicine, etc. form part of their research design and not only violence.

Wober's (1978) cultivation analysis part also comes under fire. It may be better to quote Gerbner et al. (1979) here to get an idea of the counter questions:

> What is the *N* of the diary sample? The data used for Table 2 are of problematic origin. The national sample seems to have been divided; one group was asked an "unsafe" and a "trustworthy" question, the other a "safe" and an "untrustworthy" item. He reports that distributions were similar for the first subsample, but not the second, so only the first was used. Why? This would reduce the *N* from 1,113 to about 550. Yet the *N* in Table 2 *seems* to be only 257 (he tells us that df=256). He also never tells us how many heavy and light viewers there are or defines light viewing. Further, if our questions are reworded (to make them "comprehensible to British subjects"), they should be reported, verbatim. His question which focuses on robbery may tap an entirely different dimension from ours, which concerns violence in general (p.124, italics in original).

What Gerbner et al. (1979) grant to Wober (1978) is the fact that their own correlations are small but consistent and statistically significant across samples. The fact that other variables may reduce the strength of the correlations is (according to them) no denial of TV's independent contribution. They conclude rather sardonically:

> While we would not ask "journalists in Britain" -or anyone else- to accept our conclusions "uncritically", Wober's piece of wishful thinking is not a straightforward replication on either methodological or theoretical grounds; it neither supports his allegations of flaws in our work nor negates our findings (p.124).

Wober (1979a) in a rejoinder tried to answer some of the above objections. He laments the fact that his request for operational instructions resulted in procuring from the Annenberg Group only some belated articles and no technical report. Further, he argues that although his assessment of violence on British TV was not procured through trained coders, the same assessment was editorially accepted by other research scientists in Britain. He tends to think (with others) that ordinary people know what violence is. Wober (1979a) also feels that when Gerbner talks of TV functioning as the established religion of the industrial order, he is talking of strong effects that should be evident in some form even if the methodology of research is different. But that has not been the case. To the objection of Gerbner et al. (1979) that 'paranoid perception' is only one of the areas of their research that clearly has other aspects of social reality, Wober (1979a) answers that nevertheless 'paranoid perception' is one of the clearly claimed effects. He also points out that other surveys regarding the number of people who are nonsmokers in the population, did not reveal the presence of cultivation effect as both heavy and light viewers of TV (according to Gerbner's definition) hardly differed from each other.

> Heavy viewers (who are likely to see more holiday ads and travelogue programs) guessed there were 34 percent who holidayed abroad; light viewers guessed 28 percent (no effect with social class). This is the only possible "cultivation effect" we have so far found (Wober, 1979a, p.272).

Wober (1979a) also takes care to clear the doubts of Gerbner et al. (1979) regarding the numbers used in the sample and the criteria used for selecting light and heavy category. Wober (1979a) also hints that an "obvious underlying possibility unstudied in Gerbner's early work is that objective levels of violence may keep people indoors and raise their volume of TV viewing, as well as their estimates of violent and of law-enforcement phenomena" (p.272). He cites examples[48] to prove:

> Reality Shift and Perceived Personal Risk appear therefore to be empirically as well as conceptually distinct; for the latter, it is still not easy to confirm links with weight of viewing (p.273).

He also cites Doob & Macdonald (1979) who found that no relationship between media usage and fear of crime existed when the variable of neighborhood violence is controlled for. Piepe et al. (1978) is also quoted to support his view that no independent confirmation of Gerbner hypothesis has not yet been found.

To conclude this section, it may be said that Wober's (1978) replication of Gerbner's research in Britain seems to have produced no confirmation of the findings of Gerbner. The reason for that could be many; apart from the methodological and theoretical limitations pointed out by Gerbner et al. (1979). It may be that the British Television is basically nonviolent and for cultivation effect to take place, the presence of some certain amount of violence is required. It could also be that the presumption that Americans and the British share a common culture may not be true. Added to that there are indications that Wober (1978) did actually fail to faithfully follow the methodology of Gerbner. Neville (1980b) for one is convinced of this. He is inclined to think that Wober in his use of different survey questions might have been tapping an entirely different dimension

from that of the study of Gerbner[49]. From the Wober (1978) article Neville (1980b) notes that "while no viewing effect is exhibited, according to Wober's "security scale" lower class British subjects report feeling *more* secure than their upper-class counterparts" (p.116, italics in original). Gerbner found the opposite trend: the lower-class subjects being more likely to be suspicious and fearful than the upper classes. Neville (1980b) has the following observation to make, regarding this discrepancy.

> I think this discrepancy is revealing in several respects. First, if Wober is indeed measuring what he says he is measuring, one would expect that the responses of his sample would exhibit a social class distribution that is at least roughly similar to what Gerbner found. Secondly, there is an extensive body of stratification literature, especially in the social class and mental health area, which suggests that the social class distribution the Gerbner group report applies both over time and across cultures. And thus, from a stratification perspective, a finding that members of the British working class feel more or even as "secure" as the upper class is puzzling, and in the absence of more evidence is probably best greeted with skepticism (pp.116-117, quotation signs omitted).

Further, Wober himself in later years (e.g. Wober, 1990) seems to allow the possibility that with the reduction of the number of channels in Britain due to competition, weakened public service regulation, etc., the existing channels may be forced to reduce their diversity in programing, and thus pave the way for cultivation effects to take place. To quote Wober (1990): "Regulation by market forces will thereby create in Great Britain a television culture more like that in the United States in which less diverse viewing diets foster the conditions in which cultivation processes are reported" (p.222). This evidently is a very much toned down position compared to the rejection of cultivation theory in 1978.

8. OTHER STUDIES THAT SUPPORT GERBNER'S POSITION

If in Britain Wober (1978) found little support for cultivation and Doob & Macdonald (1979) in Canada could not replicate Gerbner's

findings; and elsewhere (see previous pages) very weak cultivation was noticed, there are several other studies that independently substantiated the cultivation theory.[50]

8.1 INTERNATIONAL CULTIVATION ANALYSIS

A brief mention of the subject has already been made towards the close of Chapter 3. Here a little more will be provided, to drive home the point that if a few researchers were not able to replicate the findings of Gerbner, there are others who were able to do that with varying degrees of success.

Pingree & Hawkins (1981) found traces of cultivation in Australia. The sample they selected consisted of 1085 Australian students from 2nd, 5th, 8th, and 11th grades. Their viewing diary data was collected and they were asked to respond to a questionnaire. The collected data was analyzed. They tried to isolate the relationship between Australian students' scores on "mean world" plus "violence in society" indices, and exposure to U.S. programs especially of crime and adventure. A significant correlation was found and it was noticed that those who watched more U.S. programs were more likely to see Australia as mean and dangerous. Instead, those who watched more Australian programs showed no significant conception of Australia as a mean and dangerous place to live in. This finding can be considered contrary to the general assumption that media effects will be greater in the absence of direct information.

Weimann (1984) studied the effect of U.S. programs in Israel and came to a different conclusion from that of Pingree & Hawkins (1981) in Australia. He also found strong traces of cultivation in Israel. His study of 461 high school and college students in Israel revealed that heavy viewers of U.S. programs had an idealized 'rosier' picture of life in the U.S. The image of wealth, material possessions, and luxury depicted by U.S. programs somehow caught on with young

Jews. Weimann (1984) thinks that such an image of the U.S. may be contributing to Israeli emigration to the U.S.

Although Wober (1978) found no trace of cultivation in Great Britain, Piepe, Charlton, & Morey (1990) were able to find clear indications of political mainstreaming in that country. The patterns found in Britain were very similar to the patterns reported from the U.S. in the studies of the CI team.

The research of Bouwman (1984) in Netherlands (see Chapter 4) showed only very weak and disappointing confirmation of the cultivation theory. But it may be salutary to note here that though weak, cultivation was present. In the case of Holland, the studies of Bouwman & Signorielli (1985) and Bouwman & Stappers (1984) neither confirmed nor weakened the cultivation hypothesis. Hedinsson & Windahl (1984) found some consistent associations between amount of viewing and attitudes. This study also cannot be called a replication of the findings of Gerbner; still some weak cultivation effect can be argued for. Hedinsson & Windahl (1984) hence argue for the inclusion of uses and gratifications measures in cultivation studies.

Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1993) mention several other cultivation analyses. These analyses include topics like conceptions of violence, sex-roles, political orientations, traditional values, social stereotypes, and others; and they have been conducted in several countries. The list includes Reimer & Rosengren (1990) in Sweden, Morgan & Shanahan (1991b) in Argentina, Tan, Tan & Tan (1987) in the Philippines, Tan, Li & Simpson (1987) in Taiwan and Mexico, Saito (1991) in Japan, and Tan & Suarchavarat (1988) in Thailand. All these studies tried to analyze the complex ways in which imported programming (especially from the U.S.) interact with local cultures and contexts. Kang & Morgan (1988) found some connection between exposure to U.S. programs and a liberal attitude towards family values and gender-roles as far as Korean women were concerned. In the case of male students, heavier viewing of U.S. programs seemed to be arousing protectiveness of Korean culture and

hostility to the cultural invasion of the U.S. Among the politicized male students of Korea, U.S. programs thus seemed to develop a "backlash" of nationalism. In all the above mentioned cases the presence of cultivation was noticed and thus the cultivation theory vindicated.

A picture of the possibility of cultivation theory being substantiated, was provided by the already mentioned study of Tan, Tan, & Tan (1987) in the Philippines. The researchers took a sample of 225 senior students from 3 high schools and administered questionnaires to them. They were also subjected to a version of the Rokeach Value Survey, along with the questionnaires. Now it should be kept in mind that about 60% of the TV programs in the Philippines comes from the United States. The results showed the presence of cultivation.

> In contrast to both Filipino tradition and dominant response patterns, heavy viewers of U.S. TV programs were more likely to rate "Pleasure" (allegedly frequently appearing on U.S. TV) as an important value, and to de-emphasize "Salvation" and "Wisdom". Amount of exposure to U.S. TV also predicted intention to visit the United States, other things held constant (Morgan, 1990, p.231).

While these international studies vindicate the cultivation theory, we should according to Morgan (1990) understand that "... hypodermic models of cultural imperialism are not overwhelmingly supported by international studies of cultivation. Just as U.S. research shows systematic variations in susceptibility to cultivation in different subgroups, so too are cultivation patterns highly varied both across and within different countries" (p.232).

Most of the above mentioned studies were concerned with single countries. Let us proceed to the cross-cultural cultivation analyses involving more than one country.

8.2 CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARATIVE CULTIVATION ANALYSES

Cross-cultural comparative cultivation analyses also have been attempted. Such type of research has to overcome many difficulties including that of language, culture, and other differences that exist in the countries concerned. The political and historical context of each country has to be taken into consideration in the formulation of the questionnaires. Thus for example, desirable questions pertaining to concepts of democracy could be included in Argentina, but it was unthinkable in China. Sex-role stereotypes among adolescents in the U.S., Argentina, South Korea, and the People's Republic of China were studied. Although the study was designed for different purposes in each country, Morgan (1990) could find the presence of cultivation regarding the sex-role stereotypes in each country and thus a comparison could be made.

The Argentine study dealt with political orientations and mainstreaming, while that of China was concerned primarily with attitudes toward different countries and the role of TV in every-day Chinese family life. The Korean study dealt with the influence of westernizing forces, while that of the U.S.A. concerned with new communication technologies in the home. Surveys were presented in four languages: English, Spanish, Korean, and Chinese.[51] The results showed the presence of cultivation in these countries.

> The results strongly attest to the value of studying cultivation (and mainstreaming) in other countries. In countries as different as Argentina, Korea, and China, adolescents who watch more television generally tend to believe that women are happiest at home raising children, that household chores should be done by women, and so on. The size and baselines vary greatly, but television viewing is also associated with an erosion of the impact of background factors on these attitudes (Morgan, 1990, p.244).

In the early 1990s several large-scale comparative cultivation analyses were attempted and some of them are still in progress. The most ambitious international cultivation study is underway. This began

as a U.S./Soviet collaborative study and has evolved to involve 25 countries for the purpose of comparing TV policies, content, and effects in all of them. All the three prongs of the CI strategy are included for analyses.

> During the week of December 5-11, 1987, all news, public affairs, and entertainment programs were recorded on all major national networks in Argentina, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, The People's Republic of China, Denmark, Finland, France, The Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, India, Israel, Italy, Jordan, Kenya, South Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, Nigeria, Pakistan, Singapore, Taiwan, Turkey, the Soviet Union, the United States, and Venezuela. As of late 1988, many of these countries were nearing completion or had completed the message system analyses, and plans were in progress for the design and implementation of the cultivation surveys in each country.
>
> The results of this unprecedented, massive effort will provide invaluable, global-level evidence about the relationships between institutional policies and structures, message systems, and audience conceptions in many different cultural contexts. This project will be, surely, a major advance in cultivation analysis (*ibidem*, p.244).

In **sum**, what can be concluded from all these studies is that in countries where TV portrayals are less repetitive and homogeneous than in the U.S., the results of cultivation analysis will be less predictable. If the programs are more diverse, cultivation will not occur very much. Factors like the number of channels, overall amount of broadcasting time, the amount of time spent viewing by the audience, etc. affect the extent of cultivation. Even a single channel with diverse programs will cause less cultivation than many channels competing for the same audience and transmitting homogeneous repetitive programs. The key questions to be asked to gauge cultivation are: 1. How important is TV in the culture concerned? 2. How consistent and coherent is the total system of its messages? To the degree of the consistency, coherence, and importance, of messages, varying degrees of cultivation can be expected.[52]

9. CONCLUSION

As conclusions have been already provided for each of the eight subheadings discussed in this chapter, another general conclusion is not necessary. Gerbner and his team took pains to answer every single criticism. One may note a certain stubbornness on his part in not giving in even an inch. But it has to be asserted that Gerbner did welcome criticism, and stringent criticism will have certainly forced him to increase the scientific rigor of his research. He staunchly defended himself against criticism levelled at his definition of violence, his violence index, his sampling techniques, etc. To those researchers who could not replicate his findings elsewhere in the world, he could point out the great number of international cultivation analyses done by independent researchers. The debate that Gerbner had with his critics did contribute to the cultivation theory being known by the academic world.

In this connection a remark that can be made is the following. The 'scientificity' of any theory needs five essential elements: relevance, coherence, validity, reliability, and public knowledge. The criticisms and replies, besides establishing the relevance, coherence, validity, and reliability of the cultivation theory and the research methodology of the Cultural Indicators, also served to make the work of Gerbner public to the scientific world. The great interest of Gerbner to pursue the debates must have risen from that. It goes to the credit of Gerbner and his Team that they were able to sustain the interest of the scientific community (in cultivation theory) for a long time through these debates. The persuasive skills of Gerbner as well as his debating skills are clearly evident in these exchanges. To assess his critical contributions to communication theory and research, such a lengthy presentation of the debate was deemed necessary. Now it is time to proceed to the next chapter where his critical contributions will be assessed and the tenability of the hypothesis, mentioned in the introduction, justified.

NOTES

[1] The concern with the normative standards of a society is typically the concern of a critical thinker. Gerbner's interest in this area should mark him as a critical analyst of society. This further throws light on the hypothesis of this work.

[2] Their objections are outlined in Chapter 4 (section 2.2) of this dissertation.

[3] Eleey, Michael F. and Tedesco, Nancy were two research assistants of Gerbner, at the Annenberg School of Communications.

[4] It may be interesting to note here that many critics of Gerbner, including Blank, Hirsch, Hughes, Coffin & Tuchman and others find it difficult to understand why Gerbner includes humorous violence in his violence counts. But Gerbner sticks to his opinion that much valid lesson can be imbibed in a humorous context. The popular belief to the contrary is considered by him to be unscientific.

[5] As already mentioned earlier, the leader of the Cultural Indicators Research Team being Gerbner, all the work of the team (for convenience sake) will be referred to as that of Gerbner, although many other scientists are involved.

[6] For details see Gerbner, Gross, Eleey, Jackson-Beeck, Jeffries-Fox, & Signorielli (1977a; 1977b).

[7] The objections of Blank (1977a; 1977b) are briefly presented in chapter 4 of this dissertation. As frequent reference will be made to remarks made by Blank, the reader is advised to read this section, together with the concerned section (2.1) in chapter 4 of this dissertation.

[8] In this dissertation, the Annenberg Group of Researchers, the Cultural Indicators Research Team, Gerbner, and Gerbner et al. are all different ways of referring to the same reality of composite authorship.

[9] For convenience sake, henceforth in this section, these authors will be mostly referred to as Gerbner et al., 1977a; Gerbner et al., 1977b.

[10] The formula for the Violence Index of Gerbner is given in the previous chapter. To facilitate reference it is repeated here:

$$100\,\frac{Pv}{P} + 2\,\frac{R}{P} + 2\,\frac{R}{H} + 100\,\frac{Nv + Nk}{N} = VI$$

where, Pv is the number of programs containing any violence; P is the number of programs; R is the number of violent episodes; H is the number of hours of programming; Nv the number of leading characters involved in violence; Nk the number of leading characters involved in killing or death; and N, the number of leading characters.

[11] For further detail, read Chapter 4, section 2.2.3 of this work.

[12] *ibidem.*

[13] The objections of Paul Hirsch in his four articles are outlined in section 2.3 of Chapter 4. As frequent references will be made to the objections of Hirsch, when presenting the defence of Gerbner, it is advisable that the two parts of the debate are read together.

[14] For details, see Chapter 4, section 2.3 of this work.

[15] Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1981c; 1981d) will be hitherto referred to in this section as Gerbner et al. (1981c; 1981d) or simply Gerbner (1981c; 1981d).

[16] The research of Jackson-Beeck (1977) on non-viewers; the research of Jackson-Beeck & Slobal (1980) on heavy viewers; as well as the findings of Tankard & Harris (1980) on the same subject, are quoted by Gerbner, to explain away the bizarre reactions of non-viewers and extreme viewers. The limits of this dissertation does not allow a fuller presentation of the same; and the reader is advised to refer to the above cited articles as well as Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1981c) pages 47 and 48.

[17] For the verification of it, see Table 1 on pages 49-50 of Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1981c).

[18] Hughes' (1980) reanalysis is identical to this position of Hirsch. Both Hughes and Hirsch reexamined some GSS/NORC data presented in the Violence Profile no. 9 (1978) of Gerbner et al. and concluded that at least in these data, when a number of

variables were held constant, the relationships between amount of viewing and some attitudes are wiped out.

[19] For an explanation of the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance, read the concerned section in chapter 3 of this dissertation.

[20] For details read Hirsch (1981a) "On not learning from one's mistakes: A reanalysis of Gerbner et al.'s findings on cultivation analysis, Part II". A short description of it is given in Chapter 4 (section 2.3.5).

[21] See the original article for details.

[22] The limitation of this dissertation does not permit the presentation of all the tables and figures (11 figures are given) referred to in this section. The interested reader is advised to refer to the original article (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli, 1981c, pages 65-67).

[23] See the earlier pages of this chapter.

[24] See the earlier pages of this chapter.

[25] These studies are reported in the 1972 Surgeon General's Report on television and human behavior.

[26] Thus we have here the central purpose of the cultivation research: to ascertain to what extent the lessons found in the Message System Analysis are cultivated in the viewer, by comparing the answers of the heavy and light viewers.

[27] The necessity to limit the volume of this dissertation prevents a full discussion on them. The interested reader is asked to read pages 271 to 272 of Gerbner et al. (1981d) as well as: Morgan & Gross (1980), Dominick & Greenberg (1972), Signorielli (1979), Gerbner et al. (1980b) etc.

[28] The 'two' referred to here are the concepts of mainstreaming and resonance.

[29] The defence of Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) is briefly presented in chapter 4 (section 2.5) of this dissertation.

[30] Steven H. Chaffee is director of the Institute for Communication Research at Stanford University.

[31] Beatrix A. Hamburg is professor of clinical psychiatry and pediatrics at the Mt. Sinai School of Medicine.

[32] Chester M. Pierce is professor of psychiatry at the Harvard Medical School.

[33] Eli A. Rubinstein is adjunct research professor in mass communications at the University of North Carolina.

[34] Alberta E. Siegel is professor of psychology at the Stanford University School of Medicine.

[35] Jerome L. Singer is professor of psychology at Yale University.

[36] Hitherto this citation will be referred to as Chaffee et al. (1984).

[37] The study of Belson (1978) although was funded by CBS, when the results were published independently it was dismissed by the industry as merely 'correlational'.

[38] TV may not be the only or even necessarily the main factor in aggression. No researcher has claimed that it is the only factor.

[39] Since Wurtzel & Lometti are spokesmen of the ABC network, their names are often in this dissertation exchanged for that of ABC.

[40] CBS study was made by Blank and treated in Chapter 4 (section 2.2).

[41] This point has been already discussed in section 1 of this chapter; and hence not repeated here.

[42] Wurtzel & Lometti (1984) simply repeat the objections to the index put forward by Blank, Hirsch and others (read previous pages of this dissertation).

[43] This objection was answered in the reply to Hirsch. See section 4 of this chapter.

[44] A summary presentation of the 'humanistic critique' of Newcomb can be found in Chapter 4 (section 3).

[45] The contention of Gerbner that violence reveals the power relationships in the social order comes from his critical interpretation of the social order. The concern of Gerbner to analyze and critique the existing social power relationship (that are judged to be in the nature of exploitation of the masses) reveals his critical thrust. The scope of this dissertation is precisely to bring out the critical contributions of Gerbner and hence such clarifications support our hypothesis.

[46] For a brief presentation of the concerned research of Wober (1978) see Chapter 4 (section 5.1).

47 This particular citation of Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1979) will henceforth be referred to in this section as Gerbner et al. (1979). When later references to the same citation are made all the authors may be mentioned to avoid confusing it with other citations.

48 Examples from Northern Ireland and Yorkshire are cited. The interested reader is asked to refer to pages 272-273 of Wober (1979a).

49 Gerbner et al. (1979) did accuse Wober of this limitation.

50 For lack of space and obvious need to contain the volume of this dissertation, only a brief mention of some of the studies that support the position of Gerbner will be presented here.

51 A description of the study is beyond the scope of this dissertation. The interested reader is asked to refer to Morgan (1990).

52 For details, read Gerbner, Gross, Morgan & Signorielli (1993).

CHAPTER 6

GEORGE GERBNER'S CRITICAL CONTRIBUTION TO MASS COMMUNICATION THEORY AND RESEARCH - AN APPRAISAL

From our presentation so far - Gerbner's cultivation theory, the Cultural Indicators Strategy that tested the theory, the avalanche of criticism directed against the research of Gerbner, and his defence of himself - we get a pretty clear idea about the views of Gerbner. An attentive reading of the material will reveal Gerbner's profoundly critical[1] thrust. In his research he made use of mixed methods (quantitative and qualitative). Though qualitative methods of research like projective techniques, participant observation, case studies, etc. form part of the CI strategy, Gerbner's studies have been predominantly quantitative (i.e. content analysis and survey analysis). Besides, we can notice a certain linearity in the way his work has progressed so far, though Gerbner himself (1990a) feels that research seldom goes in straight lines.

In the beginning Gerbner concentrated more on theoretical writings[2]. Then from the 1970s he tested his theories using the CI strategy. When the results of his research were published other research scientists reacted vehemently, resulting in a great debate between the Gerbner Group and these critics. This period roughly lasted till 1990 when he launched his Cultural Environment Movement (CEM) to realize the goals of transforming society to achieve emancipation from the cultural domination of the media. Thus (as mentioned in the introduction) roughly three phases can be noticed in Gerbner's career. These periods do not exclude each other as some theoretical writings are seen even after 1970; and some research found the light of day even before 1970.

The critical thrust of Gerbner is evident throughout his academic career. The scope of this chapter is to highlight the critical

leanings of Gerbner and assess the tenability of the hypothesis of this dissertation. Though mentioned in the introduction, it is repeated here to facilitate reference: *The basic concern of Gerbner in the formulation of the cultivation theory, in the empirical research that tested the theory, as well as in his defence against his critics, is much more the emancipation and liberation of the society and the individual within the society from the cultural domination of the media, particularly television, so that organized diversity which (according to him) is the structure of freedom is respected, than developing a particular methodology for communication research.* This hypothesis can be elaborated to include the three main conclusions mentioned in the introduction. For handy reference they are repeated here.

1. The general perspective and basic concern of Gerbner is the emancipation of society and of each individual from the possible cultural domination of the media particularly television. In his view emancipation is possible if a real diversity and pluralism of cultural sources and personal perspectives is always respected and guaranteed. Such a diversity according to him, forms one of the basic conditions of the structure of freedom in every society. He wrote already in 1956 that the structure of freedom is organized diversity whether it is pleasing to one or not.

2. Gerbner was more interested in building up a coherent and effective critical theory of the impact of the media, especially television, on the cultural development of individuals and society, and on the conditions that are able to promote a positive social change in the said field, than in developing a particular research methodology for communication. Nevertheless, to test his theory he made extensive use of complementary methods, both quantitative and qualitative (more quantitative than qualitative) and developed the original strategy of the Cultural Indicators.

3. Consequently, Gerbner can be viewed as a critical analyst of the world of communication and more so, as a citizen involved in

social emancipation movements, sensible to the necessity of developing not only a theory, but also good methods in media education from a liberation perspective. The application of the Cultural Indicators Strategy to media literacy courses could also be considered a major contribution to the field of education.

The scope of this chapter is to establish the tenability of the above conclusions in the light of our study of the cultivation theory, its origin, growth, controversy, and educational implications. As the critical contribution of Gerbner is evaluated here, I will try to clarify first how I am using the adjective "critical" in this context. Then after an initial glance at the critical trends in Gerbner, we will proceed to an analysis of the critical trends in Gerbner during the three phases of his academic career. In the first phase, his concepts of communication, culture, message, aims of communication research, etc. will be reviewed to reveal the critical trends present in his theoretical formulations. As already said, theoretical presentations that appear even after 1970 will be made use of, to clarify his concepts. Then in the second phase the underlying concepts on which the IPA, MSA, and CA are based will be reviewed from a critical perspective. The purpose is to demonstrate that even his empirical research is based on profound critical thinking. Then in the third phase, where he launched his CEM, an effort will be made to focus on the fact that the launching of this social and political movement arises from his critical need to transform society so that the emancipation of the individual and society from the cultural domination of the media can be achieved; and the common man will be able to participate in cultural decision-making.

One of the goals of the CEM is to provide media literacy and media education. This draws us to the educational implications of Gerbner's theory. An effort will be made to show that his view of education also is drawn from a critical paradigm of education. This discussion will lead us to a possible course in media education that can form part of a general education. From the above analysis, the

critical contribution of Gerbner to communication theory and research are deemed to be evidenced. The tenability of the hypothesis is ascertained in the positive; and the general conclusions that elaborate the hypothesis are verified to be true. Now let us proceed to the clarification of the term 'critical'.

1. THE MEANING OF 'CRITICAL'

The term 'critical' has several shades of meaning. Here we are concerned with the meaning of the term in the social-cultural and communication context. Even limiting oneself to the field of communications, different authors understand the term differently. The summer issue of the Journal of Communication (1983) gives an idea of the different shades of meaning attached to the term 'critical' in communication circles. Michael Morgan (forthcoming)[3] talking about the term critical and its different shades of meaning has this to say:

> In recent years, the problem has grown even more complex; the range and diversity of scholarly enterprises that have adopted the term (from law to ethnography to cultural studies, all with different shades of meanings and implications) is such that the label, now almost de regeur, risks losing its meaning altogether (pp. 1-2).

Although the term "critical" has a range of meanings, we can note some basic attributes that would qualify a certain author as a critical author. While it is not possible, that all agree on the definition of what the term precisely means, from the varied points of view I hope to arrive at a basic definition that would clarify how I am using the term in this chapter[4].

Critical research originated with the Frankfurt School, but has now broader applications even without a Marxist twist. Horkheimer, Lowenthal and Adorno (who were Marxists) were disillusioned with traditional Marxism, when they found that the proletarian revolution as it happened in Russia made room for structures of government that were very similar to the capitalist system. Moreover, the lot of the

worker even in capitalist systems improved not because of any proletarian revolution as originally predicted by Marx. Hence the protagonists of the Frankfurt School talked about a basic critique of society based on a political and economic parameter. This idea of the critique of the existing system and emancipation of the society from the oppressive systems came to be used liberally even outside Marxian circles. Authors like Slack J. D. & Allor M. (1983) feel that much of the error in defining critical communication research has resulted from locating the Frankfurt School as the source of all critical research.

> Recent attempts to define just exactly what it means to do critical research ... oversimplify the differences between critical research approaches and other research. The oversimplifications have led to the characterization of the differences in terms of a series of simple dichotomies: empirical versus critical; administrative versus critical; repressive science versus emancipation science. These dichotomies are insensitive to the diverse range of critical approaches, while at the same time mystifying the complex political and epistemological commitments that underlie and link that diversity. The most serious errors in these attempts to define critical communication research ... result from locating the Frankfurt School as the source of all critical research and relying on Paul F. Lazarsfeld's characterization of that research (pp. 208-209).

It should be noted that Adorno and Horkheimer worked with Paul Lazarsfeld at Columbia University; and Lazarsfeld was trying to arrive at a convergence of European theory and American empiricism. The attempt was a failure, but he insisted on the possibility. "Lazarsfeld in attempting to explicate the critical theory of Frankfurt School, contrasted it with 'administrative research'"(*ibidem,* p.210). Slack & Allor (1983) feel that many have taken the lead of Lazarsfeld and continued to talk of critical research as opposed to empirical, administrative, or repressive science. These dichotomies are over-simplifications according to them. All the same many have tried to understand critical research by contrasting it with something else.

Smythe & Dinh (1983) make a distinction between critical and administrative research in communications. According to them the various types of communication research can be classified critical or administrative on the basis of the following characteristics: "(a) the type of problem selected, (b) the research methods employed, and (c) the ideological perspectives as identified by the researcher's treatment of the results of the analysis as well as the choice of problems and tools" (p.118). The research conducted for the purpose of making an organization's actions more efficient would be administrative. Such research is funded by the establishment. On the other hand a critical research problem would be connected with reshaping or inventing institutions "to meet the collective needs of the relevant social community ..." (*ibidem*). Administrative research can be called quantitative psychological learning theory research, survey research or quantitative administrative research. Such research for the established order is known also as institutional administrative research. Here there can be two types, as given by Smythe & Dinh (1983):

> In the first are research studies that are more or less unabashedly apologetic for the established social order and seek its continuation with minor or no significant change ... And in the second are research studies that are ostensibly independent and critical but in execution appear as methodologically ahistorical and nondialectically materialist. What distinguishes the first from the second type is the formulation of the problem, the methodology of the research, and the nature of the interpretation of the results. In effect, the first is flat-out supportive of the status quo; the second is to some degree reformist, but not radically so (p.120).

Rogers (1982) developed the following scheme to distinguish empirical and critical research. For him empirical research is related to the concept of quantitative empiricism, functionalism, positivism and emphasis on effects; while critical research is connected with a philosophical emphasis, Marxism, focus on the broader social-structural context of communication and emphasizing the issue of who controls the mass communication system. While this has been a useful scheme

for distinguishing critical research from empirical research, some authors like Slack & Allor (1983) feel that the categories of distinctions are often overlapping. They hold that there are critical approaches that are not explicitly philosophical (much less Marxist) and there are quantitative empirical positions that do not explicitly emphasize effects. Further "... there are approaches to communication that belie categorization according to the above schema" (*ibidem*, p.212). Specifically the cultivation approach of Gerbner seems to fall in both the categories. Hence Slack & Allor (1983) feel that "what distinguishes critical approaches from other communication research is their re-definition of the question of causality and their concern with the ways in which "the control of knowledge ... is fundamental to the exercise of social power" (p.208). They further insist that critical communication research is not a single entity but a range of several alternative approaches to the study of communication that are still in the process of development.

> The process of communication is thus defined as the structuring of media institutions and messages in political economic terms ...
>
> The communication process, then, is no longer defined in terms of the effects of messages on individuals but on the effectivity (or social role) of communication (as both institutional structures and symbolic constructions) in maintaining, enhancing, or disrupting the social formation (the existing interrelationships of politics, economics, and culture) (*ibidem*, p.214).

Thus a critical approach is basically concerned not with the effects of messages on individuals but more on the social role of communication in maintaining, enhancing or rupturing the existing web of interrelationships that exist between politics, economics and culture. The question of political power and who controls what becomes paramount. Slack & Allor (1983) conclude:

> The distinction is not simply a question of theory versus methods, qualitative versus quantitative methods, or a concern with social context versus methodological individualism, as other analyses have suggested.

> Critical communication research has been depicted as a means to enrich an understanding of communication process ... It has the power to do that. That power resides precisely in its orientation toward the questions of power and epistemology. As a result of this orientation, critical research represents an opportunity for the field of communication research as well as a challenge to it. The opportunity for the field resides in the ways that critical research *redefines* old research questions and opens up new areas of inquiry. The challenge to the field resides in its confronting the role of power and epistemology in communication institutions and processes as well as in our own research (p.217, emphasis in original).

Schiller, H. I. (1983) talks about three points by which critical research can be distinguished from other research. These points have much in common with the view of Rogers (1982) and Slack & Allor (1983) seen earlier. To be precise about the view of Schiller (1983) regarding the distinctions, I quote him:

> First, instead of focusing on individual *consumption* (and impact) of media products, critical researchers address the *production* of informational outputs. Second, this research makes an effort to understand the sources and exercise of power, especially as they relate to communication processes and information flow. This concern is in contrast to a mainstream belief in pluralistic decision making, resting on the answers of fractionated and dispersed power in the polity. Third, this research demonstrates an awareness of continuous change in social processes and institutions, or, put differently, a strong sense of history (p.253, emphases in original).

Mosco, V. (1983) adds the dimension of human emancipation as something that characterizes critical communication research. This calls for an unflinching commitment to the value of human emancipation from the domination and control of the social, political and economic system. Thus he would see critical communication research as connecting communications to a much wider social order.

> ... critical communication research connects communications to the wider social order. Specifically, it situates communications within a class system marked by domination, contradiction, and social struggle. Finally, a critical view points the way to social transformation. Indeed, it is this characteristic, an unflinching commitment to the value of human emancipation, and not support of or opposition to empirical evidence, that distinguishes clearly a critical from a positivistic view (Mosco, 1983, p.248).

From the discussion so far, we can draw out the following attributes as the basic characteristics that determine a critical view of communications. The term 'critical' would involve: *1. A preoccupation not with effects of messages on individuals, but on the social role of communication in maintaining, enhancing or rupturing the existing state of affairs in media structure and society. 2. There is concern to understand the sources of power and how it is exercised in the structure of media organization and how it is connected to political power. 3. There is an unflinching commitment to the value of human emancipation from the undemocratic control of the media; and a desire to continually transform and change the structure of media organization and political control to achieve this emancipation.*

As opined by several authors some of whom have been quoted here, I also hold that a critical stance cannot be individuated through the use of methodology; and dichotomies do not clarify the issue. As Halloran, J. D. (1983) says: "Our acceptance of empirical methods, then, does not imply indifference to values and social concerns, any more than does our willingness to adopt complementary perspectives" (p.274). Further he points out: "Without attempting to establish false dichotomies, I argue that social concerns should take precedence over methods" (*ibidem*). In the final analysis what will enrich communication research is a certain plurality of methods without holding on to only quantitative or only qualitative methodology. To quote Stevenson, R. L. (1983):

> What we need at this point is a willingness to profit from criticism directed at both the critical and empirical schools of research. We can recognize that data without adequate theory are intellectually sterile, but we also must acknowledge that theory, unless subjected to rigorous and wide-ranging empirical test, is merely polemic (p.269).

Gerbner's views on the same subject are very similar. He argues that communication is emerging as an independent and critical discipline using the full range of methodologies. He (1983a) also laments: "But the tendency of some scholars to associate empirical research only with administrative uses or evasive tactics blunts that critical thrust. It is a way of falling victim to history while attempting to explain it" (p.361). In the same vein he rejects the false dichotomy of opposing science to art or humanistic scholarship. For him, in the discipline of communications, "science is the human attempt to penetrate the realities of existence, and art is the effort to express them. Science thus works to make statements true while art struggles to make them compelling and believable. The two complement than contradict each other" (*ibidem*). Also, he does not believe in the quantitative-qualitative dichotomy as evidenced in the quotation below.

> Equally misleading is the qualitative-quantitative dichotomy. Qualitative distinctions and judgments (as in labeling or classifying) are prerequisites to quantitative measurements; the two are inseparable. To say that one can only support the status quo, is sophistry. The careful observation of existing conditions is necessary to support any judgment of or strategy for change, and judgment is not hurt by some attempt at precision.
>
> Qualitative change cannot be understood, let alone achieved, without noting the accumulation of quantities. Add heat (quantity) to water and it changes to steam (quality). To consider quantification only mindless counting or number crunching is both a philosophical and a strategic fallacy (*ibidem*).

Hence Gerbner believed in using any methodology suitable to the problem to be solved. In his own words: "The proof of the methodological pudding is in the testing. Researchers should not be inhibited from selecting or developing and using any methodology suitable to a problem at hand" (*ibidem*, p.359). Further he believes that only publicly accessible and replicable demonstration can make critical theories credible to the unconvinced. Evidently he sees himself as a critical researcher as hinted in the following quotation.

> The critical task of a discipline is to address the terms of discourse and the structure of knowledge and power in its domain and thus to make its contribution to human and social development. Those who search and struggle toward that end are critical scholars in the best and basic sense of the word. They should be able to search and struggle uninhibited by myths and mystiques that deprive them of opportunities or means at their disposal (*ibidem*, p.362).

2. THE CRITICAL TRENDS IN GERBNER - AN INITIAL GLANCE

In the works of Gerbner, the line of critical thinking was always present. In his theoretical position he was influenced by Adorno, Horkheimer and Lowenthal of Frankfurt School, and also his earlier studies of folklore at the University of Budapest. Already in 1956 he wrote that the structure of freedom is organized diversity whether it is pleasing to one or not (Gerbner, 1956). The theory and research of Gerbner is directed to maintaining this diversity which unfortunately is being eroded by the industrialization of media and its ownership concentrated in the hands of a few conglomerates who are interested only in their balance sheets. Gerbner (1991b) argued: "We must reclaim the rights gained through centuries of struggle and conferred by law, the constitution, and the basic principles of liberal education and self-government in a democracy. We must mobilize Americans to act as citizens as effectively as commercials mobilize us to act as consumers". For this purpose he has launched the Cultural Environment Movement (CEM), which is still in the initial stages of its growth. The critical stance of Gerbner is evident here.

His great concern for freedom and diversity has its origin in the critical theory of the Frankfurt School. He has worked with Adorno and Lowenthal, and knew Horkheimer. The critical theory wants to be a total and dialectical understanding of the human society in its complexity, with the intention of promoting a rational transformation which keeps man, his freedom and creativity, as its center, for his harmonious development in open collaboration with the others rather than promoting an oppressive system or its

perpetuation. Through his 'negative dialectics' Adorno intended to affirm the individual and his freedom, against all universal philosophical systems or theories, that have no place for the individual but only imprison him. The real is not rational and the individual cannot be objectified. Adorno & Horkheimer (1949) in "Dialectics of Illuminism" criticize the modern capitalist and communist societies; they intend not only the pretence of rationalizing the world, making it maneuverable and subject to man (as understood by the Illuminists), but in the general sense, also liberate man from all his fears and make him the master[5]. Regarding the possible influences that Gerbner had, Morgan has the following to say:

> ... Gerbner's early theories grew from his studies of folklore and literature at the University of Budapest and his studies of psychology and journalism at the University of California. Coupled with influences and arguments drawn from the works of Adorno, Fearing, Lazarsfeld, Lowenthal, and the others, this provided a unique mix and produced novel and provocative syntheses of these perspectives, culminating in an ambitious and multidimensional model of communication[6] (pp. 10-11, note sign added).

3. THE CRITICAL TRENDS IN THE FIRST PHASE

In the 1950s and the 1960s when Gerbner developed his theory and models of communication, he tried to define what he understood by communication, culture, message, the aims of communication research etc. The cultivation theory grew out of this. The way he understood these terms show his critical outlook and hence in the following pages some of them are presented from his point of view[7].

3.1 HIS CONCEPT OF COMMUNICATION

Gerbner (1974c) holds that "communication is interaction through messages" (p.57). The message stood for the 'what' in the Laswellian formula. But Gerbner understood that this message was coded and its meaning depended not only on the objective reality

but also on subjective interpretation. The meaning is given by the social context. Gerbner (1958b) talks of communication as a specialized, formally coded or representative social event which makes possible inferences about states, relationships, and processes not directly observed.

> These inferences can be of two kinds. The first kind is the conventional associations we make when we view the communication as a generalized form or code. This is the conventional, formal meaning, such as we might find in a dictionary.
>
> Underlying the "formal message" with its denotative and connotative associations and differential response capabilities, we see in content the basis for inference about specific functional relations between the communicating agent or agency and other events or systems, and about actual or potential consequences (*ibidem*, pp. 41-42).

Gerbner was always concerned about the inferences about specific functional relations between communicating agents and other events as well as the actual or potential consequences. These inferences are not so explicit and hence the researcher has to critically look at the message systems to isolate these patterns of relationships present in the totality of all messages. That is the reason why already in the late fifties Gerbner (1958b) talks about critical research as "more interested in understanding normative aspects of the communication exchange than in appraising effectiveness on behalf of taken-for-granted objectives" (p.47).

Elsewhere Gerbner (1963e) talks of a communication approach to human problems. "If there is a 'communication approach' or theory or discipline, it can be distinguished from others in that *it makes the nature and role of messages in life and society its central organizing concern*" (p. 29, emphases in original). He feels that such a communication approach is needed because the communication revolution (which is nothing but an extension of the industrial revolution in as much as the messages are mass-produced), has transformed man's relation to culture. "This transformation has

brought about the need to re-examine basic assumptions about the nature and role of messages in life and society, to inquire into the humanizing potentials of communication and of communication systems. That need is, in my view, the basic reason and historical rationale for the emergence of a "communication approach" to human problems" (*ibidem*, p.29).

The proposed communication approach to human problems is analytical and critical. The purpose is to arrive at the humanizing potentials of messages in communication and of communications in culture. Improvement of skills and tactics are just by-products; what is basically expected is an improvement of standards where organized diversity is respected. Talking about this communication approach, Gerbner (1963e) has the following to say:

> This approach is primarily analytical and critical. It does not necessarily take the objectives of communications or existing institutional goals as its point of departure or standard of value. Rather, it attempts to raise questions about all these components as parts of total communication situations to be assessed in order to arrive at a fuller understanding of the humanizing potentials of messages in communication, and of communications in culture. A by-product of this effort might be the improvement of skills, appreciations, and tactics. But the end result should be an improvement of standards (p. 29).

Gerbner (1963e) argues that communication played a significant role in human transformation. *Homo Sapiens* in the Ice Ages was hard-pressed (for survival) to develop resources of collaboration, community and communication and emerged from the Ice Age as an accomplished artist, scientist and organizer (see p.30). With the development of tool making talents *Homo Sapiens* also developed symboling ability. "This symboling ability is the capacity to produce messages: to record, represent, to encode, and re-create aspects of the human condition; to encode, share and decode significance: and thus, to extend the scope of consciousness beyond the reach of the senses, and to create a vision of human potentialities and requirements beyond that of any living species" (*ibidem*). From this

(his) view of communication approach to human problems Gerbner (1963e) draws out the humanizing functions of communication: *art function* - to make truths believable; *science function* - to make beliefs truer, and *organizing function* - to make knowledge freer. In the third function comes the critical concern of Gerbner to have organized diversity in the cultural environment so that knowledge would truly become free for everyone.

The same basic concepts about communication run through the various writings of Gerbner. Some of the different ways in which he has expressed his ideas about communication are given below in his own words. (Refer also the end notes[8]).

> I have defined communication as interaction through messages bearing man's notions of existence, priorities, values and relations. Codes of symbolic significance conveyed through modes of expression form the currency of social relations. Institutions package, media compose and technologies distribute message systems to heterogeneous mass publics (Gerbner, 1972b, p. 156; 1973, p.558).

> In its broadest "humanizing" sense, communication, then, is a source and extension of imagination in forms that can be learned and shared. It is the production, perception, and grasp of messages bearing human notions of what is, what is important, what is right, and what is related to what (Gerbner, 1988b, p. 6-7, emphasis in original).

In the above definitions, (and those given in the end notes) the basic elements are: 1) communication is a humanizing process; 2) it is social interaction through messages; 3) it is mass-produced and distributed; 4) these messages bear man's notions of what is, what is important, what is right and what is related to what; and 5) these messages bring into existence and cultivate a new form of common consciousness. The critical concern of Gerbner is to see whether the common consciousness thus created and cultivated by these messages are true to life, whether in the totality of messages the organized diversity is respected. In his research he found abundant evidence of a lack of this diversity and hence went to the extent of launching a

political and social movement to set things right. If this is not a critical outlook, what then is?

3.2 THE CONCEPT OF CULTURE, MESSAGE, SYMBOLIC FUNCTIONS

The approach to mass communication in the 1950s and 1960s was normally from a persuasion and propaganda research perspective. Gerbner tried hard to shift the emphasis and escape the scientism and positivism of that type of research. He tried to draw attention to the interplay of the systems of messages together with the institutional interests backing such systems of messages. He approached communication research as a form of basic cultural inquiry. This by definition was a critical turn and he claimed it to be so. Thus the concepts of culture and systems of messages that constitute culture become important in Gerbner's theory and research. The concepts of culture, messages, symbolic functions etc. are very much connected and interrelated; and I propose to explain them separately only from a logical point of view. Gerbner has defined culture in different ways.

> Indeed, culture itself can be regarded broadly as a system in which messages cultivate and regulate the relations between people. In one form or another such process appear in all types of life and in all social systems, but it is in human culture and in the conduct of human life and society that communication plays its most complex and distinctive part (Gerbner, 1972b, p.154; 1974c, p.57).

> The most distinctive characteristics of large groups of people are acquired through living in one culture rather than another. Individuals make their own selection of materials for cultivating personal images, tastes, views and preferences, and they seek to influence the materials available to their children. They cannot, however, cultivate what is not available, and they will seldom select what is scarcely available or not much emphasized. A culture cultivates not only patterns of conformity but also patterns of alienation and rebellion. The culture's affirmation pose the issues most likely to be the targets of symbolic provocation or protest (*ibidem*, p.159).

> Technological developments in communications hold out the possibility of greatly enhancing culture-power on behalf of existing social patterns - or of their transformation. A modern Socrates might say "know thy communications to know thyself". He would probably add that under conditions of symbolic mass production, the unexamined culture may not be fit to live in (Gerbner, 1973, p.572).

In the above quoted writings of Gerbner, (and those given in the end notes[9]), his basic notions about culture become evident. The following ideas are always present when he talks about culture: 1) culture is that system of messages that makes human society possible in that it organizes knowledge into patterns that cultivate a social order; 2) these messages cultivate and regulate the relations between people; 3) such processes are present in all types of life but in human culture and in the conduct of human life (society) communication plays its distinctive part; 4) the distinctive characteristics of large groups of people are acquired in living in one culture than another; 5) from what is available and emphasized in the message systems, individuals select materials for cultivating personal images, tastes, views and preferences; they also seek to influence materials available to their children; 6) not only patterns of conformity are cultivated by culture but also patterns of alienation and rebellion; 7) technological developments enhance culture-power on behalf of existing social patterns; 8) in short, culture is the symbolic organization that socializes us and cultivates our fantasies about a world we do not experience directly. It is a system of stories and artifacts that are mass-produced and it mediates between existence and our consciousness of existence, and thus helps to shape both. Thus Gerbner sees culture as a socializing agent that makes social life possible; but such an important factor that cultivates our fantasies unfortunately has become a tool in the hands of the existing social patterns. The technological developments in communications have only helped to concentrate culture-power in the hands of existing social and political authorities. This domination of the cultural environment by the rich and the powerful is the concern of Gerbner and reveals his profound critical thrust.

As noted already, for Gerbner culture is the system of messages that socializes us and communication is interaction through messages. Consequently, the concept of message is very important in the theory of Gerbner. Like his contemporaries, Gerbner focused heavily on messages; but he always viewed them as having some special characteristics and functions. For him any message is a socially and historically determined expression of concrete physical and social relationships. Messages always contain propositions, assumptions and points of view which can be understood only in terms of the social contexts and relations in which they are produced and distributed. They are not only expressions of these relationships and contexts but also contribute to the sustenance and meaningfulness of the very structures that produce them. Before going further it may be useful to recall Gerbner's own words regarding the definition of messages.

> By messages I mean formally coded symbolic or representational patterns of some shared significance in a culture (Gerbner, 1972b, p.153-54; 1974c, p.57).

As seen already, communication (for Gerbner) is interaction through messages and it is a distinctly human (and humanizing) process that both creates and is driven by the symbolic environment. This symbolic environment expresses social patterns and consequently if examined critically, it will reveal the social and institutional dynamics. It not only expresses the social patterns but also cultivates them. Gerbner's original idea of cultivation is drawn from this; and Morgan rightly thinks that the concept of cultivation meant the following.

> This, then, is what I think Gerbner originally meant by "cultivation" - the process within which interaction through messages shapes and sustains the terms on which the messages are premised (p.7, emphasis in original).

As the social patterns are expressed by culture and understood by the individuals through messages, the production of messages becomes important and those who produce messages acquire cultural and political power. This power consists in the right to create the messages that will cultivate collective consciousness. Gerbner's critical

concern is that this cultural and political power is exercised for the benefit of the conglomerates who control the media systems; and they have purely commercial interests in them. This concern of his is evident in several of his writings, some of which are given below. (A few more are given in the end notes[10]). Gerbner (1959a) laments the fact that the ballads of our age are created by industrial mass communication. He further adds:

> It falls to them to safeguard the freedom to reflect on the requirements and dreams of a real world of human needs. But there are neither constitutional guarantees nor alternative forms of support to protect the mass media in carrying out these responsibilities and in safeguarding these freedoms (p.267).

> ... we also find at times necessities of survival do not have instantaneous box-office appeal. Virtue might not always be on the side of the best customers. Freedom does not necessarily inhabit the market-place (*ibidem*, p.268).

> Selectivity and control, which are inherent in any communication, dominate the mass-communication process. The right to acculturate a nation and to shape the public agenda has never been open to all; it is one of the most carefully guarded powers in any society. The real question is not whether the organs of mass communication are free but rather: By whom, how, for what purposes and with what consequences are the inevitable controls exercised? (Gerbner, 1972b, p.156).

> Our studies suggest that any message system produced by an institutional source has certain ideological orientations implicit in selection, emphasis and treatment. Other researchers found that most newsmen respond to the pressures and expectations of the newsroom than to any generalized concept of audience or public interest (*ibidem*, p.158).

The all important socializing function of human beings is handed over to the producers of mass media who have industrialized the production of messages. This message production is dominated by commercial interests. The mass media are advertiser-supported, profit-seeking business. Gerbner tried to point out some of the less obvious implications of this arrangement. They are actually exploiting the leisure-time markets for their own advantage, leaving little choice for

individual self-direction. Thus, an increasing share of our popular cultural resources are tailored to the demands of salability; and consequently creative purposes have no place in this arrangement. Gerbner's critical concern is to see that the cultural environment is free of the commercial interests so that it will help to make life more productive and leisure-time more creative. He also understands that selectivity and control are inherent in any communication. But the critical question according to him is not "whether the organs of mass communication are free but rather by whom, for what purposes and with what consequences are the inevitable controls exercised?" (Gerbner, 1972b, p.156). His research showed that institutional source has certain ideological orientations implicit in every selection, emphasis and treatment; and often concepts of audience or public interest find no place in such selections. This is a cause for worry to Gerbner. Such implications are present in the present arrangement by which media function. Gerbner sought to unravel these implications so that consumers could be warned about the undesirable consequences of such a state of affairs and could take necessary precautions. Such an outlook is evidently critical. These implications can be evidenced only through critical research, analysis and observation. That is why content analysis of the message systems produced by the media, are so important for Gerbner.

In his analysis of the message systems, Gerbner placed special emphasis on the cultural process of story-telling[11]. Morgan rightly thinks that Gerbner was influenced[12] by Lowenthal in this.

> He drew on Lowenthal's (1957) notion that "Man is born, strives, loves, suffers, and dies in any society, but it is the portrayal of how he reacts to these common experiences that matters since they almost invariably have a social nexus" (p.8).

Gerbner is of the opinion that human beings basically differ from other animals in that we live in a world that is created by the stories we tell. All living organisms exchange energy with their environment, just like a cup of coffee exchanges heat with the surroundings. It may even be said that many creatures have the

ability to process information, store it and change behavior as a consequence of learning. But it is specifically human to be able to communicate by the manipulation of complex symbol systems. Gerbner insists that the human being lives in a world experienced and conducted largely through many forms and modes of story-telling. He further adds that most of our knowledge comes not from our own experiences but from the stories we hear and tell. These reflections are present in the following quotations taken from his writings[13].

> Indeed, story is the best word I can find to designate the key feature and most distinctive characteristic of human communication. More than any other, *Homo Sapiens* is the story-telling animal. Unlike any other, *Homo Sapiens* lives in a world erected, experienced, and conducted largely through many forms and modes of story-telling (Gerbner, 1988b, p.7, emphasis in original).

> All animals learn from experience. Humans also learn *how to experience*. We have such consciousness of existence as we ourselves provide for in our communications. Human reason confronts realities on terms culture makes available. We are the stories we tell (*ibidem*, italics in original).

> From towering constructions of mythology to factual descriptions and instructions, stories create, embody, illuminate, and embroider a selective and synthetic pattern of meaning that gives life its sense of direction and purpose. Our arts, sciences, religions, laws and politics consist mainly of stories we tell and internalize - or impose. That process weaves the seamless web of human cultures defining the world and guiding its social relationships (*ibidem*, pp.7-8).

> The lesson of fictitious Little Red Riding Hoods and their realistic sequels in everyday news and entertainment not only teach lessons of fear, dependence, and power, but also give added impetus to selling burglar alarms, supporting law-and-order candidates, and acting in other ways to adjust to a structure of power and to the anxieties stemming from it (*ibidem*).

> No society and fully-conscious person can be self-directing in ignorance of the cultural process shaping human notions of how things work, what things are, and what to do about them. More and better information about behavior is self-defeating except as related to that

process and used to move us from the consumer's choice to action (*ibidem*, p.12).

In the above quotations (see also the quotations given in the end notes), some of the basic notions of Gerbner regarding the concept of story-telling, can be individuated. The following ideas are often repeated by him: 1) *homo sapiens* lives in a world erected, experienced, and conducted largely through many modes of story-telling; 2) humans learn how to experience and confront reality on the terms that culture makes available through stories - we are the stories we tell; 3) all story, mythology, descriptions etc. create and embody a synthetic and selective pattern of meaning that gives sense and direction to life; 4) arts, sciences, religions, laws, and politics consist mainly of stories we tell, internalize or impose; 5) stories are symbolic structures that tell us what things are, how they work, and what to do (or not to do) about them[14]; 6) stories relate the teller to the told - scary stories concentrate power in the teller; a plea for help or sales pitch, in the one addressed; 7) stories confirm authority and distribute power; 8) television, a modern story-teller blurs traditional distinctions, blends them into a coherent conception of reality and bends them to the institutional interests; 9) television thus becomes the chief cultural arm of industrial societies; 10) one need not believe the facts of stories to imbibe their lessons; 11) legends of old and highly selective news of today serve specific interests, purposes and social functions; 12) lessons from stories of Little Red Riding Hoods and other realistic stories in news and entertainment teach lessons of fear, dependence and power; while they also encourage the selling of burglar alarms, support of a law and order candidate, etc.

Gerbner accepts the need of such stories for our acculturation but he feels that we should be aware that the lessons taught are not always healthy (for the public good). The socialization of our children should not be left to the multi-nationals. He is fond of repeating that through myths, stories and rituals, man used to educate the new members of a tribe. Later elders, teachers, the Church, and the state took over this role. Now in the modern era TV has assumed this role

replacing parents, teachers, and even the Church. This is an alarming situation[15] for Gerbner and hence much of his attention in research has been devoted to the study of story-telling by television. In the above presented concepts, Gerbner's preoccupation is precisely the social role of communication in maintaining, enhancing or rupturing the existing state of affairs in the society. Further, he frequently refers to the sources of power and how messages (stories) confirm authority and power. He pointedly refers to the fact that scary stories concentrate power in the teller, and stories in general confirm authority and distribute power. His concern to understand the sources of power in media is evident here. Besides, the purpose of all his research is to emancipate the person from the cultural hold of the media so that self-direction is possible[16]. Hence Gerbner should be considered a critical theoretician and researcher. His critical stance is evident also in the following quotations from his writings.

> Faraway story-tellers mass-produce new tales every hour and tell them to millions of children, fathers, and grandfathers at the same time. Never have so many people in so many places shared so much of a common system of messages and images, and the assumptions about life, society, and the world imbedded in them, while having so little to do with their making. The fabric of popular culture that relates elements of existence to each other and structures the common consciousness of what is, what is important, and what is right, is now largely a manufactured product (Gerbner, 1974c, p.63).

> Mass-production and distribution of communications to scattered, heterogeneous national and world communities means potential enrichment of cultural horizons and increased life-chances incredible by all previous standards. But in an age of mass-produced abundance and mounting "surpluses", hunger and ignorance and want are no longer "natural" conditions of man's existence. And, just as the pollution of the environment, so the mass communication of superstition, bigotry, selfishness, and misanthropy becomes a rationally planned manufacturing process (*ibidem*, pp. 63-64).

> With the ability of industrial societies to produce the material requirements of subsistence and welfare, the stains and stresses of a social system come to be transferred to the mass-cultural sphere. The struggles for power and privilege, for participation in the conduct

> of human affairs, for more equitable distribution of resources, for all other forms of social justice, and, indeed, for survival in a nuclear age, are increasingly shifting from older arenas and methods of struggle to the newer spheres of attention, control, and contest in public communications (*ibidem*, p.64).

We can conclude this discussion on the story-telling concept of Gerbner by saying that he emphasizes the cultural process of story-telling in his Message System Analysis. He identifies the media production of messages with story-telling; and these stories organically-related constitute culture. The right to produce and disseminate these stories fall to the media conglomerates whom nobody has elected, and who have solely commercial interests. Naturally, by allowing them to function as they do, the consumers unknowingly are giving up their hard-won freedom for self-direction. The consumer has a right to participate in the decision-making process that affects him/her but unfortunately this is not enjoyed. The purpose of Gerbner's research has been to make consumers aware of the state of affairs and protect their freedom for self-direction in the cultural environment. The idea of story-telling is so important in Gerbner that he quotes often[17] Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun (1655-1716) who wrote in a letter to the Marquise of Montrose: "If a man were permitted to make all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation". The basic idea is that story-telling occupies such a crucial role in human existence, that it cannot be safely left to the whims and fancies of a shrinking group of conglomerates whose attention does not extend beyond the quarterly reports of stockholders. Such an important function of culture and society cannot be left merely to their marketing strategies. Again, if this is not a critical outlook, what then is?

Along with the concepts of culture, message systems, and story-telling, Gerbner talks of the symbolic world, symbolic functions and symbolic environment[18]. The symbolic world is created by the media and it is very different from the real world.

> The symbolic world, however, is totally invented. Nothing happens in it independently of man's will, although much that happens may again escape individual awareness or scrutiny. The reasons that things exist in the symbolic world, and the ways in which things are related to one another and to their symbolic consequences, as in a play or story, are completely artificial. That does not make their production any more arbitrary or whimsical than the events of the physical world. But it means that the laws of the symbolic world are entirely socially and culturally determined. A character in fiction dies not because he has lived but because it serves a purpose to have him die. Intended or not, that purpose is the only reality of the story. The casual link is not between life and death but between a creator's or producing organization's position in life and society and the significance of that death. No T.V. bad-man ever dies a natural death, nor can the hero of a western serial be cut down in the prime of life. To be true to life in fiction would falsify the deeper truth of cultural and social values served by symbolic functions (Gerbner, 1974a, p.69).

Thus, although the symbolic world is totally invented nothing happens in it independently of man's will. In fact the laws of the symbolic world are entirely socially and culturally determined. A character in fiction lives or dies because the producer wills it; and that always has a purpose. Gerbner (1974c) further asserts that characters come to life in the symbolic world to perform functions of social import.

> Characters come to life in the symbolic world of mass culture to perform functions of genuine social import. These functions need not be planned or perceived *as such*. They need not even conform to any overt rationalizations or moralizing. The functions are implicit not in what producers and audiences think they "know", but in what they assimilate of what the characters of the symbolic world in fact *are* and *do* (p.71, emphases in original).

> Whatever exists in the symbolic world is there because someone put it there. The reason may be deliberate and planned, or circumstantial, such as an unrelated marketing or programming decision, or a vague feeling that it will improve the story. Having been put there, things not only stand for other things as all symbols do, but also do something in their symbolic context (Gerbner, 1974a, p.70).

The functions of the characters in the symbolic world need not be planned or intended. These functions are implicit in what the consumers assimilate from viewing the characters. They represent facts of life and form patterns that Gerbner calls 'hidden curriculum'. This hidden curriculum is a lesson plan that nobody teaches but all learn. Culture power consists in teaching the hidden curriculum.

> The facts of life in the symbolic world form patterns that I call the "hidden curriculum". It is the framework that makes the notion of "effects" sensible as those changes that can be observed within a stable structure.
>
> The hidden curriculum is a lesson plan that no one teaches but everyone learns. It consists of the symbolic contours of the social order. One cannot sensibly ask what its effects are any more than one can ask about the effects of being born Chinese rather than American. Culture-power is the ability to define the rules of the game of life that most members of society will take for granted (*ibidem*, pp.71-72, emphases in original).

Thus, the symbolic world created by the media often decides the nature of the society, the fate of the people and the course of life. The consequences inherent in the way things work in the symbolic world of story-telling is called symbolic functions.

> The social tasks to which presumably "objective" news, "neutral" fiction or "nontendentious" entertainment lend themselves are what I call symbolic functions. They are the consequences inherent in the way things work in the symbolic world of story-telling (p.69, emphases in original).
>
> Symbolic functions do not stem from individual communications but from the general composition and structure of the bulk of the symbolic environment to which our entire community is exposed. The consequences typically are not those of change, but of continuity and resistance to change. Given a stable social order, the functions are usually to selectively cultivate existing tendencies, and perhaps to deepen and sharpen them (*ibidem*).

In short, the social tasks inherently present in the media output may be considered the symbolic functions. These are actually the consequences of the way things work in the symbolic world of

story-telling. Individual communication is not the source of these symbolic functions; but rather the whole structure of the symbolic environment to which the entire community is exposed is the source. Gerbner also found from his research that these symbolic functions normally stand for the existing social order and cultivate non-change rather than change. This affirmation of Gerbner is close to the Frankfurt School critical theory that sees communication as a tool in the hands of the existing political powers to promote the status quo. The critical view of Gerbner is evident here. Such being the case how can we investigate these symbolic functions? They are not so evident nor explicit. Gerbner (1972b) has the following suggestion:

> To investigate these functions one must analyze the symbolic environment and particular configurations of symbols in it. In this way we can obtain information about what the actual messages, rather than the presumed messages, might be. The next step is to form a hypothesis about what conceptions the particular symbolic functions might cultivate in an exchange with particular communicating parties. The human and social consequences of the communication can be explored by investigating the contributions that the symbolic functions and their cultivation of particular notions might make to thinking and behavior. These contributions are usually of a cultivating and reinforcing kind; that is what culture does (p.158).

The basis for Gerbner's Message System Analysis is seen in the above quotation. Samples of the media output should be analyzed to see the configuration of symbols present in them. The purpose is to arrive at the actual messages rather than at presumed ones. Then in the cultivation part of it the extent to which the public assume these messages is measured. To measure that, some hypothesis about the possible consequences of the actual messages are made, and these hypotheses are tested empirically. Again, Gerbner is not worried about the effects of individual communication but the whole of it. The consequences that these messages have on individuals is not so much his concern as to see how these consequences affect the society[19]; how these symbolic functions enhance or disrupt the social order and

how they contribute to socialization and acculturation. These concerns are pointedly critical in nature.

3.3 THE AIM OF COMMUNICATION RESEARCH - CULTIVATION THEORY

The messages spun out by the mass media have consequences on those who consume them. These consequences or effects[20] are not linear, mechanical or hypodermic. Gerbner (1958b) refers to it as a dialectical process where the consequences are mostly indirect. Through message system analysis one can uncover the aggregate and implicit patterns of messages. But this will not necessarily tell us what people think or do; but rather what most people think or do in common (see Gerbner, 1970a). This may look like the notion of agenda-setting (refer chapter 1), but it is to be understood on a deeper and more fundamental level.

> It is not so much the specific, day-to-day agenda of public issue salience which culture (and cultural media) sets as it is the more hidden and pervasive boundary conditions for social discourse, wherein the cultural ground-rules for what exists, what is important, what is right, and so on, are repeated (and ritualistically consumed) so often that they are invisible (Morgan, p.9).

The above-mentioned process is actually what is meant by *cultivation*. It seeks "to describe the process by which mass communication creates publics and defines the perspectives and assumptions which are most broadly-shared among those publics" (*ibidem*). Thus in the beginning stages cultivation had practically no connection with percentage differences between heavy and light viewers in giving "TV answers". According to Gerbner (1969a) the message systems contained in the media cultivate consciousness of the terms required for its meaningful perception. What was important was not whether the consumer accepts the meaning or not. First, one should attend to the message to understand it. How this understanding takes place (how items of information are integrated in cognition) is interesting but of no concern to Gerbner. His interest is

centered on the fact that any attention and understanding cultivates the terms on which it is achieved. When these terms are common to large groups, the cultivation of shared terms provide the basis for public interaction.

As seen earlier, the symbolic environment gives direction and meaning to human thought and action. Cultivation is the (continuous) outcome of interaction within the symbolic environment and it assures shared terms of discourse and behavior. But this does not mean that there will be consensus. The cultivation of collective consciousness and shared terms should not be mistaken for consensus. Gerbner (1969a) holds that for ideological differences (and even conflicts) to flourish, there is need of some common awareness and cultivation of issues, and points of divergence to make public contention and contest possible.

Gerbner's concern is not that cultivation occurs. For the maintenance and growth of all the social-cultural institutions cultivation (through myths and stories) has played a historical and universal role. The problem is that the cultivation of collective consciousness is now institutionalized and corporately managed to an unprecedented degree. Mass communication has the power to create publics and to dissolve them, (or blur and blend them, to use the terminology of Gerbner). Gerbner (1958b) feels that the critical point in this process is the dissolution of publics into markets for mass media. He sees the phenomenon as reducing the acculturation function of the media to commodity merchandising. Further, he feels that the rise of cultural mass production that creates audiences and submits tastes, views, and desires to the laws of the market tends to produce only standardized and safe programs rather than the diversified and critical. This according to him creates new problems in the theory and practice of self-government. This concern of his has been expressed more and more strongly in later years and Gerbner sees this state of affairs as threatening democracy. Democracy is based on participation of all, in decision-making (at least indirectly), respecting the

divergent cultures and points of view and responsible self-government. But such values of freedom and diversity are not present in decisions concerning the media production and distribution. Diversity, which is the structure of freedom, seems to be sacrificed for the interests of the conglomerates who control the media production. This is Gerbner's critical concern.

Such being the case what should be the aim of communication research? First of all, through Message System Analysis the actual messages conveyed by the media should be uncovered. This discovery will enable one to protect himself/herself from the cultivation of undesirable consequences.

> American media are cultural arms of private enterprise in the public sphere. The images they project have a dual character. They attempt to be serviceable (or at least not inimical) to the commercial and other interests of private enterprise and, at the same time, represent those public ideals that give them universal attraction, currency and credibility. That is why the study of capitalistic mass media and their symbolic functions presents a particularly complex and challenging task. The task is to discover the actual laws of symbolic behavior in a field of conflicting institutional interests, and to assess their real contributions to the cultivation of human conceptions and social policy (Gerbner, 1974a, p.92).

This dual effort of the media to please the private enterprises and to represent the public ideals, makes the study of the actual symbolic functions of the media difficult. For that reason the communication researcher needs to apply himself to the task of unraveling the actual messages of the media. This task has assumed more importance due to the unprecedented developments in communication.

> Developments in communication not only have extended the human ability to exchange messages but also have transformed the symbolic environment of human consciousness and are continuing to alter it. Perhaps the most profound human dilemma is this: Just as knowledge can be said to confer power, so power generates and uses knowledge for its own purposes. Social and institutional

> structures (the government, the broadcasting networks, the publishing houses and the educational institutions) have a steadily increasing role in shaping the symbolic-environment (Gerbner, 1972b, p.153).

Gerbner sees knowledge as having the capacity to confer power; and power generates knowledge and uses it for its own purposes. Herein lies the danger that the powerful exploit the freedom of the less powerful for arriving at their selfish goals. He even goes to the extent of saying that the media cannot be considered free anymore.

> ... "freedom" is the right of the managers of the media to decide what the public will be told. The question is whether enlightenment through communication can lead to liberation from the shackles of mind and body that still oppress mankind or whether only liberation from those shackles can lead to further enlightenment through communication (*ibidem*).

The profound concern of Gerbner to see the media as a free enterprise is seen in the above quotation. Communication should lead to further enlightenment and liberation from the shackles of mind and body. Not only the managers of the media but every consumer should have freedom . The language used by Gerbner in the above quotation is evidently that of a critical theorist. His critical thrust is further evidenced in the following quotations. Gerbner (1959a) wrote:

> Poor people, poor customers, are the forgotten people of our public arts. Out of sight in the selective mirror of the mass media, hidden from public consciousness, without power and without a voice, they are overlooked when the uses of popular culture are discussed (p.276).

> ... the American "way of life" as we know it today rests on the active (or at least passive) cooperation of half the world's peoples. Our decisions cannot long conflict with the needs and aspirations of the "others" without destroying the bases of any assumed benefits to us. The morality and usefulness of the alternatives we present, and of the decisions we make, can thus scarcely be shrugged off as a purely private matter of individual whim, taste, or enterprise (*ibidem*, emphasis in original).

The poor customers who do not have a voice when matters of public arts and the media are discussed are the people who are exploited (according to Gerbner). His work has been directed to the liberation of this section of the population. He also gives a moral note to the issue by adding that America as a nation owes its welfare to half the world's population, and hence the nation cannot carry on taking decisions[21] that affect even other peoples, carelessly, without jeopardizing its own welfare. Gerbner's critical thrust is seen here. Already in the late 1950s he laid down what the communication researcher should do.

> The challenge for mass communications research is this: to combine the empirical methods with the critical aims of social science, to join rigorous practice with value-conscious theory, and thus to gather the insight the knowledgeable individual in a genuine public must have if he is to come to grips (and not unconsciously to terms) with the sweeping under-currents of his culture (Gerbner, 1959b, pp.61-62).

Here we have Gerbner's explicit desire to use the empirical methods with the critical aims of social science to study mass culture. He was in fact trying to do that in his research. He tried to build a coherent and effective critical theory of the impact of the media on the cultural development of the members of our modern society. In doing this he tried to individuate the conditions that are able to promote a positive social change in the said field. He was not really interested in developing a particular methodology of research for communication. Nevertheless, to test his theory he made extensive use of complementary methods of research[22] (both quantitative and qualitative) and developed the original strategy of the cultural indicators.

4. THE SECOND PHASE - EMPIRICAL RESEARCH - CULTURAL INDICATORS STRATEGY - CONTROVERSY (1970-1990).

Towards the middle of 1970, several attempts at testing of the cultivation theory found the light of day. As a result, some changes

in the original meaning of cultivation took place. These changes may be viewed as shifts of emphasis and focus rather than real change.

> Earlier, Gerbner had discussed his "institutional approach" to mass communication as requiring the study of relationships between social structures, message systems, corporate forms and functions, collective image formation and public policy. When it all came together under the Cultural Indicators umbrella, it became a three-pronged approach consisting of Institutional Process Analysis, Message System Analysis, and Cultivation Analysis. "Cultivation" had thus become a form and technique of operationalizable, empirical analysis (Morgan, p.11, emphases in original).

Through cultivation analysis, the attempt is to determine the contribution that different amounts of television viewing make to the consumer's conceptions of social reality. "The main change from its earlier conceptualization was the incorporation of the empirical assessment of statistical differences in the beliefs, assumptions, and attitudes of light, medium, and heavy viewers" (*ibidem*). Morgan is of the opinion that it is not clear from early writings how the methodology developed. But it is possible that Gerbner's study of mental illness in collaboration with Gross (Gerbner & Gross, 1976) provided an interim conceptual model, that slowly became synonymous with cultivation analysis. The trick consisted in not asking people directly about television to find out the contribution of television to their social conceptions; but instead people were simply asked about their conceptions, including the time they spent watching TV. Then from the data collected, it would be assessed how much of their social conceptions are drawn from TV, and whether varying amounts of TV watching made a difference in the conceptions of the people involved.

Gerbner believed in the cohesiveness[23] of television content and hence his Cultivation Analysis was concerned with the cumulative exposure to the total world of television and not individual stories and programs[24]. This was a different emphasis that contrasted with the then mode of research. Gerbner felt his Cultural Indicators Strategy could adequately study the consequences of long-term consumption of centrally-mass-produced, mass-distributed, repetitive

stories among large and heterogeneous publics who never meet and have in common only the messages they share. The increase in the number of channels and the spread of VCRs instead of making available more diversity and more choice, in fact do the opposite. Being run on profit-motive and consequently on attracting more audience, the different channels tend to broadcast the same type (often identical) programs, and VCRs have made it convenient to record and watch the preferred programs repeatedly. Cultivation has the scope of focusing on the global, aggregate, general focus and in that it is different from other attitude change studies. Mere stimulus-response models of research are not sufficient to comprehend present-day mass media consequences that result from an interaction between media, culture and society[25]. From this context, Gerbner (1966d) sees communication neither determinate nor symptomatic, but rather an essential cultural nutrient. The critical task of a researcher would be (according to him) to reveal the dynamics of power in communication and of communication in society, so that they can be transformed[26]. If that is not 'critical', then what is? As mentioned already, the methodology developed for such a research is called Cultural Indicators Strategy. The next question to study will be the aims and assumptions of this strategy.

4.1 AIMS AND ASSUMPTIONS OF THE CULTURAL INDICATORS APPROACH

Gerbner (1972b; 1973) feels that in matters regarding the media, the voices of vested interests in society are always present. To them Gerbner would like to add a scientific voice through his Cultural Indicators.

> Amid the clamor of commercial and political interests it may be helpful to have the third voice of social scientific inquiry keep a score of the functional significance of the deeper messages and points of view that capture public attention, occupy more time than any other activity and animate the collective imagination (Gerbner, 1972b, p.160).

In his publication, "Cultural Indicators: The Third Voice", Gerbner (1973) explains the three voices present in the society. He asserts the importance of the third voice. Talking about the first two voices he says:

> They generally fall into two categories. One is the voice of the political agent or agency staking a claim to "issues" dear to the heart of a political clientele. The other consists of media voices speaking for industrial and business clients. Lacking is a third "voice" of independent research building a continuing and cumulative factual basis for judgment and policy. That is what a scheme of cultural indicators is designed to do.
>
> Cultural indicators will not solve the issues. Policy making is the task of citizen judgment and authority. However, cultural indicators can illuminate the aspects that relate more to institutional policy than personal choice or taste, more to general trends and configurations than to specific items, works, and qualities. In so doing, cultural indicators can assist those responsible for making and implementing policy, as well as the general public, in arriving at sounder judgments concerning the role of mass communications in the cultivation of public policy alternatives (p.556, emphases in original).

Thus the Cultural Indicators have the scope of illuminating the aspects relating to institutional policy and helping the general public as well as the law-makers to arrive at sound judgments regarding the role of the media in the cultivation of public policy alternatives. Gerbner (1973) asserts that "Cultural indicators will help close the "intelligence gaps" created by historic changes in institutionalized public acculturation" (*ibidem*). He further clarifies the aims of Cultural Indicators:

> We need to know the general trends in the cultivation of assumptions about problems of existence, priorities, values, and relationships before we can validly interpret specific relevant facts of individual and social response. The interpretation of public opinion (i.e., published responses to questions elicited in specific cultural contexts), and of many media and other cultural policy matters, require cultural indicators similar to the accounts compiled to guide economic decisions and to

other indicators proposed to inform social policy making (*ibidem*, p.572).

Gerbner here affirms the necessity of cultural indicators in the same way as other economic and social indicators are needed. But his Cultural Indicators are based on certain assumptions. These assumptions are explained below.

> Our program of research in this area rests on two assumptions, one of which is that communications is the environment of social behavior rather than just specific acts, utterances and campaigns. The most profound effects of communication can be found not in making sales, getting votes, influencing opinions and changing attitudes but in the selective maintenance of relatively stable structures of images and associations that stem from institutional structures and policies and that define the common perspectives of a society. ...
>
> Our second assumption is that just as the effects of communication cannot be limited to specific messages or to attempts to change or control behavior so the effects are not necessarily available to the conscious scrutiny of any of the parties involved in the communication. One always communicates more things - or other things - than one is aware of. Indeed there are no failures of communication, only failures of intention and of understanding of what the message was in the first place. Many breakdowns in social and personal communication result because the recipient gets the message better and more accurately than the sender realizes and thus turns the sender and his message off (Gerbner 1972b, p.158).

The two basic assumptions described above, show the critical leanings of Gerbner. For him the effects of communication cannot be limited to specific messages or attempts to change behavior, but the most profound effects are to be seen in the maintenance and cultivation of stable structures of images and associations that favor the institutional structures and policies. In this sense mass communication serves the interests of the social authorities to maintain the *status quo*. The critical thrust of Gerbner is evident here. Following the first assumption there is the second one: these effects are not so evident neither to the communicator nor to the receiver. Hence there is need of in-depth research and reflection to identify these effects. The Cultural Indicators Strategy is tailored to

do that. Here once again we notice that Gerbner is not so much concerned with the effects of the messages on individuals but rather with the social role of communication. This is a characteristic[27] that designates one to be a critical researcher. He further accentuates his conception of communication as having an institutionalized role in society.

> The areas and terms of analysis leading to cultural indicators stem from a conception of communication and its institutionalized role in society. They were developed through prior studies (most of which are listed under my name in the bibliography). The studies demonstrated that the mass cultural presentations of many aspects of life and types of action teach lessons that serve institutional purposes. People do not have to accept these lessons but cannot escape having to deal with the social norms, the agenda of issues, and the calculus of life's chances implicit in them (Gerbner, 1973, p.558).

Thus the lessons that serve the institutional purposes, put forward by mass media, need not be accepted by the consumers of the media[28], but no one can escape having to deal with the social norms, the agenda of issues and other social lessons implicit in them, as they are the rules by which society functions. The acceptance of such a situation without reflection would be akin to giving up the freedom envisaged by a democratic way of life that guarantees the right to participate in cultural decisions. The whole work of Gerbner is geared to the liberation of the individual and the society from such a situation.

4.2 INSTITUTIONAL PROCESS ANALYSIS

The often-repeated view of Gerbner that mass media messages serve institutional purposes is the reason to study the institutional processes involved in the production and distribution of messages. As a detailed explanation of this prong of the cultural indicators strategy is given elsewhere[29] in this dissertation, what is attempted at this point is only a mention of the critical stance present at the back of this analysis. The concern to understand the power roles[30] at work in

decision-making in communication is the background for institutional process analysis. This concern of his would qualify Gerbner to be considered a critical researcher.

Gerbner always held that any enterprise, including production of messages, may appear to be free to those who run it; but often they are managed: "selective suppression is simply the other side of the mass communication coin" (Gerbner 1973, p.559). Already in the early 1960s Gerbner (1961b; 1964) argued that any system of messages produced had some ideological orientation implicit in selection, emphasis and treatment. He is fond of quoting Bowers (1967) who found that three out of four publishers are active in directing news decisions; and their concern is not public welfare but rather the revenue of the paper and the immediate market. This being the case, what IPA does is according to Gerbner (1973) the following:

> Institutional process analysis seeks, through interviews, participant observation, and the study of records, to amplify the scheme of power roles, functions, and leverage, and to apply it to the investigation of decision making in communications (p.562).

In the above quotation the methods of research advocated by Gerbner, are also described. Specifically depth interviews and participant observation are qualitative methods of research and Gerbner makes use of it. This further justifies our conclusion (presented at the beginning of this chapter) that Gerbner made use of complementary methods, both qualitative and quantitative[31]to test his theory, though he was not specifically interested in developing a new method for communication research as such.

Gerbner (1974a) holds that various power roles enter in the decision-making process, in the selection and the shape of the final product. In the case of news, facts have some constraining influence. But in fiction and drama, there are no inhibitions in expressing the social values that are desired by the power roles. "Fiction can thus perform social symbolic functions more directly than other forms of discourse. ... That is why in fiction and drama there is no need to

moralize. The moral is usually in the facts themselves" (Gerbner 1974a, p.70). As a result, even to understand properly the social values present in the messages of the media, and the reason why such values are disseminated, one needs to study the institutional processes involved. The way things work out in the symbolic systems indicates the interests of those in charge of production. "How things workout in mass-produced symbolic systems, as in all collective myths, celebrations and rituals, is indicative of institutional interests and pressures" *(ibidem)*.

As mentioned already, the study of the power roles at work in any mass communication event is key to the understanding of the phenomenon of modern communications; and this concern of his should qualify him as a critical theorist and researcher.

4.3 MESSAGE SYSTEM ANALYSIS

As a detailed presentation of the message system analysis has been given earlier[32], my concern here is merely to emphasize Gerbner's critical thrust that is present in the rationale behind the analysis itself. As often repeated by Gerbner (1973) the purpose of the analysis is "to describe the symbolic world, sense its climate, trace its currents, and identify its functions" (p.564). By symbolic functions are meant the consequences that flow from a communication regardless of intentions and pretensions. The common imagery and the basis for interaction between different groups of the society is given by the symbolic world. This has to be identified and message system analysis tries to do that.

> The study of a system as *system* notes processes and relationships expressed in the whole, not in its parts. Unlike literary or dramatic criticism, or, in fact, most personal cultural participation and judgment, message system analysis observes the record of institutional behavior in message mass-production for large and heterogeneous communities. The reliable observation of that record of institutional behavior reveals collective and common instead of individual and unique features of

> public image formation and cultivation. The scheme and methods of analysis are designed to inquire into selected dimensions of the process composing and structuring message systems (Gerbner, 1973, pp.564-565, emphasis in original).

Thus the scope of the message system analysis is the observation of the record of institutional behavior present in the mass media. If this observation is reliable it should reveal the collective (not individual) features of public image formation and cultivation[33]. Early in his career, Gerbner saw the task of a content analyst of mass media from a cultural, social and critical point of view.

> The primary tasks of the mass media content analyst lie in his attempts to *scientifically gather and test* inferences about content that may involve generally unrecognized or unanticipated consequences, to isolate and investigate consequential properties of content which record and reflect objective mechanisms of a social order. The classical role of cultural scholarship as a testing ground of critical social theory is to be strengthened, broadened, and deepened - not abolished - in the analysis of mass media content through the newer, more systematic and refined methodologies (Gerbner, 1958b, p.46, emphases in original).

Gerbner always saw mass media contents as expressions of social relationships and institutional dynamics, as well as a formative agent of social patterns (see Gerbner 1958b). The task of the critical content analyst is to unravel the mechanisms of the social order present in the system of messages for the purpose of transforming them. As a result the analysis will reveal:

> ... not so much what individuals think or do as what most people think or do something *about in common*. They will tell us about the shared representation of life, the issues, and the prevailing points of view that capture public attention, occupy people's time, and animate their imagination. They will help us understand the impact of communication media development and social change on the symbolic climate that affects *all* we think and do. We can then inquire into the institutional aspects and the cultural consequences in sharper awareness of the currents that tug and pull us all (Gerbner 1973, pp.566-567, emphases in original).

Seen in the above light, the content analysis employed by Gerbner *cannot be passed off as mere number crunching*. Such an approach should be termed critical content analysis. As the message system analysis came to be employed, most were concerned with the issue of violence. During the 1970s an overwhelming amount of research and public attention was drawn to the problem of violence. Gerbner saw television as practically monopolizing cultural participation and dominating the cultivation of common consciousness[34]. Consequently much of Gerbner's research came to be directed to television violence and the celebrated Violence Profiles[35].

He understood violence in a unique way. The predominance of so much violence in television programs might make the viewers identify with the victims instead of imitating violence. Message system analysis showed that there were consistently more victims than victimizers. Besides, the data clearly revealed a social pecking order with some groups - like minorities, women, old people - consistently more likely to be victims than victimizers. Gerbner's hypothesis was that TV violence maintains the status quo by demonstrating and protecting the power of the powerful and does not encourage disruption of the social order. TV thus cultivates a climate of fear and mistrust and this climate might make people clamor for protection from the authorities, throwing to the winds the fear of possible repression and violation of civil liberties. He also thinks that by cultivating traditional conceptions of women, minorities, old people, occupations etc., TV contributes to the maintenance of specific power hierarchies in the society. Thus the mass-produced messages are used as mechanisms of social control. The idea of cultivation is exactly that.

The data piled up by the message system analyses of TV revealed the lack of diversity in programs (and for Gerbner the structure of freedom is organized diversity). There was a preponderance of happy, thrilling and entertaining violence that was seen as an efficient and useful way of solving conflicts, for upholding social order, and for demonstrating the consequences of transgression[36]. The political powers (and would be powers) make use

of this tactic to win support for a law-and-order candidate, or for mobilizing support for police (military) action at home or abroad. Gerbner further feels that violence is easy to produce and easy to sell even abroad.

As more and more data piled up, Gerbner's group made some too-sweeping claims. There were strong protests from the networks and other researchers in the field.[37] Gerbner, when answering his critics, accepted guilt in "rhetorical excess" in some cases (one or two reports). Also the issue of 'causality' - whether television viewing is symptomatic of social conceptions or leads to it - persisted, though Gerbner considered it trivial and irrelevant. Other research either replicated or failed to replicate the cultivation hypothesis. Some critics even used 'ad hominem' arguments against Gerbner. Others got lost in statistical refinements forgetting the cultivation theory in the process. All this criticism and attention made the cultivation theory known even outside scientific circles. Further the criticisms and defence helped to clarify the notion of cultivation, and many researchers examined a variety of conditions and variations of cultivation analysis. Gerbner even tried to carry out cultivation research in other countries. All this helped to refine the theory. As commonly thought, cultivation does not mean that TV-viewing fosters fear, apprehension, sex-role stereotypes etc.; but it means that " the dominant modes of cultural production tend to generate messages and representations which nourish and sustain the ideologies, perspectives, and practices of the institutions and cultural contexts from which they arise" (Morgan, p.15).

As said before, in the 1980s several replications of the cultivation analysis were attempted in countries like England, The Netherlands, Sweden, Germany, Australia & Israel. Recently such attempts were made in Taiwan, South Korea, Philippines, China, Argentina & Brazil. Comparative cultivation analysis was attempted in Hungary, Japan, Finland, Russia etc. The political changes in Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa keeps the cultivation issue alive. In many

countries, state controlled media are liberated in the name of democracy; and snatched up by multinational corporations. Gerbner warns against the uncritical acceptance of commercial control of the media since it amounts to mortgaging the socialization of the children to global conglomerates (Closepet & Tsui, 1992). In the context of such widespread movements towards democracy, the critical implications of organized diversity in message production become sharper. Diversity is needed to achieve cultural freedom.

> The state to Gerbner is not some benevolent grantor of such diversity, but it needs to become a force to promote it, to guarantee it, while, in contrast, it has usually worked, complicitly, to obstruct it. As the tyranny of the state is replaced by the tyranny of the market, it is falsely assumed that the absence of governmental controls and regulation somehow automatically means diversity and liberation. While he does not see state involvement or benignly paternalistic regulation as a panacea to the problem of the media, his point is that government has been anything but an innocent bystander (*ibidem*, p.17)

In conclusion, it may be said that the Message System Analysis produced data that showed the preponderance of violence especially in television programs. Such portrayal clearly showed a social pecking order that adversely affected the minorities, women and the elderly; with more victims than victimizers. Such lack of organized diversity was taking away cultural freedom and it served the interests of the conglomerates who owned the media. The government instead of guaranteeing the freedom of the individual as well as cultural diversity, usually works in collaboration with the media 'mughals'. Gerbner wants to change this state of affairs and reclaim the rights of the individual gained through centuries of struggle and conferred by law and the constitution (in democratic countries). The commitment to emancipation of the individual and the society and the yearning for cultural freedom and diversity are evident here. This is a critical stand indeed.

4.4 CULTIVATION ANALYSIS

For a detailed explanation of this prong of the Cultural Indicators Strategy, the reader is advised to refer to Chapter 3. Through this analysis the specific, observable, and independent contribution of television (theoretically any media) to some social conceptions (for example violence) are assessed by analyses of data drawn from surveys that compare the responses of heavy and light consumers (viewers in the case of television). Cultivation Analysis is expected to reveal how much of the lessons of the message systems are assumed by the consumers of the media. As studies in Cultivation Analysis have been almost entirely concerning the single media of television, the method has come to be associated solely with television studies. Here I do not intend to describe the analysis in detail, but only highlight the critical concern present in the rationale behind the method. I also want to drive home the point that Gerbner made use of complementary methods (both qualitative and quantitative) in his research. Regarding the techniques envisaged in Cultivation Analysis Gerbner (1972b) has the following to say:

> The main approaches taken in cultivation analysis are projective techniques (wherein respondents are presented with situations that tend to lead them to reveal views, expectations and values they may not be conscious of or might not talk about if they were asked directly), interviews in depth and periodic surveys of sample groups. We work with panels of adults and children. In all these activities the aim is to see how exposure to the mass media has influenced the thinking of the respondents about selected issues and aspects of life (p.159-160).

Projective techniques and interviews in depth are inherently qualitative methods of research while sample surveys would be more of a quantitative nature. To test his theory Gerbner made use of both types of methodology; hence he was able to profit from the advantages of both types of research. Naturally, his work would suffer from the weaknesses of both as well[38]. He was aware of the special power of empirical methods but refused to be limited by them. He did not allow data to get in the way of what he believed, even

when that data did not support his theory.[39] It may not be an exaggeration if I say that Gerbner combined dynamically both qualitative and quantitative methods of research in his Cultural Indicators Strategy. The quotation cited above proves the point. In 1973 Gerbner when writing about the methodology used in Cultivation Analysis emphasized what he said earlier in other words:

> The principal approaches employed in the cultivation analysis are projective techniques, depth interviews, and periodic questions on sample surveys. Adult and child panels provide subjects for projective and interview work. Projective techniques can structure situations in which respondents tend to reveal views, expectations and values of which they may not be consciously aware of, or which they would not verbalize if asked directly. Techniques of depth interviewing can isolate and highlight views, expectations, and values, and relate these to media exposure patterns and to demographic and other characteristics. Questions selected from the projective tests, and interviews and others designed especially for survey use are to be submitted periodically to a national adult probability sample of respondents (p.572).

Apart from the mixed methodology envisaged by Cultivation Analysis, the purpose of the analysis itself is also described above. The aim is to isolate views, expectations and values that the consumers may not even be consciously aware of, so that a judgment can be made regarding how much of it has been influenced by television. To assess the contribution of television, the other variables (like those of a demographic nature), are to be held constant. The results of such analysis confirmed Gerbner's hypothesis that television tends to cultivate and confirm rather than challenge the existing social system with its prejudices and stereotypes.

> The lessons learned from that, as we have found by surveying light and heavy viewers in otherwise similar groups, are those that tend to cultivate and confirm rather than challenge or change some of our stereotypic inequities and prejudices (Gerbner, 1983-84, p.17).

Gerbner would want to see that the existing prejudices and inequities in society should disappear through the use of media,

instead of such cultivation. The ultimate aim of Gerbner is to free the consumer from such constraining type of cultivation that limits the cultural freedom of the individual. The results of the cultivation analyses also showed a consistent overdose of violence that supported the existing power hierarchies in the society. To quote Gerbner (1983-84) again:

> Violence is essentially a demonstration of power. It shows who can get away with what against whom. Exposure to violence cultivates a sense of relative powers, of one's risks and place in the social hierarchy, and a sense of hightened anxiety and insecurity about a world that is shown to be much meaner and more dangerous than anyone has directly experienced. Insecurity leads to demands for protection, dependence on authority, and acceptance of repression if it comes in the name of security (p.17).

The consistent portrayal and glorification of violence as the shortest and efficient solution to problems, demonstrates one's place in the hierarchy of the society. It also creates a sense of heightened anxiety that in the name of security forces one to depend on authority and accept even repression for the sake of security. What suffers in the process is the exercise of freedom promised by democracy. Such lack of freedom would not have occurred if there were sufficient diversity in television programs. But unfortunately, such diversity in programming is not to be had. Gerbner's life work has been to make people aware of the situation and to try to radically change the existing situation, and thus to emancipate the consumer from the cultural domination of the media. This is nothing but his critical thrust that should qualify him to be considered a critical thinker and researcher.

4.5 CONCLUSION

A detailed presentation regarding the bitter criticisms against Gerbner's theory and research is given in Chapter 4. It is interesting to note that Gerbner's findings threatened the powerful networks who

employed their own researchers to contest his findings, and attempted research that supported the networks. This fact itself reveals that Gerbner was always anti-establishment (which is typically a critical trait). It goes to his credit that he was able to make use of the very media of television to propose his opposition to the way the networks managed programming. The issue of violence in the context of the U.S. has always been (and still is) a very thorny one that continually receives public attention. As mountains of data from Message System Analyses and Cultivation Analyses piled up, it became more and more clear that there was a general lack of diversity in programming (and for Gerbner organized diversity is the structure of freedom). His analyses also showed that television was often acting as the political arm of the government. The state instead of guaranteeing and protecting the cultural freedom and diversity of the citizens, indirectly was instrumental in obstructing that freedom. Gerbner was particularly concerned about the lessons of violence that showed violence as the shortest and most efficient way of solving problems. Besides, television violence demonstrated the hierarchy of powers that existed in society and what happens if someone tries to challenge this existing unjust social order. The cultivation of the *status quo* in society with the in-built prejudices and inequities are the result of such programming that lack diversity. As a critical analyst Gerbner challenges this state of affairs and asks the citizens not to throw away their hard won freedom to the whims, desires, and economic greed of the powerful conglomerates. To transform the unhappy situation, he even launched a political and cultural movement. Gerbner's critical stand is evident in all this.

5. THE THIRD PHASE - CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT MOVEMENT (1990-)

In 1990 Gerbner launched the Cultural Environment Movement (CEM). The purpose was to go from a critique of existing cultural policy to its transformation[40]. All along the nearly half a century of active research and theory building, he had been analyzing and critiquing the cultural environment as produced by the media. While

critiques, analyses etc. should make people aware of the fact that cultural freedom is threatened by the existing practices, they are not sufficient. Someone has to take the initiative to transform cultural policy. The CEM is Gerbner's contribution towards a solution to the problem.

> It represents a shift from a critique of the practices of cultural industries to an attack on the very system that regulates, deregulates, and protects them. It is about how to turn a research project into a political movement (Morgan, p.17).

Gerbner is convinced that the existing media structures in the U.S. operate outside the boundary of democratic policy-making. As things stand, advertising is a tax-deductible business expense and the real costs of advertising are hidden in the price of the products we buy: i.e. "we pay when we wash, not when we watch", to use a favorite saying of Gerbner. He also refers to the state of affairs as "taxation without representation". Such being the case what can we do to arrive at a freer, fairer and more liberating cultural environment? Gerbner (1991b) feels that his CEM can partly solve the problem:

> We must reclaim the rights gained through centuries of struggle and conferred by law, the constitution, and the basic principles of liberal education and self-government in a democracy. We must mobilize Americans to act as citizens as effectively as commercials mobilize us to act as consumers (from the unpublished 'mission statement' draft of CEM).

Gerbner's critical leanings are evident in the above statement. Through this organization he hopes to build "a broad-based coalition of media activists, of educational, health, environmental, legal, and other professional associations, of consumer groups and agencies, of women's groups, of religious and minority organizations, and of many other groups and individuals who are 'committed to broadening the freedom and diversity of the media mainstream that dominates U.S. and world cultures'" (Morgan, p.18; within quote from Gerbner, 1991b). Among the aims of CEM are included: promotion of media literacy and

critical viewing efforts; drive to achieve a broader range of voices and interests to be heard in cultural decision-making; the promotion of grass-root movements in the U.S. and abroad; and active support to media workers (all over the world) who are struggling against existing institutional constraints. Through these efforts Gerbner hopes to put the debate over cultural policy on the socio-political agenda.

These emancipation (and critical) goals of the CEM are not going to be easy to realize. The movement itself is still in its initial stages trying to build a constituency for itself and to arrive at a consensus regarding the direction that it should take. The realization of specific legislative measures will take time and effort. At least it can be said that so far because of the pressure from the violence profiles, Sen. Paul Simon managed to get a bill passed in Congress that requires broadcasters, cable networks and the producers of Hollywood to follow industry-wide standards on violence. Anyone violating these standards is liable to be prosecuted by law. A beginning has thus been made.

There are many reasons why the work of the CEM is going to be difficult. The guiding principle in media regulation has always been declaredly 'the public interest', which in practice has been reduced to balancing the competing interests of the industry, without any concern for public good. The legislators and those in Congress depend heavily on the funds of these industries for re-election; hence they will be very careful to legislate anything contrary to the interests of these patrons of theirs. Such being the case, the desired diversity in programming and allowing other voices to be heard in the decision-making process is hard to be accomplished.[41]

The call to democratize the mechanisms of media control is difficult to be achieved. Program production costs are astronomical and advertisers are willing to fund them provided they get what they want. With democratization, the special clout of advertisers and media mughals will go and they are not going to contribute to their own ruin. Federal funding is anathema; and hence this situation finds justification for the continuity of the *status quo*. The CEM has not

yet come up with a concrete solution to the problem. At present it has its goals clear: it wants a more democratic system in the control and production of media programs. How it is going to be achieved is to be seen. Gerbner is optimistic that something positive will turn out. In an interview Gerbner (1992) speaks his mind:

> To turn things around that almost everybody takes for granted is going to take a long time. And many people will consider it impossible. But then look around the world and see how many things that only five, ten years ago we considered impossible, are now reality. So I would say, if it's impossible, if it seems impossible, it means it's worth doing
>
> He follows this admonition by asking us to remember the slogan of Soviet dissidents of the 1960s and 1970s: when they offered a toast they said, "And here is to the success of our hopeless endeavor" (Morgan, p.19, emphases in original).

Thus, in **conclusion,** it may be said that the purpose of the CEM is to take back communication to the people. That requires drastic changes in the institutional organization of the media with special emphasis on the diversity of programming and more democratic participation in cultural decision-making. Among the goals of the CEM, media education and critical viewing have been given great importance. Our next section precisely deals with the liberal view of education that Gerbner has. Even if all may not agree with the theory and research of Gerbner, his critical contribution to communication studies, is going to remain. That cannot be taken away from him even if his latest attempts through CEM meet with failure.

As already mentioned, liberating education is part of the goals of the Cultural Environment Movement. When speaking about education, it is salutary to have an idea about Gerbner's view of education. He seems to hold on to a critical paradigm of education, which is coherent with his main critical thrust. In the following section I want to draw out the educational implications of his theory from his own writings. The presentation will highlight further

Gerbner's status as a critical analyst who is interested in positive methods of media education from a liberation perspective.

6. EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Gerbner should not be seen merely as a communication theorist and researcher. He has been a teacher for almost half a century and still continues to teach. He has written extensively on education (often from a communication point of view); the bibliography at the end of this dissertation bears witness to that. The title of his Master's thesis was incidentally 'Television and Education'[42]. He (1966d) has conducted a comparative study of the image of the teacher in mass media across cultures (U.S. and some European countries including Eastern Europe). He also thinks that he has a method of teaching[43] adapted to the liberating view of education that he holds. The liberating education that he speaks of seems very much akin to a critical view of education. Before proceeding further let us briefly see what education is to a critical theorist.

> Critical theory is directed in the interest of emancipation. Here, emancipation refers to a freeing of one's self to enable growth and development from the taken for granted ideology of social conventions, beliefs, and modes of operation. It strives to renew the ideology so that it serves as a basis for reflection and action. This requires modes of social organization that emphasize power. It is perceived necessary to empower people, whatever their station in institutionalized education, to question the value of such forces as the governance structures that direct their political life, the rules and conventions that define their social life, and the beliefs and ideals that contribute to their psychological life. All these forces both symbolize and combine to create the overriding ideology that critical theorists argue should be brought into greater consciousness and criticized. It is assumed that inquiry that results in criticism must be fueled by a value system. Such a value system can only be whole if it holds a conception of social justice (Schubert, 1986, p.318).

The basic tenets of a critical theory of education are present in the above quotation. Education is directed to the emancipation of the

individual from the taken-for-granted ideologies of social conventions. These social beliefs, conventions and ideologies are challenged and renewed. In the process, existing centers of power and social order are questioned, and the inquiry that results in criticism must be nourished by a value system that gives paramount importance to social justice. Such conceptions of values and justice should be explicated by those in charge of the curriculum and its development. The empirical-analystic paradigm of education on the other hand, believes knowledge is value free, and instead of questioning it accepts social reality as it is.

> The critical inquirer also draws heavily from the practical assumption that knowledge of reality is intersubjectively constructed meanings created within an historical, political, and social context. If the ideology that propels a society is itself created rather than received, it follows that it can be re-created. The assumption that humans are creators of knowledge, culture, and thus ideology is sharply contradictory to the empirical-analytical assumption that knowledge is received by the masses from credentialed experts who have used value-free methods of inquiry. Proponents of critical theory argue that this assumption itself belies the value-laden nature of the empirical-analytical paradigm. It accepts control over those who receive (i.e.., those who are placed in the role of learner) (*ibidem*, p.319).

Thus, knowledge according to the critical inquirer, is the set of meanings of reality that are intersubjectively constructed within a historical, political, and social context. Ideology that propels a society is itself created rather than received. Naturally, such ideology can, and must, be recreated according to the social context. The protagonists of the critical paradigm of education challenge the contention of the empirical-analytical paradigm that holds knowledge is received from experts who got it through value-free methods of inquiry. The principle of credentialed certainty justifies control over the learner. Such a view of the learner enslaves and degrades him/her.

> Accepting the status of learner is something that is not a mere matter of free choice within one's niche. Rather,

> it is forced upon all but the economically elite in a competitively oriented society where one must be credentialed with diplomas and certificates to survive. To take this example of critical argument a bit further, people become enslaved by participation in a highly capitalist system. They soon value their certificates to the point that the symbols of intelligence become reified or take on a life of their own. The person begins to turn not to his or her own resources and those with whom he or she is intimately involved, but to credentialed experts, and eventually prefers existence as a passive recipient - he or she becomes a patient, a client, a student. ... It is the false consciousness of this form of existence that the critical theorist seeks to expose, and from it that emancipation is sought. The need, then, is to foster a spirit of what Maxime Green (1978) calls "wide awakeness". This is a major aim of curriculum from the perspective of the critical paradigm (*ibidem*, p.319).

When knowledge is considered to be something received from experts, the learner is at the mercy of credentialed experts and only the economically elite can escape this status of an enslaved learner. One is forced to have credentialed diplomas and certificates to survive in a competitive capitalist society. These certificates slowly assume a life of their own. To solve problems a person tends to turn not to his/her own resources but to the credentialed experts. The learner thus becomes a passive recipient (patient, client, student). The critical theorist would see this situation as a false consciousness from which one should be liberated and education is precisely meant for that. Knowledge is to be intersubjectively constructed and social conventions critically evaluated and recreated taking account of the political and social context. The social reality is to be created and recreated, and not accepted as it is. An education that helps one to achieve this emancipation is truly a liberating education. Gerbner (1983-84) also speaks about a liberating education. Let us see what that means in the following pages.

6.1 GERBNER'S CONCEPT OF EDUCATION

Gerbner refers to education as "liberating education". Through such an education he hopes that the individual will be liberated from

a blind dependence on traditional local cultural environment. This sounds very close to the emancipation role of education envisaged by critical theorists described in the previous pages. Such liberation does not exclude (in the case of Gerbner), but rather begins with a contact with the great art, science and philosophy of mankind.

> I prefer to define it as "liberating education". I believe that its traditional role is to liberate the individual from an unwitting and unquestioning dependence on the traditional local and parochial cultural environment. ...
>
> Liberation begins with putting the individual in touch with the great art, science, and philosophy of human kind (Gerbner, 1983-84, p.16).

As may be deduced from our treatment so far, one central argument in Gerbner's work is that the cultural process of story-telling (that distinctly humanizing phenomenon) is being almost entirely taken over by global commercial interests who have something to sell. Acculturation and socialization have been traditionally the role of parents and elders. Through stories and myths the traditions of the tribe including education in the laws of the tribe, the knowledge of the taboos as well as duties of a member of the tribe, etc. were passed on from one generation to the next. This humanizing function was later passed on from parents and elders to schools and churches. In modern times the media have taken over these traditional functions. "The traditional functions of the family, the school, the Church, and other cultural institutions are being shaped by transnational corporations - a private government, run by people whom nobody knows and whom nobody elected" (Morgan, p.19, when speaking on the views of Gerbner). Early in his career, Gerbner (1959a) expressed his concern regarding this situation:

> Educators especially have wondered about the consequences inherent in the compulsion to present life in salable packages. ... And there is suspicion that the appeal to juvenile fantasy, role-experimentation, curiosity, and even anxiety and revolt, may be based more on the private necessity for developing habits of consumer acceptance than on the public requirement of developing critical

> judgment and of defining essentials and satisfactions of a creative, useful life in a changing society (p.268).

Later on he only made his statement stronger:

> Educators increasingly wonder about the consequences inherent in the compulsion to present life in salable packages. We harness the process of acculturation to consumer markets of instant gratification. Is "Enjoy now, pay later" the prescription for healthy impatience with empty promises or for selfishness and irresponsibility?" (Gerbner, 1973, p.556).

From the application of Message System Analysis and Cultivation Analysis (as explained earlier), Gerbner found that media conglomerates have assumed the story-telling function of parents and schools, not for the public good but for their own economic advantage. As a result sub-cultures, minorities, women, and the elderly are under threat. The ordinary consumer has no right to participate in the decision-making process when cultural policies are made. The humanization and to a certain sense education (acculturation), of children becomes the right of the irresponsible mass media. This creates a state of enslavement, passive acceptance of the *status quo*, permanence of the unjust hierarchy of power roles and social order that favor the wealthy and the powerful. Education, for Gerbner, would consist in the real understanding of the hidden lessons of mass media, the purpose and consequences of learning such lessons, and the necessity of liberating oneself from such a situation. Such emancipation would call for institutional changes as well. Education would give impetus to such a move. This definitely is a critical view of education.

Already in the 1950s Gerbner was aware of the great educational potential contained in the then new medium of television[44]. He was fascinated by the great influence of television and his theory and research were a result of this intuition. He felt that educational research and content analysis have joint responsibilities, and the new science of communication was intimately connected with education.

> In the analysis of consequential meanings, educational research and content analysis have joint responsibilities. These responsibilities involve bringing to awareness mechanisms of psychic management masked in righteous overt forms; increasing conscious insight into tensions generated by the exposition of correct "facts" in an implicit structure which serves as an extension of the social process the "facts" purport to illuminate (Gerbner, 1958b, p.56, emphases in original).

He continued to argue that the 'boomerang effect' noticed in some of the educational material (army orientation films used in World War II) may not have been so much the result of failure of communication "as implicit communication of built-in relationships superimposed upon formal content, expressing assumptions, points of view, etc., running counter to the explicit message" (*ibidem*, p.57). What one should attend to is the implicit messages contained in any communication. Research has shown that these implicit messages support the *status quo*, act as the political arm of the government, and take away the liberty of the individual for cultural expression, to perpetuate the unjust structures of society. Education should (according to Gerbner), liberate one from this situation. Over and over again he insists that the mass media has taken over the democratic national responsibility of transmitting the cultural heritage from the parents and schools.

> The mass media have increasingly taken over democratic national responsibilities for transmitting the cultural heritage, for illuminating the realities of today, and for setting the agenda of tomorrow (Gerbner, 1963e, p.35).

He (1963e) also has some suggestions how to react to this new cultural situation. We should find ways of using the riches available in the situation; and should help to make order out of the distortions, confusions, and general cultural chaos characterizing the new situation. But this is not enough as it does not go to the heart of the problem. To quote further:

> The new situation is a radical transformation of the ways members of our species become human. Seen in that light, the problem is not only that of tastes, appreciations,

> discriminating consumership. The problem is also the organization of culture, with all its humanizing functions, both as a public and a private matter. The task is one of citizens' building and molding social institutions for democratic human purposes (*ibidem*).

Gerbner goes on to say that we as citizens have the opportunity to exercise policy choices in the field of popular culture, and we should be careful not to let these opportunities pass by default. The way we act will affect the survival of democracy, for he feels the continuation of the situation can undermine democracy and self-government. Education has a role to play in all this.

> A role education can play in communication on the institutional level is to prepare itself, and the new generation of citizens, to exercise such choices. It makes little difference whether we think about such studies under the heading of Social Science or Citizenship or English or Mass Media. It is more important that they be conceived as part of general education on all levels rather than only as training in specific applied skills of communication or of consumership.
>
> Such studies should develop ways of observing modern cultural institutions mass-producing images of man, life, and the world, and of the uses we make of them. They should examine circumstances of cultural production and consumption, and consider what kinds of humanizing aims can be fulfilled under what kinds of conditions. These considerations should result in the development of standards for the citizen as well as for the consumer (*ibidem*).

Here we have Gerbner advocating a scope of education from a communication point of view. Through education an educand should be enabled to exercise cultural choice consciously, without accepting what is offered by the media uncritically. This type of education that should form part of a general education will enable one to critically inquire into the existing circumstances of cultural production and consumption, and seek to transform the cultural environment. Thus, the ultimate freedom (promised by democracy), to participate in the decision-making process and choose the cultural expression that one

wants can be realized. This scope of education definitely belongs to the critical paradigm described earlier.

6.2 THE CHALLENGES OF EDUCATION

Gerbner often refers to the dramatic developments in communications. For him (1960d) developments in communications and in technology should go hand in hand with developments in education. These developments interact with institutional structures and conditions of life to foster social change. This is a challenge to be faced in the education field.

> Behind the conceptual history of educational and communications developments is the constant interaction with conditions of life, institutional structure, and social change (Gerbner, 1960d, p.55).

Further he sees technology and technicians as the advance agents of social change. The field of education will have to take this into account as well.

> Technology is never only technology. Technicians are the advance agents of social change whether they know it or not. Professionals ought to know it, and to *profess* what they know (*ibidem*, p.56, emphasis in original).

Gerbner (1960d) goes on to explain how the challenges of increased technology are to be met. Any new development in technology demands increased awareness of the consequences. Without this, mere education in communication training will not deliver the goods. "Exclusive preoccupation with technique in communication training would be the rearguard tactic of a profession (and a civilization) perhaps in technological bloom but in historic retreat" (*ibidem*, p.57). The challenge of education, accordingly, would be to critically examine the media messages and to become aware of the framework implicit in the hidden curriculum that the media is constantly teaching. Formal education should help one to achieve this capacity.

> The prior need is to examine the framework implicit in the hidden curriculum. We must first go beneath the explicit and fragmented significance of individual images available to casual personal scrutiny, and find the symbolic patterns and functions that entertain (in every sense of that word) the collective morality and the dominant sensibilities of the social order (Gerbner, 1974a, p.73).

Gerbner further feels that the challenges offered by our information society are not only challenges to education but challenges to the very humanizing process of *Homo Sapiens*. The central concern of Gerbner - his preoccupation that the humanizing and acculturation of individuals are being taken over by media conglomerates who have something to sell - affects the way he views education. He (1983-84) talks of four steps to be taken to meet the challenges of our communication age.

> The challenge of an information society in the telecommunications age is not only a challenge to education but also to the very process of humanization, the process that makes human beings out of Homo Sapiens. In order to address that challenge, we need to take four steps:
>
> * The first is to reflect on the unique and distinctive aspects of the humanization process.
>
> * The second is to sketch how these aspects have shaped us and brought us to where we are.
>
> * The third, is to identify the mission of a liberal education in that process.
>
> * And the fourth is to try to develop a strategic conception of what we are up against in pursuing that mission (p.14).

In this context it is important to obtain accurate knowledge of the situation. "... it is all the more important to obtain accurate knowledge, to make warranted assertions, to develop ways of making statements that are relevant, valid, and true, to know what stories are and do, and most of all, to study how and on whose behalf we tell the stories that reflect, express, and shape our reality" (*ibidem*).

When Gerbner speaks of the media he refers in a special way to television. As seen earlier (see Chapter 3), he feels that television has assumed the story-telling function of the parents, the teachers, and the church. It has become the unique teacher with whom children (students) spend most of their waking hours. So he feels that a liberating education should equip the learner with enough resources to deal with the media of television. He (1983-84) is convinced that the world of television instead of mediating the rapidly changing requirements of equity, justice and survival (these changes are brought by phenomenal developments in communications), in point of fact screen us from these requirements. Emancipation from it cannot be had by forbidding TV, as that is not going to take place. Besides even if one does not attend to TV, one gets the messages from others who watch TV. So Gerbner suggests action on three fronts.

> The strategic conception calls for action on three fronts: as educators, as parents, and as citizens. We can use the skills and insights employed in teaching the humanities and social sciences and apply them to the everyday cultural environment from which all our students learn. Media studies and critical viewing curricula which develop an analytical and critical stance toward mass-produced culture and its television mainstream should be at the center of liberal education (Gerbner, 1983-84, p.17).

So Gerbner would want media studies and critical viewing curricula to be at the center of a liberating education. He goes on to say that students have to be taught to be effective parents in a television culture; this is part of a liberating education. He suggests the methods of discussion and participation to be used by parents when they discuss mass culture (especially television) with their children. Mere laying down of rules and prescriptions will not be of much help. The aim should be to put the person, and not the television set, in control of the message. He would see the struggle to have public access to and real participation in the institutional decision-making process that affect the humanization of our species, as part of teaching citizenship in the television age. Such participation in the decision-making process should enable a better

distribution of the resources so that the medium would cater to the interests of the ordinary consumer with a variety of programs. "Only then will television be able to create a world of stories fit for all groups in our diverse society" (*ibidem*, p.18). Here once again we see the conviction of Gerbner that 'diversity is the structure of freedom'. He goes on to exhort us: "As teachers, parents, and citizens we can work for a fresh approach to liberal education aimed at liberation from the mass-produced dreams that hurt" (*ibidem*). Thus Gerbner's concept of a liberating education fundamentally includes this emancipation from the mass-produced dreams that hurt. This should be seen as part of a critical paradigm of education and further qualify Gerbner to be considered a critical analyst and researcher.

6.3 THE IMAGE OF SCHOOLS, TEACHERS, & STUDENTS IN MASS MEDIA

Although the challenges that the educational field has to face from the modern information society are many, formal education does not seem to be capable of coping with them adequately. Gerbner (1974a)[45] made an attempt to study the image of schools, teachers and students in the mass media, to see the real position such important elements of the society have in the scheme of things arranged by the media. He repeats that media has taken over many of the functions of parents, teachers, and the church. He (1974a) insists: "My examination of the evidence suggests that teachers, schools and scholars project a synthetic cultural image that helps to explain - and determine - the ambivalent functions and paradoxical fortunes of the educational enterprise in American Society" (p.66). He further feels that teachers and schools do not anymore have a monopoly as public dispensers of knowledge. "The formal educational enterprise exists in a cultural climate largely dominated by the informal "curriculum" of the mass media" (*ibidem*, p.67, emphasis in original).

Gerbner also points out in the same article that there are many who would like to correct the evils of the society through educational extension, improvement and reform. But he points out that although

schooling has extended and reformed for more than a century, "it is still compulsory, unequal, class-biased, racist and sexist" (*ibidem*). These are indeed strong negative qualifications. He further argues that many studies have shown that schools even when equal, tend to justify rather than rectify and remedy the fate of the child as determined by the culture of the home, the street and television. He also laments that:

> Instead of becoming the social corrective that idealistic reformers sought and democratic rhetoric promised, the more schools change the more they streamline their induction of young people into their places and roles in the existing social structure (*ibidem*).

Regarding the inequality of opportunity and the injustice that reins in public education, Gerbner (1974a) writes: "Schools still provide custodial drill for the poor, enrichment for the rich, and equal instruction for those with equal economic or political clout" (pp.67-68). He further feels that citizens seem to be most vulnerable to the deceptions of culture when they consider their most precious possession - children. The real position that the mass media gives to teachers and schools is indicated in the 'hidden curriculum' of the mass media. To understand that, one has to arrive at the hidden messages through the application of the message system analysis; and critical interpretation of the results.

> The image of schools and scholars is that part of the hidden curriculum in which all members of society learn about learning itself. Its symbolic functions relate images of learning, and of the formal institutions of learning, to basic human values and to the locus of power in society. I think that the figure of the schoolteacher is a central symbol of the uses and control of popular knowledge. Its most telling features touch upon questions of vitality and self-direction, social relations, morality and power (Gerbner, 1974a, p.73).

Although there are more than 2.5 million teachers in U.S.A. and as a profession, teaching is the largest in the media world (especially films and television), this profession ranks among the smallest. It is true that frequency of symbolic representation is not the reflection of

census figures. But Gerbner feels that such disproportionate representation has some messages of its own. When teachers are represented in the media they are generally depicted as cruel and unsympathetic or when they are good, weak and impotent. He recalls that "Schwartz's study of Hollywood movies found that the presence of a teacher tips the odds three to one in favor of the movie being a comedy" (*ibidem*, p.77). Love and sex are considered by Gerbner as dramatic symbols of vitality and power. The symbolic stature of a profession can be measured by how that profession fares in love. "The mass media teacher pays a price for professional success. The price is impotence, and worse" (p.78). He observes that often school stories feature romance more than stories in general; but romance rarely involves the teacher and least of all the woman teacher. Further teachers rarely inspire love or fall in love especially with each other. The teacher who falls in love usually finds a partner outside education. "Failure in love and defeat in life permit most media teachers to be fully dedicated to the profession. The media teacher leaving for another specific occupation knows the road to success in the media world" (p.78). Such depictions are not compliments to the profession. In the same article when speaking of schools, Gerbner refers to sports stories connected to the schools as well.

> The school sports story, with its violent terminology, strong group spirit, and concern over the rules of the game, is the most likely vehicle for community enthusiasm, teamwork and the mixing of different classes and races in a common cause. It generally demonstrates the ethics of skill and power among those who achieve equal status. (This can be contrasted with the symbolic functions of the crime or spy story displaying the game of power among those of unequal status or those who do not play by the same rules).
>
> The typical school sports story is a morality play that shows a sort of pragmatic "democracy in action". The rules will bend within reason, and anyone can play, as long as the game is just a game and the prime source of power is clearly understood. Abuse the rules and the tone changes (p.81-82).

School sports stories too are seen by Gerbner as portraying the game of power. They are considered as morality plays that show a pragmatic democracy in action where the prime source of power has to be clearly understood.

Gerbner (1974a) argues that the media teachers, when they cannot relate to situations where students play the lead, do not find a place at all. He writes: "Typically presented as alien to the community in which they live and work, and often in conflict with its values, teachers may be seen as well meaning and kindly if impotent, or dangerous and evil if powerful, but rarely both good *and* effective" (p.82). The nonconformist media teachers normally come to grief or realize the error of their ways. The patterns of unreconciled conflicts between teachers and the community are caused when teachers try to reform the society instead of sticking to their school assignments.

> Most instances of unreconciled conflict between teachers and community involve the cardinal sins of trying to change society rather than the schools (usually labeled "communism") or of finding a source of wisdom outside the approved community context (usually represented as "atheism"). Sex often appears as a malignant obsession when sought by such unlikely characters as teachers (Gerbner, 1974a, pp.82-83, emphases in original).

Gerbner cites the findings of other researchers regarding the image of teachers: a) Dallas Smythe's[46] analysis of television drama found that the image of the teacher was the cleanest and kindest among all the TV occupations, but depicted as the weakest, softest and slowest as well; b) "O'Dowd and Beardsley found that the student image of the schoolteacher is that of an unselfish, uninteresting, unsuccessful, and effeminate person. The scientist, on the other hand, presents the image of the cool, cruel, hard-driving intellectual and often a loner who cannot be trusted" (p.83); c) Joseph Gusfield and Michael Schwartz (1963) came to more or less same conclusions. The teacher according to them ranks most honest and second most useful of 15 occupations; at the same time, the weakest and the lightest.

From his studies Gerbner also found that academic research often leads to murder (nearly in half of twenty five films that portray teachers and which films he analyzed). "In a group of nine films dealing with research, the experimenting teacher or professor falls victim to his own delusions and exposes the stupidity or hypocrisy of scholarship" (p.84). Moreover, media teachers are seen to invent poison, revive prehistoric monsters to get rid of enemies, hypnotize gorillas to kill girls who refuse their advances, etc. Some of them die at the hands of their own evil inventions to the relief of mankind. On the other hand student scholarship though foolish is never evil or selfish. When classroom scenes are depicted they hardly feature learning, but rather problems of authority and discipline. The teacher who struggles to control a class often turns brutal and sadistic. In other films featuring classroom situations, students strike back in kind and in the struggle the teacher rarely wins (see Gerbner 1974a).

Gerbner and his colleagues conducted a series of cross-cultural comparative studies[47] on the issue of the image of teacher, and school in the media. It was found that only in the American media successful teachers were depicted as less likely to pursue aims of social morality; and those who did were doomed to failure. Those teachers who did tackle social issues were often naive, comic and at times even mad, and most of these were victims of some cruel misfortune. The American media (in comparison to the other countries studied), could be termed unique in not earmarking significant resources to young people[48]. To quote the same source: "They treat children as a low-income, high-profit, quick-turnover market where the message of social power (police, violence) can be sold in its cheapest and crudest forms" (p.87). The young people "become universally employable for dramatic purposes (as in life) when they *leave* school" (*ibidem*, emphasis in original). Compared to this situation the media of Eastern Europe depict students in large numbers and are given thematic and moral importance in the mainstream of their symbolic world. Reflecting on the situation Gerbner (1974a) writes:

> Mass media are cultural organs of industrial society. Their ownership, management and clientele - extending the institutional order into the cultural sphere - shape their outlook and functions. The organizational and client relationships of Eastern European media interlock with other public institutions, including the schools, the party and the state itself. The hidden curriculum serves the same institutional interests as the overt one; both are agencies of planned social transformation. This places media images of schools, scholars, and the knowledge they symbolize, in the mainstream of the symbolic world undergoing a cultural revolution. In performing their symbolic functions, socialist media can take advantage of their legacy of intellectual leadership in nationalistic and proletarian movements in which teachers have had a prominent place for centuries (p.90).

From these studies it seems the teacher image in Eastern European media (socialist media) is pointedly a richer one compared to the Western media. In most of the stories the power of the state backs the authority of the teacher. The media schools of Eastern Europe are seen to be more related to real life; and learning is seen as having immediate good benefits at least twice as frequently as in the media schools of the West. The students are depicted as interested in knowledge and participating actively in community affairs. The media students of Eastern Europe in fact were seen taking examinations three times more frequently than the students of the West and the U.S. But students of the West were seen at least four times more frequently dominating classroom activity in comparison to their counterparts in Eastern Europe. The teacher of the socialist media "reflects a happier fate and more stable, purposeful and socially meaningful existence in its own fictional world than it does in the West" (p.90). Further Gerbner notes that: "As we go from West to East, teachers stand out in their own fictional environments as more distinguished in learning and in qualities of personal and social morality" (*ibidem*). The image of the American media teacher, on the other hand, is a depressing one.

> The most enduring and pervasive images of teachers in American mass culture are those that humiliate and depress them. Failure in love and impotence in life permit them to be "good" or they can be vigorous but

> evil, or perhaps only ridiculous (Gerbner, 1974a, p.91, emphasis in original).

Reflecting on the sorry plight of the media teacher and school in the West, Gerbner makes some affirmations. The saddest thing is that in all these depictions, schools do not appear to be a major public responsibility, unlike the army or the police.

> No school or culture educates children for some other society. Giving teachers a massive mission and having schools soak up all the dreams and aspirations citizens have for their children doom the enterprise to failure. No social order can afford to make good such a promise. The illusion itself contains the seeds of the noble - but- impractical image. It becomes only reasonable and realistic to show teachers full of goodness, but snapped of vitality and power. Turn on the power and the impotent figure becomes a monster, only confirming the doubts and suspicions inherent in the ambivalent "image" (*ibidem*, emphasis in original).

He goes on to say that in the media schools are depicted as places of conflict except in sports stories where teamwork is encouraged for realizing the goal of winning for the team. "The school sports story provides a dramatic framework for learning the rules of order and life in a community dedicated to skills directly applicable to competitive power" (*ibidem*). Media scholars (American) symbolize the noble and idealistic goals of learning; but in the same vein they are depicted as strange, weak, and foolish and generally unworthy of the support of the community, thus killing the richness of the image in the process. The hidden curriculum of the media also cultivates the illusion of social change and reform through education, and "at the same time, helps pave the way for the perennial collapse of its achievements" (*ibidem*). The bankruptcy of schools is depicted as their own fault. Such ambivalence exists because of the following reason:

> American media are cultural arms of private enterprise in the public sphere. The images they project have a dual character. They attempt to be serviceable (or at least not inimical) to the commercial and other interests of private enterprise, and, at the same time, represent

those public ideals that give them universal attraction, currency and credibility (Gerbner, 1974a, p.92).

Thus catering to public ideals, teachers are assigned a messianic mission and education the highest priority. But to cater to the private interests of dramatic effects, teachers when good are impotent, failures in love; when powerful evil and cruel. To acquire large audiences such cheap violence (as in the classroom) is deemed to be helpful. Such being the case, Gerbner suggests that first of all we must discover the actual laws of symbolic behavior depicted in the media, and then have the courage to change the existing structures to achieve the noble and idealistic goals of education. Let me conclude this presentation with a quotation from Gerbner (1974a):

> The task is to discover the actual laws of symbolic behavior in a field of conflicting institutional interests, and to assess their real contributions to the cultivation of human conceptions and social reality.
>
> I doubt that the nature of education, the role of knowledge and the prospect for real changes in school policy can be fully grasped until that assessment is well under way. New developments in communication technology have the potential of altering social patterns of knowledge, as did the old developments. The question is whether they will merely extend even further the scope and reach of the existing structures, or begin to change them. That, of course, is not a technological but an institutional question. Institutions use technology in communications and culture for their own purposes. The image of the schoolteacher in the hidden curriculum of the mass media may continue to be a useful indicator of those purposes (p.92).

6.4 TOWARDS A COURSE IN MASS MEDIA ANALYSIS

As established in the previous sections, many of the functions of the school and the teacher have been taken over by the media. Added to that, the images of the teacher and the school in the mass media are sorry ones. The mass media revolution is tightening its grip on society. Hence, one should have a critical and analytical approach to the hidden messages of the media. The aim of education should be

to make the educand critically aware of the situation so that in all liberty one can choose, absorb and put into practice the salutary lessons presented by the media. Gerbner puts forward the principles of a course in media analysis based on his Message System Analysis, Institutional Process Analysis, and Cultivation Analysis. Already in 1959 he proposed a course in the curriculum to learn about the social aspects of mass communication.

> ... the course is designed to help develop ways of observing the mass media as social institutions producing images of man, life, and the world, and to reflect on the uses we make of them.
>
> This nutshell description identifies four phases of the course. The first has to do with the development of observing "familiar" things in ways different from casual, everyday observations. The second involves the observation of the mass media of communications as social institutions and of popular culture as a function of society and of human development. The third phase of the course deals with the body of representations and points of view which provides the cultural time-space context and value orientation of behavior we consider characteristically human. The fourth phase explores the uses we make of our investment in "leisure time" and the range of alternatives that meet the criteria of democratic society (Gerbner, 1959a, p.271).

The student will not be required to acquire specialized skills in the manipulation of equipment, materials or people. Such a course as described above will not produce expert communicators or elevate artistic tastes or secure a career in the communications field. "The purpose of the course is to develop the approaches, values, and methods of social science in the consideration of mass communications as popular culture" (*ibidem*, p.270). In other words, the scope of the course will be to achieve progress toward three types of self-direction: consumer self-direction, professional self-direction, and self-direction as a citizen. Gerbner (1959a) also warns that such a course will not solve all the problems. In fact there are no easy solutions that can be arrived at in a classroom. "They are permanent problems of personal judgment, professional conduct, communications research, social theory, and national policy. They have emerged as

continuing responsibilities and challenge educational planning as the study of English or citizenship or science does" (p.271). More systematic planning to induct such a media curriculum in the educational institutions is required. Teachers should be prepared through experimental workshops to conduct such courses in media analysis. In fact Gerbner gives great importance to the role of the teacher in helping students arrive at critical skills and personal self-direction in the use of the mass media. He wants teachers to critique the existing society, its values, and its mass media lessons.

> What is the job of the teacher? Is it to cultivate existing assumptions, whatever they might be, in order to put across the desired "messages"? This is, in effect, what some lists of "helpful hints" on "effective communication" tell us. This is what much narrowly conceived and superficially interpreted research on communication "effects" tell us. But cultivating existing assumptions in order to put across the desired "messages" is manipulation, not "education".
>
> Often the teacher cannot honestly convey his message without challenging cherished assumptions. And at times, unexamined assumptions implicitly reflected in messages counter and negate the explicit "lessons". Therefore, the analysis of messages in teaching first leads to self-analysis; what am I communicating besides what I think I am teaching? Am I talking about "a government of laws and not of men" - but from a Lone Ranger point of view? Do I need monsters to make a unit on space travel or on life on other planets more believable (Gerbner, 1963e, p.33, emphases in original).

Gerbner would want the teacher to make a self-analysis to see whether he/she is cultivating some existing assumptions that are implicit in the messages and often negate the explicit messages. Such self-analysis will lead to the necessity of challenging certain cherished assumptions of the institutional powers. All effective communicators need not be in the classroom if by effective communication is meant successfully manipulating people. "I should not be in the classroom for the simple reason that successfully manipulating people, even into the "right" conclusions, only impoverishes the bases of self-direction and, therefore, negates the

aims of education" (*ibidem*, emphasis in original). For Gerbner because of his critical theory of education, manipulation to arrive at the right conclusions is part of exploitation and not liberation. He insists that people...

> ... learn best not what their teachers think they teach or what their preachers think they preach, but what their cultures in fact cultivate. We "teach" many things, most of them short-lived. But we cultivate the assumptions, contexts, and points of view in terms of which we communicate all things. These terms are likely to be the most lasting and least examined parts of our lessons" (*ibidem*, emphasis in original).

Seen in this light a teacher while teaching Mathematics, Science, or English, is also teaching perspectives on man, life, and the world. The critical self-analysis the teacher should make is to reflect what these perspectives really are. Are they the right ones or merely what vested interests would want to be taught? Added to that, on the value level teaching has elements of art, science and organization.

> The teacher as administrator and organizer of communication activities uses means, facilities, and context of pertinent evidence. The teacher as scientist assesses the truth qualities of information and the validity of assumptions, contexts, and points of view implicit in statements. The teacher as artist uses his skills and materials to express true and valid beliefs in clear and convincing forms (*ibidem*, p.34).

Thus the teacher combines in himself/herself the humanizing functions of administration, science, and art in communication; he/she should always strive to make "choices freer, beliefs truer and truths more believable" (*ibidem*). Hence a media course (and every communication event in the classroom, for that matter) should lead to self-analysis and a concern with the full range of consequences that are implicit in the humanizing process of communication.[49] As most people learn what their cultures teach, a revolution in culture brought about by the great growth in communications, has also

effected a transformation in learning, affecting, and altering the position of the teacher and the school in modern society.

Gerbner has developed for himself a practical course in media analysis based on the above principles and has been teaching it for decades at the Annenberg School For Communication in Philadelphia.[50] The scope of the course as given in his class handouts[51], is the "presentation and application of a frame work for the critical analysis of mass media policies, content, and effects. Class discussion, reading and critique of published studies, and daily exercises lead to the proposal and completion of a simple project addressing a problem of special interest to each student". The students are required to read articles (mostly written by him, on his model and theory of communication, Cultural Indicators Strategy, etc.) that give a basis to understanding his theories. Students are required: 1) to participate actively in class discussions including brief oral reports and critiques reflecting preparation for each session; 2) to take part in exercises that apply the framework for analysis; 3) to present a project proposal; and 4) the realization of an original project, a written report of which has to be submitted along with a brief presentation of it in class. To quote from his class handouts (1992):

> This is a practical course in discovering and testing patterns of content, policy, and effects in everyday media culture. It is not a technical, media production, or research methodology course. It is a liberal arts course, part of the general education of cultural consumers, citizens, and professionals, especially teachers. There are no prerequisites except a good command of English and the motivation for intensive work. The outcome of the course may be measured in terms of progress in the ability to formulate and inquire into problems in mass communications; to analyze mass media policies, content, and effects; to propose, conduct, present, and critique studies; and to demonstrate the critical facility needed to come to your own conclusions (p.1).

The practical part of the course consists in the analysis, problem-formulation, proposal writing, critique, and the conducting and reporting of a project of modest scope but with some significance

and originality. Being an excellent teacher and communicator (see Ledger, 1984) and also an experienced advisor to policy-makers for years, Gerbner has the enviable capacity to present his conclusions and rationale confidently and persuasively. But he prefers students who challenge him and repeats often that there are no foolish questions. Through questions put to the students he draws out answers that clarify basic definitions about communication, message, publics, etc. He has excellent board-work and by the end of the class the blackboard will be filled with circles, figures, and connecting arrows. Before long students will be working on their own interested projects. From my own personal experience I can say that he has a captivating method of teaching[52].

He describes the course as a journey where the four phases of a curriculum to learn about the social aspects of mass communication are realized[53]. The phases are: (1) to develop ways of observing... (terms of perception - assumptions, contexts, point of view); (2) mass media as social institutions... (Institutional Process Analysis); (3) producing images of life and the world... (Message System Analysis); (4) reflecting on the uses we make of them... (Cultivation Analysis, effects). An outline of the course itself is given below:

1. The territory
   a) Definitions
   b) Model
   c)Journey of discovery. Course objectives, conduct, outline. Images and the terms of perception: assumptions (attention), context (emphasis), point of view (tendency).
2. Message System Analysis (MSA): News
3. Message System Analysis (MSA): Fiction, drama
4. Institutional Process Analysis (IPA)
   a) Income distribution and market structure
   b) Power role analysis
5. Institutional Process Analysis (IPA); Proposal writing
6. Project Proposals; Effects and Cultivation Analysis (ECA)
7. Effects and Cultivation Analysis (ECA); Critiques
8. Preparation for final reports and critiques.
9. Class presentations, critiques. Evaluation, conclusions. Final written reports due.

In the outline given above one can easily see how the three prongs of the Cultural Indicators Strategy are made use of for media analysis. During the course, the student will be obliged to learn about the main tenets of the cultivation theory as well as the theoretical foundations of Gerbner's approach. The course itself is a practical course obliging the student to apply the principle of critical research according to the methods developed by Gerbner. One can see that it is a very useful course that can be adapted even for the school students. This definitely is a great contribution of Gerbner to media education.

6.5 CONCLUSION

To conclude this section on the educational implications of Gerbner's approach (from his own perspective), the following observations may be made. He propagates the idea of a liberating education that aims at the emancipation of the individual from a blind dependence on the traditional and local cultural environment. Such a liberation begins with a contact with the great art, science and philosophy of mankind. With the advent of the communication revolution many of the roles of the educational institutions have been taken over by the media (especially television). The story-telling function of the traditional institutions of the family and the school, is absorbed by television especially, not for the common good but to serve the interests of the conglomerates who own the media. Educators on the other hand have wondered about the dire consequences of the compulsion to present life in salable packages. The great educational potential of television has to be recognized and made use for public good.

Democracy promises free choices in consumption to everyone but the media takes away this freedom. We as citizens should reclaim our democratic right to make free choices in consumption; and make use of the right to exercise policy choices in the field of culture. If we do not consciously exercise it, we will lose this right by default

(according to Gerbner). For him the aim of education is to help the educand to make such cultural choices consciously and responsibly. The challenge of education is to critically examine media messages (the hidden curriculum) and be aware of the consequences of such messages. Seen in this light, Gerbner would want media studies and critical viewing curricula to be at the center of a liberating education. This education should further lead to the struggle to have public access to and real participation in the institutional decision-making process. This often warrants changes in the existing structures as well.

In Gerbner's view, although the challenges of education are many, the educational institutions are ill-equipped to deal with them. The mass media that has taken over many of the functions of schools and teachers consistently present a sorry picture of the teacher, school, research and students. The classrooms are consistently presented as places of conflict where the teacher rarely comes on top. If any teacher does succeed to control the class, he/she is seen as cruel and sadistic. Academic research often leads to murder (the image of the evil scientist). Teachers are given messianic missions but are depicted as weak and impotent. Failure in love and impotence helps them remain good and faithful to their profession. If the teacher is potent he/she is also evil. The media teachers of socialistic countries fare better than their counterparts in the West and the U.S.

Gerbner sees the above situation as an effort (may be unconscious) by the media to tarnish the image of the teacher, school and traditional education. As a result, the necessity of a critical media analysis course becomes more than ever important. On the basis of his theory, Gerbner has developed a practical course in media analysis. The aim is to have a critical and analytical approach to media messages. This course according to him should form part of the general education. The teacher should reflect what perspectives on life and the world are taught when he/she teaches history, English, science or mathematics. If honest, the teacher will have often to challenge the perspectives provided by the syllabus and the

educational authorities. The course itself is designed to develop "ways of observing the mass media as social institutions producing images of man, life and the world and to reflect on the uses we make use of them" (Gerbner, 1959a, p.271). The teacher should combine in himself/herself the humanizing functions of administration, art and science to make "choices freer, beliefs truer, and truths more believable" (Gerbner, 1963e, p.34). It is a practical course that applies his principles and methods of research (Cultural Indicators Strategy), and is designed to equip the student with the ability to 'formulate and inquire into problems in mass communication, to analyze mass media policies, content and effects, to prepare, conduct, present and critique studies, and to demonstrate a critical facility to come to one's own conclusions'[54]. This course, in my opinion, can be adapted to school requirements and conducted profitably not only for school students, but also for teachers, and even for the public at large. This itself is a major contribution of Gerbner to the education field. This further proves the tenability of the third conclusion (mentioned in the beginning of this chapter) that Gerbner should be considered a critical analyst of the world of communications and more so, as a citizen involved in social emancipation movements (like the CEM), sensible to the necessity of developing not only a theory but also good methods in media education from a liberation perspective.

7. CONTRIBUTIONS & PROBLEM AREAS OF THE CULTIVATION APPROACH

The greatest contribution that Gerbner has made to communication theory and research is the cultivation theory itself. The basic meaning of cultivation is that "the dominant modes of cultural production tend to generate messages and representations which nourish and sustain the ideologies, perspectives and practices of the institutions and cultural contexts from which they arise" (Morgan, p.15). Hence the idea of cultivation is much more than the common understanding: a lot of television viewing universally fosters

fear, apprehension, sex-role stereotypes, etc., though these can be the consequences of cultivation.

The model of communication as developed by Gerbner is dynamic in character with the possibility of using it for several purposes. Besides, the research methodology envisaged in the Cultural Indicators Strategy has been found very useful to the study of mass media. These are great contributions to the field of communications. The central argument in Gerbner's work is that the cultural process of story-telling (which is the most distinctly humanizing phenomenon) is being increasingly taken over by global commercial interests who have something to sell. As a result, traditional functions of the cultural institutions like the family, the church, and the school are being shaped by transnational corporations - a private government, run by people whom nobody elected and nobody really knows. Through his Cultural Environment Movement, Gerbner hopes to consolidate and strengthen the work of diverse professional and other groups, for the purpose of taking back the cultural environment to the people. Thus he hopes that even the voices and interests of those who do not fit in the commercial and market exigencies of the conglomerates, will be heard when cultural decisions are made. In this way, he feels that the media can be used to promote rather than undermine democracy. He is convinced that when organized cultural diversity in programming is respected, when real diversity or pluralism of cultural sources and personal perspectives are guaranteed, and when the common man/woman will have the right to participate in cultural decision-making, the society and the individual would be free from the cultural domination of the media. Gerbner's basic concern has been this emancipation and liberation of the individual and the society from such cultural domination. From our presentation and analysis so far, the above assertion which is nothing but the hypothesis of this dissertation, is deemed to be tenable. Let us proceed to some further assets of the cultivation approach.

7.1 THE ASSETS OF THE CULTIVATION APPROACH OF GERBNER

Gerbner's Cultural Indicators paradigm has received great attention in academic circles. The bibliography at the end of this dissertation can bear witness to that. Bryant (1986) remarked that the studies of cultivation seem to be as ubiquitous as television itself. He also noted that in a study of more than hundred courses in mass media across the colleges and universities in the U.S., he found that cultivation was one of only three topics receiving detailed examination in more than half the courses. He also affirmed in the same article that cultivation research can be considered as one of the few contributions by mass communication scholars to infiltrate such fields as social psychology and sociology with some regularity. This shows how Gerbner's theories have been so influential in academic circles.

Gerbner has supplied a coherent theory of communication through his cultivation theory which has theoretical foundations and empirical support. As mentioned earlier, his dynamic model of communication is well known. The fundamental values he seems to be holding on to are the values of freedom, democracy, self-direction, respect for sub-cultures, and respect for diversity which (according to him) is the structure of freedom. For him the humanizing process by which man is 'accultured' in society is through communication. These are profound meanings given to communications and outline its scope.

The cultivation theory is backed by a great deal of research. In this Gerbner has been lucky to get the support of federal funding, especially for his 'Violence Profiles' studies. The fact that he was able to convince even the American Congress to allot funds for his research goes to his credit. As a result, it is no exaggeration to say that few theories of communication can claim such a vast amount of research to back it.

In his research, Gerbner went beyond the quantitative and qualitative methods of research; and was not afraid to use mixed

methods of research. In this he provided a bridge between the two methods of research (see Murphy, 1984). Adoni & Maine (1984) said "the Cultural Indicators Project is a pioneering approach to a holistic empirical study of mass culture. Consequently, it is a potential meeting point for empirical research on media effects and the critical approach to cultural phenomena" (p.335). Rosengren (1983) feels: "Regardless of the validity of the criticism directed against Gerbner and his group, their approach represents a major step forward and has given an increased impetus to the study of culture" (p.195). So if I say that the research of Gerbner has dynamically brought together the quantitative and the qualitative methods of research, I am not the only one who thinks so.

Gerbner's theory and research have encouraged many other researchers to conduct similar research, as evidenced in our presentation. Apart from researching the cognitive and psychological aspects of cultivation (to which Gerbner has not given much attention), his methods have been used for other types of research as well. For example, Morley (1992) made use of the propositional analysis developed by Gerbner, for his own research on television, audiences, and cultural studies. Morley (1992) found that by using Gerbner's (1964b) method of proposition analysis, declarative statements may be reconstructed in terms of the simple propositions which support or underpin them. The aim of Gerbner's proposition analysis is to make explicit the implicit propositions, assumptions and norms that underlie and make it logically acceptable to advance a particular opinion or point of view.

The theory and research of Gerbner make us aware of the danger of losing by default the freedom promised by democracy. The media has tremendous potential for the individual and society; but if allowed to function as it is (catering to the marketing needs of transnationals), it can endanger democracy instead of promoting it. So Gerbner wants us to reclaim our right to participate in decision-making when cultural decisions are made, and also assume the

diversity of programming that will uphold the different points of view, tastes and cultures.

Besides, as evidenced in our presentation, Gerbner's critical stance is a great contribution to the field of communications. His concepts of communication, culture, message, story-telling etc., have a critical thrust. The concept of cultivation that sees media trying to promote the *status quo* reveals his critical outlook. His idea of education is something geared to the emancipation of the individual from the dominating media, and realization of the ability for critical self-direction is itself enlightening. He would insist that education should not become manipulation even if it is for sublime goals.

The launching of the Cultural Environment Movement, a political movement, is for assuring a real diversity and pluralism of cultural sources and personal perspectives. This movement itself is a positive contribution of Gerbner.

It may not be an exaggeration to say that everyone believes that the mass media and especially television have some influence on all of us. Experts might differ on the degree of influence, but all would say that there is some influence. How do we measure this? Through his Message System Analysis and Cultivation Analysis, Gerbner has shown us a method of measuring it. The findings may not apply to every individual in society, but they definitely give an idea about what applies to the majority. This itself is a great contribution.

Condry (1989) talking about Gerbner's cultivation theory says that every year at the local and national level, as democratic citizens, we have to make judgments regarding the allotment of funds for education or the police or the army. In such political decisions we have to use our beliefs and judgments about what the real world is like. If a distorted presentation of the world takes place through television and other media (as shown in the Message System Analysis of Gerbner), it is possible that our judgments about the real world can be influenced by such presentations. In this situation we should

be aware of such influence and "try to understand how this influence might effect a democratic form of government" (p.142). Gerbner's theory and research have done much to help us to be aware of the influences that the media is having on us. It is no small contribution.

7.2 THE PROBLEM AREAS

Merton (1957) has caricatured the differences between European and American approaches to social research, sociology of knowledge and mass communication. Thus he would see European scholars as interested in knowledge, ideology of social movements, and theories about how ideas emerge, while American scholars would worry about information, survey of opinions of voters, and a preoccupation with statistics. Gerbner, trained in both worlds (he is of Hungarian origin), has embraced both the traditions. As Waters (1982) says, his methodology "meshes scholarly observation with mundane legwork" (p.136), and hence it must suffer from some of the weaknesses and excesses of both as well. That is the reason why critical theorists (like Van Poecke 1980; White, 1983) find him falling short in theory. They also think that his use of quantitative content analysis is inherently limiting. Those who insist on statistical precision (like Blank, Hirsch, etc.) on the other hand argue that Gerbner has fallen short in his use of content analysis, his definition of violence is defective, his sampling techniques are inadequate, and his scientific method does not prove what he says it does. Though Gerbner has tried to avoid being limited by the two extremes by dynamically combining the two approaches in his methodology, he has not been able to satisfy the extreme views on either side. Any amalgamation of opposites can be expected to have this problem.

As many of the criticisms directed against Gerbner by other researchers have been presented in Chapter 4, I do not intend to go into those here. Rather, a few problem areas will be highlighted, for the purpose of pointing out a few aspects in Gerbner's research that need further consideration and research (according to me).

Gerbner's definition of violence is a problem area for many. The understanding of violence and its definition vary according to the culture in which a person lives. Hence one cannot talk about a single definition of violence that is applicable in all cultures. The cultivation theory does not seem to take this into account. Besides, Gerbner's (1972c) definition of violence does not include psychological violence and damage to property. Belson (1978) had included these also in his definition of violence; many consider them essential to any genuine definition of violence.

The unitization of violence is another problem area. This may be a problem common to all quantitative research. In order to count the number of incidents of violence, one has to be able to say when a particular violence starts and when it ends. Gerbner & Gross (1980) have this answer to offer:

> Violent action means a scene of some violence confined to the same parties. If a scene is interrupted (by flashback or shift to another scene) but continues in 'real time', it is still the same act. However if a new agent enters the scene, that begins another act (p.185).

To quantify violence in this way is questionable, as violence does not suddenly erupt from a state of non-violence. Violence is often led up to that state and once the peak is reached it does not end abruptly. Further, if violence is an expression of power, one has to admit that it cannot be reduced to physical violence alone, as it can take various subtle forms.

Further, the Cultivation Analysis of Gerbner et al. (1978a) is based on the assumption that:

> ... television is the chief creator of synthetic cultural patterns. ... The repetitive pattern of television's mass-produced messages and images forms the mainstream of the common symbolic environment that cultivates the most widely shared conceptions of reality (p.178).

There are two difficulties here. Firstly, that television is the chief creator of cultural patterns is yet to be established. In point of

fact, the Cultural Indicators Project, when it has explored other areas of the culture, is supposed to demonstrate precisely this. Hence one cannot make this assumption prior to its proof; or if such an assumption is made, it cannot become part of the proof. Secondly, even if it is established, this may have been true when TV was a novelty; but it cannot be held anymore (with the same vehemence) with the arrival of home videos and computer games; and the imminent 500 channel selection possibility. Gerbner's answer that these developments have not in fact increased diversity in programming but more and more of the same type, is not the complete truth.

The cultivation theory does not give sufficient importance to the cognitive processes that are going on in the mind of the viewer as he/she watches television. As the theory studies the consequences of the consumption of media (especially television) from a sociological perspective, the proponents of the theory may feel justified in ignoring the psychological aspect[55]. But man is both psychological and sociological. Neither the social environment nor the psychological make up of man, can be denied when the reality of effects on the total person, is the subject of study. I am inclined to agree with authors like Condry (1989) who think that the notion of 'script' would give Gerbner's analysis the one thing it lacks: a firm grounding in psychological theory.[56]

As seen earlier in Chapter 4, some critics of Gerbner (e.g. Hirsch 1980a) have found fault with him for not doing an adequate job of controlling other variables when the cultivation effects are ascertained. Hirsch (1980a) in particular conducted further analysis and concluded that if one controls a number of different variables all at the same time (Gerbner-group in the beginning was controlling one variable at a time), the remaining effect that can be attributed solely to television may be negligible. Besides, Hirsch's (1980a; 1981a; 1981b) introduction of the two extreme categories of non-viewers and very heavy viewers showed that the logic of the cultivation theory did not apply to them. In fact non-viewers were more fearful, approving of

violence, and alienated than light viewers, while extreme heavy viewers were seen to be less fearful, less approving of violence than heavy viewers. Gerbner's answer that these two groups formed less than 10% of the population and hence the cultivation theory applied to the remaining 90% does not really answer why such a situation exists. I am inclined to think that there are many more depending variables that go into the matter, of which we have no knowledge yet. After all, such studies concern human behavior, which is so complex that continuous empirical research and clarification of theory would be necessary before precision can be achieved. In fact Gerbner & Gross (1979) have accepted the charge of the need to be more precise and clear in their presentation of the results of their research. In the same way they should be able to define precisely the conditions under which both mainstreaming and resonance will take place. Such precision probably needs more and varied research.

There are many research scientists (especially the cognitivists) who object to the powerful media effect paradigm put forward by Gerbner's theory. A casual reading of the literature on the cultivation theory would give a pessimistic and negative view of the media. One could wonder if the alarm about television corrupting whole societies, is not too much of an exaggeration. While we should be aware of the social consequences of the mass media, is the situation that alarming? May be Gerbner should give a little more importance to the possible positive uses to which mass media (especially television) can be put to, instead of appearing to be a prophet of doom.

The cultivation theory in fact has included the study of only one media which is television. One could question whether all the messages coming to the social consciousness can be reduced to those supplied by television alone, as Gerbner seems to think. One would think television is only one of the elements (albeit the most important) of culture and hence a true study of culture should include the other media as well. The critical researchers (of a radical nature) would want Gerbner to have a general theory of society that would include an understanding of the historical, political, and economic conditions

that influence both message-content and individual perceptions.[57] This lack of a strong theory will remain a weakness of Gerbner's approach.

Most of the research backing the cultivation theory has been concerned with the salient image of violence. While violence is a thorny problem in the American society, a universal theory like the cultivation theory should not show a preoccupation only with violence. Other issues like, aging, sex-role stereotypes, mental health, doctors & nurses, etc. have been studied of late. May be the theory should be extended to other areas including the viewer's subjective transformation of TV portrayals.

A glance through Gerbner's voluminous writings, reveals that his work has been scattered, going in different directions. He seems to be holding on to some basic values of democracy, freedom, self-direction, the importance of sub-cultures, etc. But nowhere does he explain why these are 'sacred cows' for him. An in-depth study of Gerbner makes one realize that there are some philosophical foundations to his thought. But even this, apart from what he gave as philosophical foundations in his Ph.D dissertation in 1955, no further explicit enunciation is available. To refine his theory and research further, it may be helpful to clearly enunciate his philosophical options as well as the fundamental values he is holding on to, and give reasons why. It may be time to make a synthesis of his life-work. Hopefully, such a compilation of his life's work will be done by him in the near future.

Gerbner seems to stop at making people aware of the dangers in uncritically accepting the messages of the media and argues for active participation in decision-making regarding programing. But he has no suggestions about how to achieve it. His view that television programming should be free of commercials is an 'utopia' as he has no real concrete suggestion how else such astronomical expenses as needed for programming can be met. His Cultural Environment Movement is a contribution in the right direction. Again its scope is not yet defined clearly and no clear methods to achieve the goals are

supplied yet. A pragmatist would think that he is attempting the impossible.

7.3 AREAS OF FURTHER RESEARCH

So far, I have tried to assess Gerbner's critical contribution to mass communication theory and research through the cultivation theory. This is only one element in his contributions to the discipline of communication. There are many other areas for research in Gerbner's multifaceted career. I would like to suggest a few of such areas and topics of study:

- Gerbner's contribution to make communication an academic discipline in its own right.

- Gerbner and the growth of the Annenberg School for Communication at the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.

- The philosophical foundations of Gerbner's theory and research.

- The concept of story-telling in Gerbner.

- A content analysis of the concept of culture in Gerbner's pubclications.

- The construction of a theory & praxis of education according to Gerbner.

- The Cultural Indicators Strategy as an ideal method for studying the effects of television.

- Empirical testing of the cultivation hypothesis in countries where it has not been done so far.

NOTES

[1] From early times of scientific research there have been different schools of research. In general, there have been two broad research orientations: that of the critical paradigm (a research tradition that stresses the historical, political, social, humanistic, and cultural aspects of reality), and the more pragmatic empirical paradigm of research (with its stress on quantitative analysis of reality). Thus critical researchers would make use more of qualitative methods of research and empirical researchers would use more of quantitative and statistical methods. Even the quantitative research used by the critical researchers would be from an interpretative point of view. The critical researchers would critique the elements of exploitation present in the society and the more radical among them would want to transform society. The empirical researchers on the other hand are bothered about the scientific demonstration of the *status quo*. The dichotomy between the two arise because of the different philosophical and theoretical foundations that they have. As the discussion in the text proceeds, it is hoped that the issue will be clarified further.

[2] This does not mean that Gerbner did not research till 1970. Rather it means that till roughly the year 1970, the works of Gerbner were predominantly of a theoretical nature. Several empirical studies were also conducted during this period, as may be seen from the bibliography. Only, when compared to the 1970s and 1980s, they were not so numerous.

[3] The quotation is from the manuscripts of Michael Morgan who has contributed a book chapter entitled "The critical contribution of George Gerbner", to a book (forthcoming) on critical researchers, edited by John Lent. Henceforth in this chapter this work will be referred to as simply: 'Morgan' (without any qualifications).

[4] I do not attempt to exhaust all the different shades of meanings that the term 'critical' has in mass communication, but rather basing on the opinions of some authors I would rather draw out the basic attributes of the term according to my point of view. One can always differ from it.

[5] For details see Wiggerhaus Rolf (1992)

[6] The multidimensional model of communication is presented in Chapter 2.

[7] As already mentioned earlier, while presenting the concepts of Gerbner, I will not stick to the period from 1950 to 1970 but quote from his writings that were published even after the said period of time. During the first phase he dedicated

himself predominantly to theoretical formulations. This does not mean that he ignored it completely in later years. Hence relevant writings of later years will be made use of in this section without sticking to any fixed period of time, so as to have a complete picture.

[8] Not to burden the main text with many quotations, some are given below. A few are already mentioned in Chapter 2 and hence not repeated here.

The exchange by means of the symbolic environment is what I define as communication. It is interaction through messages. Even when people interact face to face, they usually do it partly or wholly through the patterned exchange of messages (Gerbner, 1972b, p. 153).

Human communication is a unique product and extension of human imagination in forms that can be learned and shared. In the broadest "humanizing" sense, communication is the production, perception, and grasp of messages bearing man's notions of what is, what is important, and what is right (Gerbner, 1974c, p.59, emphasis in original).

Mass communication is the technologically and institutionally based mass production and distribution of the most broadly shared continuous flow of public messages in advanced industrial societies. ...

Mass communication is the mass-production of messages, and their rapid distribution to large and heterogeneous publics. Mass media are technologies employed by industrial organizations for the production and transmission of message systems in quantities obtainable only by mass-production or distribution methods. They bring into existence and cultivate, a new form of common consciousness - modern mass publics (*ibidem*, p.60).

[9] Some more definitions of culture by Gerbner are given below.

Culture is that *system* of messages that makes human society possible (Gerbner, 1974a, p.72, italics in original).

Every culture, as any school, will organize knowledge into patterns that cultivate a social order (*ibidem*).

In other words, culture is that symbolic organization which socializes us and cultivates our fantasies about a world we do not experience directly. It is a system of stories and other artifacts, increasingly mass-produced, that mediates between existence and our consciousness of

existence, and thereby helps shape both (Gerbner, 1983-84, p.14).

Culture is a system of messages that cultivates and regulates social relationships (Gerbner, 1988b, p.3).

Communication is interaction through messages. Messages are formally coded symbolic or representational patterns of some shared significance in a culture. Culture itself may be conceived as a system of messages that cultivates and regulates social relationships. Information-directed behavior processes occur in many forms of life and social systems. But it is in human society and culture that information processes, transformed as communications, play a most complex and distinctive part (*ibidem*, p.5).

[10] Some more quotations depicting the critical concern of Gerbner regarding the ownership and use of culture power are given below (taken from his own writings).

The mass media of communications are not merely "windows" to a world of reality and dreams; they are active creators of synthetic images and observers of both reality and dreams from points of view, contexts, and assumptions historically structured, socially and technologically determined. To become analytical observers of these communications, and of the patterns of culture they weave, we need to study the position of the mass media in society, and the points of view their position imparts to their messages. Then we need to define and validate the position from which *we* observe their observations (Gerbner, 1959a, p.272, emphasis in original).

Assumptions, context, point of view, are key concepts in the discussion of observation and perception. They are involved in the ways we look at things, name things; and, consequently, they are involved in the ways we *represent* things (*ibidem*, p.271, emphasis in original).

The strategy of private mass production is geared to careful assessment, cultivation, and exploitation of marketable desires. A detachment of intelligence specialists probes public fancy; reconnaissance brings in the sales charts, cost-per-thousand figures, consumption statistics; corporate headquarters issues a series of battle orders; an army of popularity engineers prepares compelling messages designed to make the public want what it will get. Then vivid images of life roll out of the 'dream factories', produced to exacting specifications to "give the public what it wants". These are the images and messages through which millions see, and judge, and live

in the broader human context. They affect the tone of living and the pattern of society. They cater to an insatiable search for imaginative and informative representations of the human conditions, for dreams that heal and restore, soothe and thrill, and bind men together across vast distances of space and time. They inevitably, and often unwittingly, help infuse life with direction, meaning, value. *This* is a public matter (*ibidem*, pp. 273-274, emphases in original).

Our industrial order was once attacked for subjecting man to wage-slavery. It is now charged with operating a corporate "welfare state", exploiting the leisure-time markets it has brought into being, leaving little choice for individual self-direction between the dire alternatives of surfeit and boredom (*ibidem*, p. 275).

And we tailor an increasing share of our popular cultural resources to the demands of salability, often irrelevant to creative purpose. This makes our machines more productive and our investments more profitable. To what extent, in what ways, and under what conditions can it also make *lives* more productive, and "leisure" *time* more creative? (*ibidem*, p.275, emphases in original).

[11] The concept of story-telling in Gerbner is explained briefly in Chapter 3 of this dissertation. Some more details are given here to show how the concept is so important in Gerbner; and how it is connected to his analysis of media systems.

[12] Gerbner's earlier studies in folklore at the University of Budapest must have certainly influenced him as well.

[13] The quotations do not exhaust all the sayings of Gerbner on the subject. I have made a random selection, so that the reader can have an idea about the notions of Gerbner. To avoid burdening the main text with many quotations some are given below.

Stories are symbolic structures that tell us what things are, how they work, and what to do (or not to do) about them. Stories also relate the teller to the person to whom the tale is told (Gerbner, 1988b, p.8).

A scary story tends to concentrate power in the teller; a sales pitch or plea for help in the one addressed. Whatever else they do, stories confirm authority and distribute power in many different ways. Story-telling shapes human reality and the social order (*ibidem*).

The essence of a centralized and licensed ritual like television is that it exposes far-flung and otherwise

heterogeneous communities to a common system of story-telling. This tends to blur the traditional distinctions of sex, age, region, class and other interests, blend them into a more coherent conception of reality, and bend them to the institutional interests of television as the chief cultural arm of industrial societies (*ibidem*, pp.9-10).

In any case, stories about how things work (for most people, drama and fiction) establish a symbolic structure within which more fragmented and isolated bits of information become credible and meaningful. You don't have to believe the "facts" of Little Red Riding Hood to accept the notion that big bad "wolves" may victimize old women and trick little girls - a lesson in sex roles, fear and power - and to begin your socialization as a man, as a woman, and as a consumer of crime and rape stories (*ibidem*, pp.10-11, emphases in original).

The full use of the human capacity for reflection and action, based on consciousness of the process of communication itself, involves, of course, the critical use of stories that illuminate how other stories work in building that set of often unexamined assumptions (*ibidem*, p.11).

The legends of old and the news of today compose highly selective and tightly scripted scenarios that serve specific interests, purposes, and social functions. That framework involves values and motivations; it affects what will be selected as fact and when, where, how, and why; it tends by and large to cultivate a given set of priorities, and neutralize or counter threats to subvert it (*ibidem*).

[14] Gerbner talks of three types of stories. The stories called fiction are about how things work. These stories build a fantasy we call reality. The stories about how things are, are what we call news today. They tend to confirm the visions, goals and rules of a particular society. There are also stories of value and choice - stories that tell us what to do. They were formally called sermons, instructions, laws but today they are called commercials. These 3 types of stories together constitute culture (see Gerbner 1985e & 1988b).

[15] This has been explained in detail in Chapter 3 of this work.

[16] These three characteristics have been established earlier on in this chapter as the basic attributes of a critical view of communications.

[17] To get an idea about the different ways in which Gerbner has quoted Andrew Fletcher, some of his quotations are given below:

> Today the words of Andrew Fletcher, uttered in 1704, reverberate in the halls of the Academy (and, at times, of Congress): "I believe if a man were permitted to write all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of the nation". For ours is a revolution in the making of all the ballads" (Gerbner, 1959a, p.267; also 1963e, p.35).
>
> The "ballads" of an age are those vivid, dramatic accounts and images which appear to compel attention for their own sake and which, in so doing, provide common assumptions about man, life, and the world. They are the means that create the terms upon which society communicates to its members (*ibidem*).
>
> The Scottish patriot Andrew Fletcher once said: "If a man were permitted to write all the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of the nation". The mass production of all the ballads is at the heart of the cultural transformation now in progress. The ballads of an age are powerful myths depicting its visions of the invisible forces of life, society and the universe. They are blends of fact and fiction designed to reveal how things are or ought to be. They compel attention for their own sake. They inform as they entertain. They make entertainment - the celebration of conventional morality - the only collective drill in which most members of a culture engage with pleasure. Today's popular entertainment in news, drama and fiction has become the universal source of public acculturation" (Gerbner, 1972b, p.153; the same repeated in other words in Gerbner, 1974c, p.60 and Gerbner, 1983-84).

[18] These conceptions have been already mentioned in Chapter 3. For completeness sake, some more clarifications are added here.

[19] This does not mean that Gerbner was not interested in the effects of media on individuals. It only means that his emphasis was always on the society. No society exists without the individuals composing it. Hence as a social communication scientist, he starts with the society and comes down to the individuals; not the other way about.

[20] Gerbner disliked to use the term "effect" to connote the consequences of media consumption, as the term "effect" has been long associated with the results arrived by short-term, laboratory type research conducted by media researchers to see the effect of certain programs on certain category of consumers. So he preferred to use the term "consequences" instead of "effects", to refer to the long-term indirect

effects of the messages of the media in which he was interested.

[21] These decisions are evidently concerning the media and its functions.

[22] In fact there are authors who see Gerbner as one researcher who has bridged the gap between the quantitative and qualitative methods of research. See Adoni & Maine (1984); Murphy (1985).

[23] Regarding the cohesiveness of television programs and the consequent approach of Gerbner, more is given in Chapter 3.

[24] The fact that Gerbner concentrated on the consequences of media from the point of cumulative exposure, did not mean that research focused on individual programs were unimportant or wrong. Only, the mass production of the media and especially television made it different from earlier cultural media and their consequences were more aptly studied on a long-term basis taking into account the cumulative exposure to the total system of messages. (See Gerbner, 1970a).

[25] Media, culture and society (media output, public beliefs and social patterns) form a three-legged stool. One cannot reasonably ask which leg of a three-legged stool is more important (Gerbner, 1966d).

[26] The critical thrust of Gerbner is evident here.

[27] Earlier in this chapter, we have established this trend to be one of the characteristics of a critical approach.

[28] Here I am freely paraphrasing Gerbner (1973).

[29] See Chapter 3.

[30] Earlier in this chapter we have established this attribute as a basic characteristic for a critical view of communications. In fact we did say that a critical view of communications envisages a concern to understand the sources of power and how it is exercised in the structure of media organization and how it is connected to political power.

[31] Some critics of Gerbner have accused him of being solely a quantitative researcher paying lip service to a humanistic qualitative approach (see Chapter 4 of this dissertation). Gerbner in his work tried to bridge the gap between the qualitative and quantitative methods. Personally he never understood the necessity of such a dichotomy. Early in his career (see Gerbner 1958b, p.46) he dismissed it as resulting neither in objectivity nor necessarily precision.

[32] See Chapter 3 of this work.

[33] Here we see Gerbner's critical concern about the social role of communications.

[34] Gerbner gives that reason for spending so much money and energy on research on television violence. Read Gerbner (1983-84) for detail. Another more pragmatic reason was that funds were readily available for such research.

[35] The Violence Profiles were periodic assessments of the amount of violence present in the major networks in the U.S.

[36] Here I am paraphrasing Gerbner's words for the purpose of avoiding too many quotations.

[37] See Chapter 4 for details.

[38] It has to be kept in mind that the triangular effect of combining two methods can be more pronounced than the effectiveness of any single method. That way, Gerbner's dynamic combination of the qualitative and the quantitative methods can result in a more effective method than any one of them taken singly.

[39] Read Morgan (forthcoming).

[40] This desire to transform cultural policy is indicative of the critical thrust of Gerbner's work.

[41] See Morgan (forthcoming) for details.

[42] During one of the interviews that I had with Gerbner in March 1992, he claimed that probably he was the first one in the world to write a thesis on television and education. In his thesis he tried "(1) to make an appraisal of television as a medium, an industry, a social force, and a strong, modern weapon of education; (2) to explore some of the outstanding strengths and limitations, and current issues in television education; and (3) to make some recommendations, based on the lessons of current practices and the soundest educational judgment available, regarding possible uses of television in educational programs, primarily on an adult, community-wide level" (Gerbner 1951, pp.5-6).

[43] In a personal communication to me, during one of the interviews that I had with him in August 1993, Gerbner did mention that in the near future he hopes to come out with a volume on education and methods of teaching from a communication point of view. So far the project has not been realized, to my knowledge.

[44] In his Masters' thesis on television and education he (1951) talks about the great educational potential of television.

[45] The primary source from which this sub-section is taken, is Gerbner's (1974a) lengthy article entitled "Teacher image and the hidden curriculum".

[46] Gerbner (1974a) quotes Dallas Smythe here without bibliographical specifications and hence I am not able to provide such specifications here.

[47] The U.S., four countries of Western Europe and five countries of Eastern Europe including the Soviet Union were included for the comparative study.

[48] Here I am paraphrasing to avoid the use of too many quotations. In fact when views of Gerbner are expressed a lot of paraphrasing is resorted to by this writer.

[49] Here I am literally paraphrasing Gerbner (1963e).

[50] He taught the same course in an intensive way in October 1992, at this Salesian University (Rome), and I was fortunate to attend it. Gerbner as a teacher was able to create and sustain our interests. He used the classroom as a pulpit for his own ideas but through active participation, discussion and critiques, we (hopefully) acquired the ability to critically analyze the media and assess the media productions in a new light.

[51] This quotation is from the handouts that he gives to the students of his course.

[52] Regarding student evaluation of his classes he gets the highest ratings, in spite of being a hard taskmaster. See Ledger, M. (1984) for further detail.

[53] These phases are found in the quotation - Gerbner (1959a) - given in the beginning of this section.

[54] These are the declared scope of the media analysis course that Gerbner teaches at the Annenberg School for Communication.

[55] Here I am not referring to social psychology but cognitive psychology connected with mass media.

[56] See also Chapter 1, where Albert Bandura's 'modeling theory' and other 'social learning theories' are presented.

[57] See Chapter 4.

EPILOGUE

This study about Gerbner's cultivation theory, its origin, growth, controversy, and educational implications has hopefully established the tenability of the hypothesis of this dissertation: The basic concern of Gerbner in the formulation of the cultivation theory, in the empirical research that tested the theory, as well as in his defence against his critics, is much more the emancipation and liberation of the society and the individual within the society from the cultural domination of the media, particularly television, so that organized diversity which (according to him) is the structure of freedom is respected, than developing a particular methodology for communication research.

Our analysis of Gerbner's cultivation theory makes us confident of affirming the three conclusions described in the introduction to this dissertation. These conclusions are nothing but elaborations of the hypothesis itself. In Chapter 6, the tenability of each of the three conclusions were ascertained in the positive. We found that Gerbner's concept of communication, the purpose of communication research, his concepts of culture, message, symbolic functions, etc. placed him in the category of critical thinkers and researchers. Besides, the principles and scope of the Institutional Process Analysis, the Message System Analysis, and the Cultivation Analysis were all judged to be of a critical nature. Gerbner was always working for the emancipation and liberation of the individual and the society from the cultural domination of the media. He wants to take back communication to the people so that cultural diversity in programing (which, according to him, belongs to the structure of freedom), will be respected and the ordinary citizen will have the right to participate in cultural decision-making, which is the fundamental right of a democratic citizen. For achieving this, certain institutional changes will become necessary and we should not be afraid to attempt that. The CEM is launched for that

purpose. So our study gives us the right to affirm the three conclusions mentioned in the introduction with some confidence.

This study is not the last word on cultivation theory and approach. George Gerbner, though retired and 74 years old, is still very active teaching, giving conferences all over the world, and publishing on a regular basis. Hence we can still expect novel and challenging contributions from him. It may be still early to give a final assessment of his contribution to communication theory and research. Still I would consider Gerbner's cultivation theory and research as a major landmark in television effects studies. It definitely marked a break-away from the psychological, laboratory, and short-term effects studies on TV which though important in themselves would not give the overall picture of the consequences on the society as a whole. The extent to which he has succeeded in making us aware of the consequences of exposing ourselves to the pervasive messages of the media, is the topic of debate and many agree with him in varying degrees (there are also those who outright disagree with him). Even if people do not completely agree with his theories and research, he cannot be ignored when the developments in communication theory and research are discussed.

Gerbner sees his cultivation research as a panoramic view from the top. (He did say that to me during an interview in August 1993). The psychological consequences of the media are important; short-term studies are needed. They are not wrong but in fact necessary. 'The varied influences and consequences of the media on the individuals and society' is a vast topic of study that has several elements. A single person cannot be expected to go into all the aspects in depth. Gerbner has concentrated on the long-term view, seen from above. I believe that through the cultivation theory, he has succeeded in presenting an explanation, however inadequate as some critics of his would think, of how human consciousness is created through the mass media. Some concepts and goals of his are romantic, as for example

his conviction that 'if one is permitted to write all the ballads of a nation, it does not matter who makes the laws'; these are not easily testable empirically (Morgan). Even the scope and the goals of the CEM seem to be hopeless and unattainable. But in his characteristic optimism (which is contagious) he says that if something is impossible, if it seems impossible, it means it's worth doing (Jhally 1992).

Finally, I would say that we have to admit that Gerbner's approach, has taken a big step in the right direction. It does not provide all the answers. Answers will come in bits and pieces from studies both large and small, quantitative and qualitative, behavioristic, sociological, and critical. The true picture of the consequences and effects of the media will emerge when we are able to put together the results of all these studies. Gerbner has definitely helped in a big way to trace out the map for other researchers who should continue the trek down the road before a true picture of the complex effects (and consequences) of the media on human beings, finally emerge. He has indeed made far-reaching, substantial, and critical contributions to the field of communications.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

ADORNO, T. W. (1941), "On popular music", Studies in Philosophy and Social Science, 9, pp. 17-47.

ADORNO, T. W. (1954), "How to look at Television", *The Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television*, 8, pp. 213-236.

ANDERSON, J. A. (1977), "Mass communication theory and research: an overview", in B. D. RUBEN, *Communication Yearbook 1*, New Brunswick: Transaction Books, pp. 279-289.

ANDERSON, J. A. (1987), *Communication research*, New York: McGraw-Hill.

APPLE, M. W. (1982a), *Education and power*, Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

APPLE, M. W. (ed.), (1982b), *Cultural and and economic reproduction in education*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

APPLE, M. W. & WEIS, L. (eds.), (1983), *Ideology and practice in schooling*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

ATKIN, C. K., GREENBERG, B. S. & MCDERMOTT, S. (1983), "Television and race role socialization", *Journalism Quarterly*, 60(3), pp. 407-414.

BABBIE, E. R. (1989), *The practice of social research* (5th ed.), Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

BATMAZ, V. M. (1987), "Television and achievement in Morocco", in G. KAGITAIBASI (ed.), *Cross-Cultural Psychology Conference*, Istanbul, Turkey: pp. 356-340.

BELSON, W. A. (1978), *Television violence and the adolescent boy*, London: Saxon House, Teakfield Limited.

BERELSON, B. (1949), "What missing the newspaper means", in P. F. LAZARSFELD & F. N. STANTON (eds.), *Radio research 1948-1949*, New York: Harper and Brothers.

BERELSON, B.(1952), *Content analysis in communication research*, Glencoe, IL.: The Free Press.

BERMAN, D. R. & STOOKEY, J. A. (1980), "Adolescents, television, and support for Government", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 44(3), pp. 330-340.

BICKMAN, L. & HENCY, T. (1972), *Beyond the laboratory: Field research in social psychology*, New York: McGraw-Hill.

BLANK, D. M. (1977a), "The Gerbner violence profile", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 21(3), pp. 273-279.

BLANK, D. M. (1977b), "Final comments on the violence profile", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 21(3), pp. 287-296.

BLUMLER, J. G. & KATZ, E. (eds.), *The uses of mass communications*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

BOEMER, M. L. (1984), "An analysis of the violence content of the radio thriller dramas - and some comparison with television", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 28(3), pp. 341-353.

BOGART, L. (1972a), "Negro and white media exposure: New evidence", *Journalism Quarterly*, 49, pp. 15-21.

BOGART, L. (1972b), *The age of television*, (3rd ed.), New York: Frederick Ungar.

BOGDAN, R. & TAYLOR, S. (1984), *Introduction to qualitative research methods*, (2nd ed.), New York: John Wiley.

BONAFADELLI, H. (1983), "Der Einfluss des Fernsehens auf die Konstruktion der sozialen Realitat; Befunde aus der Schwei zur Kultivierungshypothese", *Rundfunk und Fernsehen*, 31(3-4), pp. 415-430.

BOUWMAN, H. (1982), "'Cultural Indicators': Die Gerbnersche Konzeption der 'Message System Analysis' und Erste Empirische Befunde aus den Niederlanden", *Rundfunk und Fernsehen*, 30(3), pp. 341-355.

BOUWMAN, H. (1983), "En antwoord vanuit het Cultural Indicator perspectief", *Massacommunicatie*, 11(2), pp. 68-74.

BOUWMAN, H. (1984), "Cultivation analysis: The Dutch case", in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 113-128.

BOUWMAN, H. (1987), *Televisie als cultur-schepper*, Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij.

BOUWMAN, H., NELISSEN, P. & MEIER, U. (1987), "Culturele Indicatoren 1980-1985", *Massacommunicatie*, 15(1), pp. 18-35.

BOUWMAN, H. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1985), "A comparison of American and Dutch programming", *Gazette*, (Netherlands), 35, pp. 93-108.

BOUWMAN, H. & STAPPERS, J. (1984), "The Dutch violence profile: A replication of Gerbner's Mesage System Analysis", in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 113-128.

BOWERS & DAVID, R. (1967), "A report on activity by publishers in directing newsroom decisions", *Journalism Quarterly*, spring issue.

BREED, W. (1960), "Social control in the news room", in W. SCHRAMM (ed.), *Mass communications*, Urbana Ill.: The University of Illinois Press.

BREHM, J. W. (1988), "Cognitive consistency theories", in G. GERBNER (Chair, Editorial Board.), *International encyclopedia of communications*, vol. 1, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 322-326.

BROWN, J. R. (1976), "Children's use of television", in J. R. BROWN (ed.), *Children and television*, London: Collier, Macmillan.

BRYANT, J. (1986), "The road most travelled: Yet another cultivation critique", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 30(2), pp. 231-235.

BRYANT, J., CARVETH, R. A. & BROWN, D. (1981), "Television viewing and anxiety: An experimental examination", *Journal of Communication*, 31(1), pp. 106-119.

BRYMAN, A. (1984), "The debate about quantitative and qualitative research: a question of method or epistemology", *The British Journal of Sociology*, 35(1), pp. 75-92.

BRYMAN, A. (1988), *Quantity and quality in social research*, London: Unwin Hyman.

BUERKEL-ROTHFUSS, NANCY L. & MAYES, S. (1981), "Soap opera viewing: The cultivation effect", *Journal of Communication*, 31(3), pp. 108-115.

BURDACH, K. J. (1981), "Methodische Problem der Vielseherforchung aus Psychologischer Sicht (Methodological problems with heavy viewer research from a psychological viewpoint)", *Fernsehen Bildung*, 15(1-3), pp. 99-113.

BUSS, M. (1985), "Die Vielseher: Fernsehe. Zuschauerforschung in Deutschland, Theorie - Praxis - Ergbnisse", *Schriftenreihe Media Perspektiven*, 4, Frankfurt am Main, Germany: Alfred Metzner Verlag.

CANINO, G. J., MILAGROS, B., RODRIGUEZ, J. M. & RUBIO, M. (1985), "Analisis de contenido de la television en Puerto Rico: Violencia, sexo y salud", *Homines*, 9(1), pp. 8-30.

CAREY, J. W. (1975), "Communication and culture", *Communication Research*, 2, pp. 173-191.

CAREY, J. W. (1980), "Comments on the Weaver-Gray paper", in G. C. WILHOIT & H. D. BOCK (eds.), *Mass communication review yearbook*, vol.1, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp. 152-155.

CAREY, J. W. (1983), "The origins of the radical discourse on cultural studies in the United States", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 311-313.

CAREY, J. W. (1985), "Overcoming resistance to cultural studies", in M. GUREVITCH & M. R. LEVY (eds.), *Mass communication review yearbook* 5, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp. 27-40.

CARLSON, J. M. (1983), "Crime show viewing by pre-adults: The impact on attitudes toward civil liberties", *Communication Research*, 10(4), pp. 529-552.

CARLSON, J. M. (1985), *Prime time law enforcement: Crime show viewing and attitudes toward the criminal justice system*, New York: Praeger.

CARVETH, R. & ALEXANDER, A. (1985), "Soap opera viewing motivations and the cultivation process", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 29(3), pp. 259-273.

CHADWICK, B., BAHR, H. & ALBRECHT, S. (1984), *Social science research methods*, Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prectice-Hall.

CHAFFEE, S. H., GERBNER, G., HAMBURG, B. A., PIERCE, C. M., RUBINSTEIN, E. A. & SIEGEL, A. E. (1984), "Defending the indefensible", *Society*, 21(6), pp. 30-35.

CHAFFEE, S. H. & HOCHHEIMER, J. L. (1985), "The beginnings of political communication research in the United States: Origins of the "Limited Effects" Model", in M. GUREVITCH & M. R. LEVY (eds.), *Mass communication yearbook 5*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp. 75-105.

CLOSEPET, R. & LAI-SI TSUI (1992), "An interview with Professor George Gerbner", *Media Development*, 1, pp. 42-45.

COFFIN, T. E. & TUCHMAN, S. (1972), "Rating television programs for violence: A comparison of five surveys", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 17(1), pp. 3-20.

COFFIN, T. E. & TUCHMAN, S. (1972-73), "A question of validity: Some comments on 'Apples, oranges, and the kitchen sink'", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 17(1), pp. 31-33.

COMSTOCK, G. (1982), "Violence in television content: An overview", in D. PEARL, L. BOUTHILET & J. LAZAR (eds.), *Television and behavior: Ten years of scientific progress and implications for the 80's*, Volume II, technical reviews, Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health, pp. 108-125.

CONDRY, J. (1989), *The psychology of television*, Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Earlbaum Associates.

COOK, T. D., KENDZIERSKI, D. A. & THOMAS, S. V. (1983), "The implicit assumptions of television research: An analysis of the 1982 NIMH Report on television and behavior", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 47(2), pp. 161-201.

CORCORAN, F. (1989), "Cultural studies: From old world to new world", in J. A. ANDERSON (ed.), *Communication yearbook 12*, London: Sage Publications, pp. 601-617.

DADARIO, G., KANG, J. G., MORGAN, M. & WU, Y. K. (1988), "Les programmes Americains de television et le transformations culturelles en Coree et a Taiwan (US TV programs and cultural transformations in Korea and Taiwan)", *Tiers-Monde*, 3, pp. 65-74.

DALE, E.(1935), *The content of motion pictures*, New York: The Macmillan Co.

DAVIS, J. A. (1978a), *General social surveys, 1972-1978: Cumulative data (machine readable data file)*, Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.

DAVIS, J. A. (1978b), *General social surveys, 1972-1978: Cumulative codebook*, Chicago: National Opinion Research Center.

DEFLEUR, M. L. (1970), *Theories of mass communication* (2nd ed.), New York: David Mckay.

DEFLEUR, M. L. & BALL-ROKEACH, S. (1989), *Theories of mass communication*, (5th ed.), New York: Longman.

DELIA, J. G. (1987), "Communication research: A history", in C. R. BERGER & S. H. CHAFFEE (eds.), *Handbook of communication science*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp. 20-98.

DENZIN, N. K. (1978), *The research act (2nd ed.)*, New York: McGraw-Hill.

DOBROW, J. R. (1990), "Patterns of viewing and VCR use: Implications for cultivation analysis", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 71-84.

DONOHEW, L. & TIPTON, L. (1973), "A conceptual model of information seeking, avoiding and processing", in P. CLARKE (ed.), *New models for communication research*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

DONOHEW, L., TIPTON, L. & HANEY, R. (1978), "Analysis of information-seeking strategies", *Journalism Quarterly*, pp. 25-31.

DONOHUE, G. A., TICHENOR, P. J. & OLIEN, C. N. (1975), "Mass media and the knowledge gap", *Communication Research*, 2, pp. 3-23.

DOOB, A. N. & MACDONALD, G. E. (1979), "Television viewing and fear of victimization: Is the relationship causal?", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 37(2), pp. 170-179.

EDELSTEIN, A. (1973), "An alternative approach to the study of source effects in mass communication", *Studies of Broadcasting*, March(9), pp. 5-29.

EDELSTEIN, A. S. (1983), "Communication and culture: The value of comparative studies", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 302- 310.

ELEEY, M., GERBNER, G. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1972-1973a), "Apples, Oranges, and the Kitchen Sink: An analysis and guide to the comparison of 'violence ratings'", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 17(1), pp. 21-31.

ELEEY, M., GERBNER, G. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1972-1973b), "Validity indeed", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 17(1), pp 34-35.

ELIOTT, W. R. & SLATER, D. (1980), "Exposure, experience, and perceived TV reality for adolescents", *Journalism Quarterly*, 57(3), pp. 409-414, 431.

ELLIOTT, P. (1974), "Uses and gratifications research: a critique and a sociological alternative", in J. G. BLUMLER & E. KATZ (eds.), *The uses of mass communications*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

EMMERT, P. & BARKER, L. L. (1989), *Measurement of communication behavior*, White Plains, New York: Longman.

ETTEMA, J. S. & KLINE, F. G. (1977), "Deficits, differences and ceilings: Contingent conditions for understanding the knowledge gap", *Communication Research*, 4, pp. 179-202.

EWEN, S. (1983), "The implications of empiricism", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 219-225.

EYSENCK, H. J., MEILI, R. & ARNOLD, W. (eds.),*Encyclopedia of Psychology, vol.2*, London: Search Press.

FEARING, F. (1954), "Social impact of the mass media of communication", in *Mass media and education* (Fifty-Third yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Part II), Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 165-192.

FESTINGER, L. A. (1957), *A theory of cognitive dissonance*, New York: Row and Peterson.

FLETCHER, J. E. & WIMMER, R. D. (1981), *Focus group interviews in radio research*, Washington DC: National Association of Broadcasters.

FOLEY, J. M. (1979), "Mass communication theory and research: An overview", in D. NIMMO (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 3*, New Jersey: Transaction Books, pp. 263-270.

FORBES, N. (1984 March), *Television's effects on rural Alaska: Summary of Final Report*, Fairbanks, Alaska: Center for Cross- Cultural Studies, University of Alaska.

FOX, W. S. & PHILLIBER, W. W. (1978), "Television viewing and the perception of affluence", *The Sociological Quarterly*, 19(1), pp. 103-112.

FREIRE, P. (1970), *Pedoagogy of the oppressed*, New York: Seabury.

FREIRE, P. (1973), *Education for critical consciousness*, New York: Seabury.

FREIRE, P. (1978), *Pedagogy in progress*, New York: Seabury.

FREIRE, P. (1985), *The politics of education, culture, power, and liberation*, South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

GADDY, G. D. (1986), "Television's impact on High School achievement", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 50, pp. 340-359.

GANS, H. (1993), "Reopening the Black Box: Toward a limited effects theory", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp.29-37.

GEIBER, W. (1960), "Two communicators of the news: A study of the roles of sources and reporters", *Social Forces*, October issue.

GEIBER, W. (1964), "News is what newspaper men make it", in L. A. DEXTER & D. M. WHITE (eds.), *People, society, and mass communications*, New York: The Free Press.

GERBNER, G. (1951), *Television and education*, Unpublished Masters' Thesis, The Faculty of the School of Education, The University of Southern California, CA.

GERBNER, G. (1955), *Toward a theory of communication*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Southern California, CA.

GERBNER, G. (1956), "Toward a general model of communication", *AV Communication Review*, 4(Summer), pp. 171-199.

GERBNER, G. (1958a), "The social anatomy of the Romance-Confession Cover Girl", *Journalism Quarterly*, 35(Summer), pp. 299-306.

GERBNER, G. (1958b), "Content analysis and critical research in mass communication", *AV Communication Review*, 6 (Spring), pp. 85- 108. (Reprinted in L. A. Dexter & D. M. White (eds.), *People, society and mass communications*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1964).

GERBNER, G. (1959a), "Education and the challenge of mass culture", *AV Communication Review*, 7 (Fall), pp. 264-278.

GERBNER, G. (1959b), "Popular culture and images of the family", *The Chicago Theological Seminary Register*, 49(November), pp. 31- 37.

GERBNER, G. (1959c), "Mental illness on television: A study of censorship", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 3 (Fall), pp. 292-303.

GERBNER, G. (1960a), "The individual in a mass culture", *Saturday Review*, 43 (June, 18), pp. 11-13. (Also (abridged) in *The Executive* 4, 1960, pp. 14-16 and *The National Elementary Pricipal* 40, February 1961, pp. 49-54).

GERBNER, G. (1960b), "Mass communications and the citizenship of Secondary School youth", in F. PATTERSON ET AL. (eds.), *The adolescent citizen*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, pp. 179-205.

GERBNER, G. (1960c), "The interaction model: Perception and communication", in J. BALL & F. BYRNES (eds.), *Research, principles, and practices in visual communication*, East Lansing, Mich.: National Project in Agricultual Communications, pp. 4-15.

GERBNER, G. (1960d), "Social science and the professional education of the audio-visual communication specialist", *AV Communication Review*, 8 (September-October), pp. 50-58.

GERBNER, G. (1960e), "Visual communication training: Philosophy and principles", in *Communication Training*, East Lansing, Mich.: National Project in Agricultural Communications, pp. 29-34.

GERBNER, G. (1961a), "Press perspectives in world communications: A pilot study", *Journalism Quarterly*, 38 (Summer), pp. 313-322.

GERBNER, G. (1961b), "Psychology, psychiatry and mental illness in the mass media: A study of trends, 1900-1959", *Mental Hygiene*, 45 (January), pp. 89-93.

GERBNER, G. (1962a), "How teachers can respond to the challenge of video", *Professional Growth for Teachers*, 6.

GERBNER, G. (1962b), "Technology, communication, and education: A social perspective", in *Tomorrow's Teaching*, Oklahama City: Frontiers of Science Foundation.

GERBNER, G. (1962c), *Instructional technology and the press: A case study* (occasional paper 4), Washington D.C.: National Education Association, Technological Development Project.

GERBNER, G. (1963a), "'Mr. Novak' - Young man to watch", *Phi Delta Kappan*, 45(October), pp. 13-19.

GERBNER, G. (1963b), "Teachers vs the machine: The headline battle of Atlantic City", *AV Communication Review*, 11 (May-June), pp. 10-18.

GERBNER, G. (1963c), "Un modele de la communication", *Etudes de Radio-Television*, 1 (Spring), pp. 13-19.

GERBNER, G. (1963d), "Mass communication and the 'Humanization' of Homo Sapiens", *The AAUW Journal*, (March).

GERBNER, G. (1963e), "A theory of communication and its implications for teaching", in *The nature of teaching*, Milwaukee, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, School of Education. (Reprinted in Ronald T. Hyman (ed.), *Teaching: Vantage points for study*, Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1968).

GERBNER, G. (1963f), "Smaller than life: Teachers and schools in the mass media", *Phi Delta Kappan*, 44 (February), pp. 202-205.

GERBNER, G. (1964a), "A communication approach", in R. O. HALL (ed.), *The content and pattern for the professional training of audiovisual communication specialists*, Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare.

GERBNER, G. (1964b), "Ideological perspectives and political tendencies in news reporting", *Journalism Quarterly*, 41(Autumn), pp. 495-509.

GERBNER, G. (1964c), *Mass communications and popular conceptions of education: A cross-cultural study*, Washington DC: US Office of Education. (Cooperative research project No. 876. Report of 10- nation international research project).

GERBNER, G. (1964d), "The role of media in communicating results of research", in W. C. MEIERHENRY (ed.), *Media and educational innovation*, Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press.

GERBNER, G. (1964e), "Education in newspaper advertisements", *School and Society*, 92 (November 28), pp. 363-365.

GERBNER, G. (1965), "Communication and social science: A 'Strategic' appproach", *The Japanese Annals of Social Psychology*, 6, pp. 161-174.

GERBNER, G. (1966a), "Education about education by mass media", *The Educational Forum*, 31 (November), pp. 7-15. (Also in Ralph A. Smith (ed.), *Criticism and mass communications*, Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press).

GERBNER, G. (1966b), "Images across cultures: Teachers in mass media fiction and drama", *The School Review*, 74 (Summer), pp. 212-229.

GERBNER, G. (1966c), "An institutional approach to mass communications research", in L. THAYER (ed.), *Communication: Theory and research*, Springfield: Charles C. Thomas.

GERBNER, G. (1966d), "On defining communication: Still another view", *Journal of Communication*, (Summer), pp. 99-103.

GERBNER, G. (1967a), "The press and the dialogue in education: A case study of a National Educational Convention and its depiction in America's daily newspapers", *Journalism Monograph*, 5.

GERBNER, G. (1967b), "Newsmen and schoolmen: The state and problems of education reporting", *Journalism Quarterly*, 44 (summer), pp. 211-224.

GERBNER, G. (1967c), "Mass media and human communication theory", in F. E. X. DANCE (ed.), *Human communication theory: Original essays*, New York: Rinehart & Winston. (Reprinted in Denis McQuail (ed.), *Sociology of mass communications*, New York: University of Illinois Press).

GERBNER, G. (1968), "Bibliography of studies on the representation of education and educators in the mass media", *AV Communication Review*, 16 (Summer), pp. 210-217.

GERBNER, G. (1969a), "Toward cultural indicators: The anlysis of mass mediated message systems", *AV Communication Review*, 17(2), pp. 137-148.

GERBNER, G. (1969b), "Dimensions of violence in television drama", in R. K. BAKER & S. J. BALL (eds.), *Violence in the media: Staff report to the National Commission on the causes and prevention of violence*, Washington D.C.: US Government Printing Office.

GERBNER, G. (1969c), "The film hero: A cross-cultural study", *Journalism Monographs*, 13.

GERBNER, G. (1969d), "Pouvoir institutionnalise et systemes de messages", *Communications*, 14, pp. 116-128.

GERBNER, G. (1969e), "Institutional pressures on mass communicators", in P. HALMOS (ed.), *The sociology of mass media communicators, the Sociological Review Monograph No. 13*, England: University of Keele, pp. 205-248.

GERBNER, G. (1970a), "Cultural indicators: The case of violence in television drama", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 388, pp. 69-81.

GERBNER, G. (1970b), "La politica culturale e lo studio delle communicazione di massa", in G. BECHELLONI (ed.), *Politica culturale? Studi, materiali, ipotesi*, Bologna: Guaraldi Editore.

GERBNER, G. (1972a), "The violence profile: Some indicators of trends in and the symbolic structure of Network Television Drama 1967-1971", in SURGEON GENERAL'S REPORT BY THE SCIENTIFIC ADVISORY COMMITTEE ON TELEVISION AND SOCIAL BEHAVIOR: APPENDIX A, *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Communications of the Committee on Commerce*, U.S. Senate, Serial No. 92-52, pp. 453-526, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

GERBNER, G. (1972b), "Communication and social environment", *Scientific American*, 227(3), pp. 152-160.

GERBNER, G. (1972c), "Violence and television drama: Trends and symbolic functions", in G. A. COMSTOCK & E. RUBINSTEIN (eds.), *Television and social behavior*, vol. 1, *Content and control*, Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, pp. 28-187.

GERBNER, G. (1972d), *Comments on 'Measuring violence on television: The Gerbner index'*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G. (1972e), "The structure and process of television program content regulation in the U.S.", in G. A. COMSTOCK & E. A. RUBINSTEIN (eds.), *Television and social behavior* 1. *Content and control*, Rockville, Maryland: National Institute of Mental Health, pp. 386-415.

GERBNER, G. (1973), "Cultural Indicators: The third voice", in G. GERBNER, L. GROSS & W. H. MELODY (eds.), *Communications tecchnology and social policy*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 555-573.

GERBNER, G. (1974a), "Teacher image in mass culture: Symbolic functions of the 'Hidden Curriculum'", in D. R. OLSON (ed.), *Media and symbols: The forms of expression, communication, and education*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

GERBNER, G. (1974b), "Symbolic functions of 'Drug Abuse': A mass communication approach", *Studies in the Anthropology of Visual Communication*, 1 (1), pp. 27-34.

GERBNER, G. (1974c), "Communication: Society is the message", *Communication*, 1 (1), 57-64.

GERBNER, G. (1974d), "Statement on violence profile", *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Communications of the Committee on Commerce, United States Senate, Serial No. 76-93*, Wahshington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

GERBNER, G. (1974e), "The new media environment", in *New perspectives in communication*, Boston: Boston University, School of Public Communication.

GERBNER, G. (1976), "IAMCR Assembly", *Intermedia*, 4 (5), p. 29.

GERBNER, G. (1977a), "Television: The new state religion?", *Et Cetera*, 34 (2), pp. 145-150.

GERBNER, G. (1977b), "Comparative Cultural Indicators", in G. GERBNER (ed.), *Mass media policies in changing cultures*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, pp. 199-205.

GERBNER, G. (1977c), "The scary world of TV's heavy viewer", in D. M. WHITE & J. PENDLETON (eds.), *Popular culture: Mirror of American life*, CA: Del Mar Publishers, Inc., pp. 123-127.

GERBNER, G. (1977d), "The real threat of television violence", in J. FIREMAN (ed.), *TV book: The ultimate television book*, New York: Workman Publishing Company, pp. 358-359.

GERBNER, G. (ed.), (1977e), *Mass media policies in changing cultures*, New York: Wiley Interscience. (Translated into Italian in De Donato (Editore) *Le politiche dei mass media*, Bari: S.P.A. 1980).

GERBNER, G. (1977e), "Popular culture: Who pays", in *Popular Culture*, CA: Del Mar Publishers Inc. (Courses by Newspaper, University of California, San Diego, distributed by United Press International).

GERBNER, G. (1977f), "Proliferating violence", *Society*, September/October.

GERBNER, G. (1977g), "Institutional forces and the mass media", in M. B. CASSATA & M. K. ASANTE (eds.), *The social uses of mass communication*, Buffalo: Department of Communication, State University of New York at Buffalo.

GERBNER, G. (1977h), "Violence profile No. 8: Trends in network television drama and viewer conceptions of social reality, 1967- 1976", in *Testimony and report printed in 'sex and violence on TV', hearing before the Subcommittee on Communications of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, Serial No. 95-103*, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

GERBNER, G. (1978a), "Scenario for violence", in R. ATWIN, B. ORTON & W. VESTERMAN (eds.), *American mass media: Industry and issues*, New York: Random House, pp.102-107.

GERBNER, G. (1978b), "Uber die Angstlichkeit von Vielsehen (About the anxiousness of heavy viewers)", *Fernsehen und Bildung*, 12, pp. 1-2.

GERBNER, G. (1978c), "Deviance and power: Symbolic functions of 'Drug Abuse'", in C. WINICK (ed.), *Deviance and mass media*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

GERBNER, G. (1978d), "Television's influence on values and behavior", in *Weekly Psychiatry Update Series*, Volume 2, Lesson 24, New York: Biomedia, Inc.

GERBNER, G. (1978e), "The dynamics of cultural resistance", in G. TUCHMAN, A. K. DANIELS & J. BENET (eds.), *Hearth and home: Images of women in mass media*, New York: Oxford University Press.

GERBNER, G. (1979), "The role of media in citizen perception of crime", in *Crime and people: Fears and realities*, Baltimore, MD: Maryland Conference of Social Concern.

GERBNER, G. (1980a), "Death in prime-time: Notes on the symbolic functions of dying in the mass media", *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 447, pp. 64-70.

GERBNER, G. (1980b), "Children and power on television: The other side of the picture", in G. GERBNER, C. J. ROSS & E. ZIGLER (eds.), *Child abuse: An agenda for action*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 239-248.

GERBNER, G. (1980c), "TV: The new religion controlling us", *The Long Island Newsday*, (November 9), "Ideas", Feature article. (Also published in the *Miami Herald*, "Viewpoint" as 'TV as the new state religion', Nov. 30, 1980. Also published in the *Free Press*, London, Ontario, Canada, November 1980).

GERBNER, G. (1980d), "Media portrayal of the elderly", Statement in '*Hearing before the Select Committee on Aging', House of Representatives*, Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

GERBNER, G. (1980e), "Trial by television: Are we at the point of no return?", *Judicature*, (April), (Winner of the media award of the Philadelphia Bar Association, 1981. Reprinted in *National Shorthand Reporter*, June 1980. Also published in two parts in a somewhat different version in Louisville *Law Examiner*, "Brandeis Brief" series of "Emerging Legal Issues," Louisville, KY: University of Kentucky, March 6, 1980 and April 14, 1980).

GERBNER, G. (1980f), "Interpreting the TV World", *Irish Broadcasting Review*, (Spring).

GERBNER, G. (1980g), "Sex on television and what viewers learn from it", *The National Association of Television Program Exectutives Annual Conference*, San Francisco, CA: The National Association of TV Program Executives.

GERBNER, G. (1980h), "Electronic children: Will the new generation be different?", in A. KLOSE (ed.), *Democracy--- Technology---Collision*, Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merril.

GERBNER, G. (1981a), "Television as religion", *Media & Values*, 17, pp. 1-3.

GERBNER, G. (1981b), "Education for the age of television", in M. E. PLOGHOFT & J. A. ANDERSON (eds.), *Education for the television age*, Ohio: The Cooperative Center for Social Science Education, Ohio University.

GERBNER, G. (1982a), "Television in the courtroom", in *Americana/Annual Encyclopedia Year Book*, Danbury, CT: Grolier, Inc.

GERBNER, G. (1982b), "The gospel of instant gratification", *Business and Society Review*, Spring, (Symposium on advertising).

GERBNER, G. (1982c), "TV's changing our lives", *Presbyterian Survey*, January, pp. 11-13.

GERBNER, G. (1983a), "The importance of being critical - in one's own fashion", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 355-362.

GERBNER, G. (1983b), "The American press coverage of The Fourth Extraordinary Session of the UNESCO General Conference, Paris 1982", in *A study conducted under contract with UNESCO*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G. (1983-84), "Liberal education in the information age", in AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION, *Current issues in higher education*, New York: AAHE, pp. 14-18.

GERBNER, G. (1984a), "Political functions of television viewing: A cultivation analysis", in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 329-343.

GERBNER, G. (1984b), "The mainstreaming of America: Television makes strange bedfellows", *TV Guide*, October(20), pp. 20-23.

GERBNER, G. (1984c), "Gratuitous violence and exploitive sex: What are the lessons? (including violence profile no. 13)", *Statement prepared for the Study Committe of the Communications Commission of the National Council of Churches hearing*, New York: National Council of Churches.

GERBNER, G. (1984d), "Defining the field of communication", *ACA Bulletin*, 4 (4).

GERBNER, G. (1984e), "Health, medicine and violence on TV", in *Transactions and studies of the college of Physicians*, Philadelphia: College of Physicians.

GERBNER, G. (1985a), "Mass media discourse: Message system analysis as a component of cultural indicators", in TEUN VAN DIJK (ed.), *Discourse and communication*, Berlin: Walter de Guyter & Company.

GERBNER, G. (1985b), "Children's television: A national disgrace", *Pediatric Annals*, pp. 822-827. (Reprinted in Peterson, Owen (ed.) *The reference shelf: Representative American speeches, 1985-1986*, New York: H.W. Wilson Company, 1986, pp. 142-148).

GERBNER, G. (1985c), "Dreams that hurt: Mental illness in the mass media", *First Rosalynn Carter Symposium on Mental Health Policy*, Emiroy University of Medicine, Atlanta,

GERBNER, G. (1985d), "Le colonialisme de la television: Les fonctions symboliques de la violence", in ASSOCIATION NATIONALE DES TELESPECTATEURS, *TViolence: Actes du Collogue*, Montreal: Association Nationale des Telespectateurs.

GERBNER, G. (1985e), "Television: The new state religion?", in L. HICKMAN (ed.), *Philosophy, technology, and human affairs*, College Station, Texas: Ibis Press.

GERBNER, G. (1986), "The symbolic context of action and communication", in R. L. ROSNOW & M. GEORGOUDI (eds.), *Contextualism and understandingg in behavioral science*, New York: Praeger Publishers.

GERBNER, G. (1987a), "Television's populist brew: The three Bs", *Et Cetera* 1:44, Spring, pp. 3-7.

GERBNER, G. (1987b), "Science on television: How it affects public conceptions", *Issues in Science and Technology*, Spring, pp. 109-115.

GERBNER, G. (1987c), "The Electronic Church in American culture", *New Catholic World*, May/June, pp. 133-135.

GERBNER, G. (1988a), "Television's cultural mainstream: Which way does it run?", *Directions in Psychiatry*, 8(9), New York: Hatherleigh Co. Ltd.

GERBNER, G. (1988b), "Telling stories in the information age", in B. D. RUBIN (ed.), *Information and behavior*, New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books.

GERBNER, G. (1988c), "Symbolic functions of violence and terror", *The Terrorism and the News Media Research Project*, Boston: Mass Communication and Society Div., AEJMC, Emerson College.

GERBNER, G. (Chair, Editorial Board), (1988d), *International encyclopedia of communications*, 4 volumes, New York: Oxford University Press.

GERBNER, G. (1988e), "Violence and terror in the mass media", *Reports and papers in mass communication, No. 102*, Paris: UNESCO.

GERBNER, G. (1989a), "Cross-cultural communications research in the age of telecommunications", in CHRISTIAN ACADEMY (ed.), *Continuity and change in communications in post-industrial society. Volume 2 in The World Community in Post-industrial Society*, Seoul, Korea: Wooseok Publishing Company.

GERBNER, G. (1989b), "Media coverage of the declaration", in H. MOWLANA (ed.), *Aspects of the mass media declaration of Unesco.* International Association for Mass Communication Research Occasional Papers No. 9, Budapest: Hungarian Institute for Public Opinion Research.

GERBNER, G. (1989c), "Waiting for prime time: The outlook for women in TV news", *New Choices*, 29(3).

GERBNER, G. (1990a), "Epilogue: Advancing on the path of righteousness (maybe)", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 249-262.

GERBNER, G. (1990b), "A new environmental movement in communication and culture", *Media Development*, April.

GERBNER, G. (1990c), "The crack in the Tobacco Curtain, or the Bill of Rights disinformation campaign", in COMMISSION ON FREEDOM OF SPEECH, *Free speech*, Speech Communication Association.

GERBNER, G. (1990d), "Stories that hurt: Tobacco, alcohol and other drugs in the mass media", in OSAP PREVENTION MONOGRAPH-6, *Youth and drugs: Society's mixed messages*, Washington D.C.: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.

GERBNER, G. (1991a), "Fuehrt Kanalfuelle zu mehr Programmvielfalt? (Does channel proliferation promote program diversity?)", *Media Perspectiven*, Frankfurt.

GERBNER, G. (1991b), *Cultural Environment Movement? What, Why and How*, (Unpublished "Mission Statement" draft).

GERBNER, G. (1992a), "Violence and terror in and by the media", in M. RABOY & B. DAGENAIS (eds.), *Media, crisis and democracy*, London: Sage Publications.

GERBNER, G. (1992b), "Persian Gulf War, the Movie" in G. GERBNER, H. MOWLANA & H. SCHILLER (eds.), *Triumph of the image: The media's war in the Persian Gulf. An international perspective*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, pp. 243-265. (A previous short version was delivered as the first Wayne A. Danielson Award for Distinguished Achievement in Communication Scholarship lecture at the University of Texas at Austin and published in the 1992 edition of *Representative American Speeches 1991-1992*, H. W. Wilson Company).

GERBNER, G. (1993a), "Learning productive aging as a social role: The lessons of television", in S. A. BASS, F. G. CARO & Y. P. CHEN (eds.), *Achieving a productive aging society*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Group, Inc., pp. 207-220.

GERBNER, G. (1993b), "Instant history/Image history: Lessons from the Persian Gulf War", in R. F. FOX (ed.), *Images in language, media & mind*, National Council of Teachers of English, pp. 193-203.

GERBNER, G. (1993c), ""Miracles" of communication technology: Powerful audiences, diverse choices and other fairy tales", in J. WASKO, V. MOSCO & M. PENDAKUR (eds.), *Illuminating the blind spots*, New Jersey: Ablex, pp. 367-377.

GERBNER, G. (1993d), "The politics of media violence: Some reflections", in C. HAMELINK & O. LINNE (eds.), *Mass communication research*: On problems and policies, Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

GERBNER, G. (in press), "Violence in the mass media", in L. SFEZ & F. BALLE (eds.), *Dictionnaire critique de la communication*, Paris: France.

GERBNER, G. (in press), "Cultural indicators and public policy", in C. GORDON & K. H. TUCKER JR. (eds.), *Television, signification and interpretation*.

GERBNER, G. & BECK, L. F. (1954), *A study of audience 'Involvement' or 'Interest' in a training film*, Washington D.C.: Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center.

GERBNER, G. & CONNOLLY, K. (1978), "Television as new religion", *New Catholic World*, March/April, pp. 52-56.

GERBNER, G., COTUNGO, H. E., GROSS, L., HOOVER, S., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1984), "Religion on television", *A research report by The Annenberg School of Communications*, University of Pennsylvania and the Gallup Organization, Inc., Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications.

GERBNER, G., DENNIS, E. E. & ZASSOURSKY, Y. N. (eds.), (1991), *Beyond the cold war: Soviet and American media images*, Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

GERBNER, G. & GROSS, L. (1974), *Trends in network television drama and viewer conceptions of social reality, 1967-1973, Violence Profile number 6*, Washington D. C.: Educational Resources Information Center.

GERBNER, G. & GROSS, L. (1975a), "The world of television: Towards cultural indicators", *Intermedia*, 3(3), pp. 2-3.

GERBNER, G. & GROSS, L. (1975b), "Violence trends in television", *Journal of the Producers Guild of America*, March.

GERBNER, G. & GROSS, L. (1976a), "Living with television: The violence profile", *Journal of Communication*, 26(2), pp. 173-199.

GERBNER, G. & GROSS, L. (1976b), "The scary world of TV's heavy viewer", *Psychology Today*, (April), (Reprinted in David Manning White and John Pendleton (eds.), *Mirror of American life*, CA: Del Mar Publishers, 1977).

GERBNER, G. & GROSS, L. (1979), "Editorial response: A reply to Newcomb's 'Humanistic Critique'", *Communication Research*, 6(2), pp. 223-230.

GERBNER, G. & GROSS, L. (1980), "The violent face of television and its lessons", in E. L. PALMER & A. DORR (eds.), *Children and the faces of television: Teaching, violence, selling*, New York: Academic Press, pp. 149-162.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., ELEEY, M., JACKSON-BEECK, M., JEFFRIES-FOX, S. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1977a), "The Gerbner violence profile - An analysis of the CBS Report", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 21(3), pp. 280-286.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., ELEEY, M., JACKSON-BEECK, M., JEFFRIES-FOX, S. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1977b), "TV violence profile no. 8: The highlights", *Journal of Communication*, 27(2), pp. 171- 180.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., JACKSON-BEECK, M., JEFFRIES-FOX, S. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1978a), "Cultural indicators: Violence profile no. 9", *Journal of Communication*, 28(3), pp. 176-207.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., ELEEY, M., JACKSON-BEECK, M., JEFFRIES-FOX, S. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1978b), *Violence profile no. 9: Trends in network television drama and viewer conceptions of social reality 1967-1977, Technical Report*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., ELEEY, M. F., JEFFRIES-FOX, S., JACKSON-BEECK, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1976), *Violence profile No. 7: Trends in network television drama and viewer conceptions of social reality, 1967-1975*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., ELEEY, M., JEFFRIES-FOX, S. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1977), "One more time: An analysis of the CBS 'Final comments of the violence profile'", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 21(3), pp. 197-303.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., ELEEY, M. F. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1973), *Violence profile No.5: Trends in network television drama and viewer conceptions of social reality*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., ELEEY, M. F., SIGNORIELLI, N. & FOX, S. (1974), *Violence profile No. 6: Trends in network television drama and viewer conceptions of social reality*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., HOOVER, S., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1989), "Responses to 'Star wars of different kind: Reflections on the politics of religion and television research project'", *Review of Religious Research*, 31(2), pp. 94-98.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L. & MELODY, W. H. (eds.), (1973), *Communications technology and social policy*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1979), "On Wober's 'Televised violence and paranoid perception: The view from Great Britain'", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 43(1), pp. 123- 124.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1980a), "The mainstreaming of America: Violence profile no. 11", *Journal of Communication*, 30(3), pp. 10-29.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1980b), "Some additional comments on cultivation analysis", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 44(3), pp. 408-410.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1980c), "Media and the family: Images and impact", *Paper for the National Research Forum on Family Issues*, Washington D.C.: White House Conference on Families.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1980d), *Violence profile no. 11: Trends in Network Television Drama and viewer conceptions of social reality 1967-1979* (April), Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1981a), "Health and medicine on television", *The New England Journal of Medicine*, 305(15), pp. 901-904.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1981b), "Scientists on the TV screen", *Society*, May/June, pp. 41-44.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1981c), "A curious jouney into the scary world of Paul Hirsch", *Communication Research*, 8(1), pp. 39-72.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1981d), "Final reply to Hirsch", *Communication Research*, 8(3), pp. 259-280.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1981e), "On the limits of 'The limits of advocacy research': Response to Hirsch", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 45(1), pp. 116-118.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1981f), *Aging with television commercials: Images on television commercials and dramatic programming, 1977-1979*, (June) Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1982a), "Charting the mainstream: Television's contributions to political orientations", *Journal of Communication*, 32(2), pp. 100-127.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1982b), "What television teaches about physicians and health", *Mobius: A Journal of Continuing Education Professionals in Health Sciences*, 2(2), pp. 44-51.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1984a), "Political correlates of television viewing", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 48(1), pp. 283-300.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1984b), "Facts, fantasies and schools", *Society*, 21(6), pp. 9-13.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1984c), "Gratuitous violence and exploitive sex: What are the lessons? (Including violence profile no. 13)", *Statement prepared for the Study Committee of the Communications Commission of the National Council of Churches Hearing*, New York: Communications Commission of the National Council of Churches.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1985), "Television entertainment and viewers' conceptions of science", *A research report to the National Science Foundation*, Philadelphia: Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1986a), "Living with television: The dynamics of the cultivation Process", in J. BRYANT & D. ZILLMANN (eds.), *Perspectives on media effects*, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 17-40.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1986b), *Television's mean world: Violece profile no. 14-15*, (September), Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennylvania.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1992), *Cultural Indicators*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania. (A research project on trends in television content and viewer conceptions of social reality).

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1993), "Growing up with television: The cultivation perspective", in J. BRYANT & D. ZILLMANN (eds.), *Media effects*: Advances in theory and research, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., MORGAN, M., SIGNORIELLI, N., COTUGNO, H. E. & WUTHNOW, R. (1984), "The impact of the 'Electronic Church' on the Local Church", *Ministries*, (Fall), pp. 58-62.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., SIGNORIELLI, N. & MORGAN, M. (1980a), "Television violence, victimization and power", *American Behavioral Scientist*, 23(5), pp. 705-716.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., SIGNORIELLI, N. & MORGAN, M. (1980b), "Aging with television: Images on television drama and conceptions of social reality", *Journal of Communication*, 30(1), pp. 37-47.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., SIGNORIELLI, N., MORGAN, M. & JACKSON-BEECK, M. (1979a), "The demonstration of power: Violence Profile No.10", *Journal of Communication*, 29, pp. 177-196. (Reprinted in Mass Communication Review Yearbook 1, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., 1980).

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., SIGNORIELLI, N., MORGAN, M. & JACKSON-BEECK, M. (1979b), *Violence Profile No.10*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., SIGNORIELLI, N., MORGAN, M. & JACKSON-BEECK, M. (1980), "The demonstration of power: Violence profile no. 10", in G. C. WILHOIT & H. D. BOCK (eds.), *Mass communication review yearbook 1*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, Inc., pp. 403-422.

GERBNER, G., GROSS, L., STEWART, H., MORGAN, M., SIGNORIELLI, N. & COTUNGO, H. E. (1984), *Religion and television*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G., HAIGH, R. W. & BYRNE, R. B. (eds.), (1981), *Communications in the twenty-first century*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.

GERBNER, G., HOLSTI, O. R., KRIPPENDORFF, K., PAISLEY, W. J. & STONE, P. J. (eds.), (1969), *The analysis of communication content: Developments in scientific theories and computer techniques*, New York: John Wiley & Sons.

GERBNER, G. & JEFFRIES-FOX, S. (1978), "Fernsehen und Familie", *Fernsehen und Bildung*, 11, pp. 222-234.

GERBNER, G. & MARVANYI, G. (1977), "The many worlds of the world's press", *Journal of Communication*, 27(1), pp. 52-65. (Reprinted in Jim Richstad & Michael H. Anderson (eds.), *Crisis in International News; Policies and prospects*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1981).

GERBNER, G. & MORGAN, M. (1982), "TV professions", in M. SCHWARTZ (ed.), *TV & teens: Experts look at the issues*, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, pp. 121-127.

GERBNER, G., MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1982), "Programming health portrayals: What viewers see, say and do", in D. PEARL, L. BOUTHILET & J. LAZAR (eds.), *Television and behavior: Ten years of scientific progress and implications for the 80's, Volume II, Technical Reviews*, Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health, pp. 291-307.

GERBNER, G., MOWLANA, H. & NORDENSTRENG, K. (eds.), (1993), *The global media debate: Its rise, fall, and renewal*, New York: Ablex.

GERBNER, G., MOWLANA, H. & SCHILLER, H. (eds.), (1992), *Triumph of the image: The media's war in the Persian Gulf. An international perspective*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

GERBNER, G., ROSS, C. J. & ZIGLER, E. (eds.), (1980), *Child abuse: An agenda for action*, New York: Oxford University Press.

GERBNER, G. & SCHRAMM, W. (1989), "Communications, study of", in *International Encyclopedia of Communications*, New York: Oxford University Press.(Reprinted as "The international development of communication studies", *Communicatio*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1990).

GERBNER, G. & SIEFERT, M. (eds.), (1984) *World communications: A handbook*, New York: Annenberg/Longman Communication Books.

GERBNER, G., SIEFERT, M. & FISHER, J. (eds.), (1989), *The information gap: How computers and other communication technologies affect the distribution of power*, New York: Oxford University Press.

GERBNER, G. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1978a), "The image of the elderly in prime-time television drama", *Generations*, (Fall), pp. 10-11.

GERBNER, G. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1978b), "The world of television news", in W. ADAMS & F. SCHRIEBMAN (eds.), *Television news archives: Issues in content research*, Wahshington D.C.: George Washington University, pp. 189-196.

GERBNER, G. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1978c), *Women in public broadcasting: A progress report*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1979), *Women and minorities in television drama, 1969-1978*, (October), Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1982), "The world according to television", *American Demographics*, 4(9), pp. 15-17.

GERBNER, G. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1988), *Violence and terror in the media: An annotated bibliography*, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

GERBNER, G. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1990), *Violence profile 1967 through 1988-1989: Enduring patterns*, Philadelphia: The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania.

GERBNER, G. & TANNENBAUM, P. H. (1961), "Regulation of mental illness content in motion pictures and television", *Gazette*, 6, pp. 365-385.

GERBNER, G. & TANNENBAUM, P. H. (1962), "Mass media censorship and the portrayal of mental illness: Some effects of industry-wide controls in motion pictures and television", in W. SCHRAMM (ed.), *Studies of innovation and of communication to the public*, Standford, CA: Standford University Press.

GEVART, J. (1993), *Catechesi e cultura contemporanea*, Torino: Editrice Elle Di Ci.

GIROUX, H. A. (1980), "Critical theory and rationality in citizenship education", *Curriculum Inquiry*, 10(4), pp. 329-366.

GIROUX, H. A. (1981), *Ideology, culture, and the process of schooling*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

GIROUX, H. A. (1983), *Theory and resistance in education: A pedagogy for the opposition*, South Hadley, MA: Bergin & Garvey.

GIROUX, H. A. & PURPLE, D. (eds.), (1982), *The hidden curriculum and moral education*, Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

GOFF, D. H., GOFF, L. D. & LEHRER, S. K. (1980), "Sex-role portrayals of selected female television characters", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 24(4), pp. 467-478.

GOODHART, G. J., EHHRENBERG, A. S. C. & COLLINS, M. A. (1975), *The television audience: patterns of viewing*, Farnborough: Saxon House.

GROEBEL, J. (1981), "Vielsher und Angst (The heavy viewer and anxiety)", *Fernsehen und Bildung*, 15(1-3), pp. 114-136.

GROEBEL, J. & KREBS, D. (1982), "A study of the effects of television on anxiety", in C. D. SPIELBERGER & R. DIAZ-GUERRERO (eds.), *Cross-Cultural anxiety, Vol. 2*, New York: McGraw. (Also Washington, DC: Hemisphere, 1983).

GROSS, L. (1974), "The real world of television", *Today's Education*, 63(1), pp. 86-92.

GROSS, L. (1977), "How true is television's image?", in THE UNESCO PRESS (ed.), *Getting the message across*, Paris: The UNESCO Press, pp. 23-51.

GROSS, L. (1979), "Televsion and violence", in B. LOGAN & K. MOODY (eds.), *Television awareness training*, New York: Media Action Research Center, pp. 19-23.

GROSS, L. (1984), "The cultivation of intolerance: Television, Blacks, and Gays", in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 345-363.

GROSS, L. (1985a), "Sesso anormale e violenza normale: Televisione, devianza e controllo sociale", in R. GRANDI, M. PAVARINI & M. SIMONDI (eds.), *I segni di Caino: L'immagine della devianza nella communicazione di massa*, Naples, Italy: Edizione Scientifiche Italiane, pp. 231-150.

GROSS, L. (1985b), "E pluribus unum? The cultural indicators' approach to the study of media and culture", *Massacommunicatie*, 7(3-4), pp. 142-156.

GROSS, L. & JEFFRIES-FOX, S. (1978), "What do you want to be when you grow up, little girl?", in G. TUCHMAN, A. K. DANIELS & J. BENET (eds.), *Hearth and home: Images of women in the mass media*, New York: Oxford University Press, PP. 240-265.

GROSS, L. & MORGAN, M. (1985), "Television and enculturation", in J. R. DOMINICK & J. E. FLETCHER (eds.), *Broadcasting research methods*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon, pp. 221-234.

GROSSBERG, L. (1993), "Can cultural studies find true happiness in communication", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp. 89-97.

GUILFORD, J. R. (1954), *Psychometric methods*, New York: McGraw-Hill.

GUNTER, B. (1987), "Television and the fear of crime", *Television and the fear of crime*, London: Libbey.

GUNTER, B. & FURNHAM, A. (1983), "Personality and the perception of TV violence", *Personality Individual Differences*, 4(3), pp. 315-321.

GUNTER, B. & FURNHAM, A. (1984), "Perceptions of television violence: Effects of programme genre and type of violence on viewers' judgements of violent portrayals", *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 23(2), pp. 155-164.

GUNTER, B. & WOBER, M. (1983), "Television viewing and public perceptions of hazards to life", *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 3, pp. 325-335.

HADDEN, J. K. & FRANKL, R. (1987), "Star wars of a different kind: Reflections on the politics of the religion and television research project", *Review of Religious Research*, 29(2), pp. 101- 110.

HAIGHT, T. R. (1983), "The critical researcher's dilemma", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 226-236.

HALLORAN, J. D. (1983), "A case for critical eclecticism", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 270-278.

HANEY, C. & MANZOLATI, J. (1981), "Television criminology: Network illusions of criminal justice realities", in E. ARONSON (ed.), *Readings about the social animal*, San Francisco: Freeman, pp. 125-136.

HARDT, H. (1989), "The return of the "critical" and the challenge of radical dissent: Critical theory, cultural studies, and American mass communication research", in J. A. ANDERSON (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 12*, London: Sage Publications, pp. 558-635.

HARDT, H. (1992), *Critical communication studies: Communication history & theory in America*, London: Routledge.

HAWKINS, R. P. & PINGREE, S. (1980), "Some processes in the cultivation effect", *Communication Research*, 7(2), pp. 291-301.

HAWKINS, R. P. & PINGREE, S. (1981), "Uniform content and habitual viewing: Unnecessary assumptions in social reality effects", *Human Communication Research*, 7(4), pp. 291-301.

HAWKINS, R. P. & PINGREE, S. (1982), "Television's influence on social reality", in D. PEARL, L. BOUTHILET & J. LAZAR (eds.), *Television and behavior: Ten years of scientific progress and implications for the 80's, Volume II, Technical reviews*, Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health, pp. 224-247.

HAWKINS, R. P. & PINGREE, S. (1984), "The effects of television-mediated culture", in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 317-328.

HAWKINS, R. P., PINGREE, S. & ADLER, I. (1987), "Searching for cognitive processes in the cultivation effect", *Human Communication Research*, 13(4), pp. 553-577.

HAWKINS, R. P. & PINGREE, S. (1990), "Divergent psychological processes in constructing social reality from mass media content", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 35-50.

HEDINSSON, E. & WINDHAL, S. (1984), "Cultivation analysis: A Swedish illustration", in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna, Austria: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 389-406.

HEIDER, F. (1946), "Attitudes and cognitive information", *Journal of Psychology*, 21, pp. 107-112.

HEINSMAN, L. (1983), "De culturele betekenis van de productie van Nederlandse televisieprogramma's (The cultural meaning of the production of Dutch TV programs)", *Massacommunicatie*, 11(2), pp. 58-67.

HERZOG, H. (1944), "What do we really know about daytime serial listeners?", in P. F. LAZARSFELD & F. N. STANTON (eds.), *Radio research*, New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

HIEBERT, R. E., UNGURAIT, D. F. & BOHN, T. W. (1988), *Mass media V*, New York: Longman.

HIRSCH, P. M., MILLER, P. V. & KLINE, F. G. (eds.), (1977), *Strategies for communication research*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

HIRSCH, P. M. (1978), "The relevance of humanistic models to communication research", *Communication Research*, 5(3), pp. 235- 240.

HIRSCH, P. M. (1979), "The role of television and popular culture in contemporary society", in H. NEWCOMB (ed.), *Television: The critical view* (2nd ed.), New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 249-279.

HIRSCH, P. M. (1980a), "The 'scary world' of the nonviewer and other anomalies: A reanalysis of Gerbner et al.'s findings of cultivation analysis", *Communication Research*, 7(4), pp. 403-456.

HIRSCH, P. M. (1980b), "On Hughes' contribution: The limits of advocacy research", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 44(3), pp. 411-413.

HIRSCH, P. M. (1981a), "On not learning from one's own mistakes: A reanalysis of Gerbner et al's findings on cultivation analysis, Part II", *Communication Research*, 8(1), pp. 3-37.

HIRSCH, P. M. (1981b), "Distinguishing good speculation from bad theory: Rejoinder to Gerbner et al.", *Communication Research*, 8(1), pp. 73-95.

HOOVER, S. M. (1987), "The religious television audience: A matter of significance, or size?", *Review of Religious Research*, 29(2), pp. 135-151.

HOOVER, S. M. (1990), "Television, religion, and religious television: Purposes and cross purposes", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 123-140.

HOVLAND, C., JANIS, I. L. & KELLEY, H. H. (1953), *Communications and persuasion: psychological studies of opinion change*, New Haven: Yale University Press.

HOVLAND, C., LUMSDAINE, A. & SHEFFIELD, F. (1949), *Experiments on mass communication*, Princeton: Princeton University Press.

HSIA, H. J. (1988), *Mass communication research methods*, Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum.

HUGHES, M. (1980), "The fruits of cultivation analysis: A reexamination of the effects of television watching on fear of victimization, alienation, and the approval of violence", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 44(3), pp. 287-302.

JACKSON-BEECK, M. (1977), "The non-viewers: Who are they?", *Journal of Communication*, 27(3), pp. 65-72.

JANSEN, S. C. (1983), "Power and knowledge: Toward a new critical synthesis", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 342-354.

JEFFRES, W. L. (1986), *Mass media process and effects*, Illinois: Waveland Press.

JEFFRIES-FOX, S. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1979), "Television and children's conceptions about occupations", in H. S. DORDICK (ed.), *Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Telecommunications Policy Research Conference*, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, pp. 21-38.

JENSEN, K. B. & JANKOWSKI, N. W. (eds.), (1991), *A handbook of qualitative methodologies for mass communication research*, London: Routledge.

JENSEN, K. B. (1993), "The past in the future: Problems and potentials of historical reception studies", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp. 20-28.

JHALLY, S. (1992), *Interview with Gerbner*. (Reference is to the transcript of interview for videotape in progress).

KANG, J. G. & GROSS, L. (1988), "Culture clash: U.S. television programs in Korea", *Journalism Quarterly*, 65(2), pp. 431-438.

KATZ, E. (1960), "Communication research and the image of society", *American Journal of Sociology*, 65, pp. 435-440.

KATZ, E., BLUMLER, J. G. & GUREVITCH, M. (1974), "Utilization of mass communication by the individual", in J. G. BLUMLER & E. KATZ (eds.), *The uses of mass communications*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

KATZ, E. & FOULKES, D. (1962), "On the use of mass media for "escape": clarification of a concept", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 26.

KATZ, E. & GUREVITCH, M. (1977), *The secularization of leisure: Culture and communication in Israel*, London: Faber.

KATZ, E. & LAZARSFELD, P. F. (1955), *Personal influence*, Glencoe: The Free Press.

KATZ, E. (1988), "Mass communication research", in G. GERBNER (Chair, Editorial Board.), *International encyclopedia of communications*, vol. 1, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 487-497.

KATZ, E. & LAZARSFELD, P. F. (1955), *Personal influence*, New York: The Free Press.

KAZEE, T. A. (1981), "Television exposure and attitude change: The impact of political interest", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 45(4), pp. 507-518.

KERLINGER, F. (1986), *Foundations of behavioral research*, (3rd ed.), New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

KIECOLT, J. K. & SAYLES, M. (1988), "Television and the cultivation of attitudes toward subordinate groups", *Sociological Spectrum*, 8(1), pp. 19-33.

KLAPPER, J. T. (1960), *The effects of mass communication*, New York: Free Press.

KOTTAK, C. P. (1990), *Prime time society: An anthropological analysis of television and culture*, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

KRATTENMAKER, T. G. & POWE, L. A. J. (1978), "Televised violence: First amendment principles and social science theory", *Virginia Law Review*, 64(8), pp. 1123-1297.

KUBEY, R. W. (1986), "Television use in everyday life: Coping with unstructured time", *Journal of Communication*, 36(3), pp. 108-123.

LACEY, R. (1986), Ford: *The man and the machine*, New York: Ballantine Books.

LANG, K. (1979), "The critical functions of empirical communication research: observations on German-American influences", *Media, Culture and Society*, 1, pp. 83-96.

LANG, K. (1988), "Communications Research: Origins and development", in G. GERBNER (Chair, Editorial Board.), *International encyclopedia of communications*, vol. 1, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 369-374.

LASSWELL, H. D. (1927), *Propaganda technique in the World War*, New York: Knopf.

LASSWELL, H. D. (1948), "The structure and function of communication in society", in L. BRYSON (ed.), *The communication of ideas*, New York: Harper and Row, pp. 37-51.

LASSWELL, H. D., LERNER, D. & POOL, I. D. S. (1952), *The comparative study of symbols*, CA: Stanford University Press.

LAURIE, H. & SULLIVAN, O. (1991), "Combining qualitative and quantitative data in the longitudinal study of household allocations", *The Sociological Review*, 39(1), pp. 113-130.

LAZARSFELD, P. F. (1941), "Remarks on administrative and critical communications research", *Studies in philosophy and social science*, 9, pp. 2-16.

LAZARSFELD, P. F. (1963), "Trends in broadcasting research in the United States", in H. EGUCHI (ed.), *International studies of broadcasting*, Tokyo: NHK Radio and TV Culture Research Institute, pp. 183-199.

LAZARSFELD, P. F., BERELSON, B. & GAUDET, H. (1948), *The people's choice*, New York: Columbia University Press.

LAZARSFELD, P. F. & STANTON, F. N. (ed.), (1941), *Radio research, 1941*, New York: Duell, Sloan, and Pearce.

LAZARSFELD, P. F. & STANTON, F. N. (eds.), (1949), *Communication research, 1948-1949*, New York: Harper.

LEDGER, M. (1984), "The dean of communications", *Pennsylvania Gazette*, (March), pp. 14-40.

LEWIN, K. (1947), "Channels of group life", *Human Relations*, 1, pp. 143-153.

LEWIN, K. (1948), *Resolving social conflicts*, New York: Harper and Brothers.

LEWIS, J., JHALLY, S. & MORGAN, M. (1991), *The Gulf War: A study of the media, public opinion, and public knowledge*, Massachussetts: Department of Communication, University of Massachussets.

LINDLOF, T. R. (1987), *Natural audiences: Qualitative research of media uses and effects*, Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.

LIVINGSTONE, S. M. (1993), "The rise and fall of audience research: An old story with a new ending", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp.5-12.

LOOKER, D., DENTON, M. A. & DAVIS, C. K. (1989), "Bridging the gap: Incorporating qualitative data in quantitative analysis", *Social Science Research*, 18(4), pp. 313-330.

LOWENTHAL, L. (1944), "Biographies in popular magazines", in *Radio Research 1942-43*, New York: Harper Brothers.

LOWENTHAL, L. (1950), "Historical perspectives in popular culture", *American Journal of Sociology*, 55, pp. 323-333.

LOWENTHAL, L. (1957), *Literature and the Image of Man*, Boston: Beacon Press.

LOWERY, S. A. & DEFLEUR, M. (eds.), (1988), *Milestones in mass communication research* (2nd ed.), New York: Longman Inc.

MASLOW, A. H. (1954), *Motivation and personality*, New York: Harper and Brothers.

MASON, E. J. & BRAMBLE, W. J. (1989), *Understanding and conducting research* (2nd ed.), New York: McGraw-Hill.

MCARTHUR, L. & EISEN, S. (1976), "Television and sex-role stereotyping", *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 6(4), pp. 329-351.

MCCHESNEY, R. W. (1993), "Critical communication research at the crossroads", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp.98-104.

MCCOMBS, M. E. & SHAW, D. L. (1972), "The agenda setting function of mass media", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, pp. 176-187.

MCCOMBS, M. E. & SHAW, D. L. (1976), "Structuring the 'Unseen Environment'", *Journal of Communication*, Spring, pp. 18-22.

MCLEOD, J. M. & CHAFFEE, S. H. (1973), "Interpersonal approaches to communication research", *American Behavioral Scientist*, 16, pp. 469-499.

McQUAIL, D. (1976), "Alternative models of television influence", in R. BROWN (ed.), *Children and television*, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 343-360.

McQUAIL, D. (1979), "The uses and gratifications approach: past troubles and future", *Massacommunicatie*, VII(3), pp. 73-89.

McQUAIL, D. (1987), *Mass communication theory: An introduction* (2nd ed.), Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications.

McQUAIL, D. & WINDAHL, S. (1981), *Communication models*, New York: Longman Inc.

MELISCHEK, G., ROSENGREN, K. E. & STAPPERS, J. (eds.), (1984), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.

MELODY, W. H. & MANSELL, R. E. (1983), "The debate over critical vs. administrative research", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 103-116.

MERRIAM, S. B. (1988), *Case study research in education*, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

MERTON, R. (1957), *Social theory and social structure*, Glencoe, Ill: The Free Press.

MIZUNO, H. (1991), "Cultural indicators project and cultivation analysis: Their ideas, development, present state, and evaluation", *Japanese Journalism Review* (Shimbungaku Hyoron), 40.

MORGAN, M. (1980), "Television viewing and reading: Does more equal better?", *Journal of Communication*, 30(1), pp. 159-165.

MORGAN, M. (1982), "Television and adolescent's sex-role stereotypes: A longitudinal study", *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 43(5), pp. 947-955.

MORGAN, M. (1983), "Symbolic victimization and real-world fear", *Human Communication Research*, 9, pp. 146-157.

MORGAN, M. (1984a), "Symbolic victimization and real-world fear", in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 365-376.

MORGAN, M. (1984b), "Heavy television viewing and perceived quality of life", *Journalism Quarterly*, 61(3), pp. 499-504, 740.

MORGAN, M. (1986), "Television and the erosion of regional diversity", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 30(2), pp. 123-139.

MORGAN, M. (1987), "Television, sex-role attitudes, and sex role behavior", *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 7(3), pp. 269-282.

MORGAN, M. (1989a), "Television and democracy", in I. ANGUS & S. JHALLY (eds.), *Cultural politics in contemporary America*, Routledge: Routledge, pp. 430-433.

MORGAN, M. (1989b), "Cultivation analysis", in E. BARNOUW (ed.), *The International Encyclopedia of Communications*, Vol. 1, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 430-433.

MORGAN, M. (1990), "International cultivation analysis", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 225-248.

MORGAN, M. (forthcoming), "The critical contribution of George Gerbner", in J. Lent (ed.). (The proposed book is on *critical thinkers.* As the precise title, the publishing house etc. are not yet fixed, they cannot be provided now. The quotations are from the pre-publication draft of Morgan who is one of the contributors to this proposed book).

MORGAN, M., ALEXANDER, A., SHANAHAN, J. & HARRIS, C. (1990), "Adolescents, VCRs, and the family environment", *Communication Research*, 17(1), pp. 83-106.

MORGAN, M. & GERBNER, G. (1982), "TV professions", in M. SCHWARZ (ed.), *TV and teens: Experts look at the issues*, Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, pp. 121-127.

MORGAN, M. & GROSS, L. (1979), "Television, IQ, and school achievement", in S. H. SCHEUER (ed.), *The television annual 1978- 1979: A complete record of American television from June 1, 1978 through May 31, 1979*, New York: Macmillan, pp. 237-239.

MORGAN, M. & GROSS, L. (1980), "Television viewing, IQ, and academic achievement", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 24(2), pp. 117- 133.

MORGAN, M. & GROSS, L. (1982), "Television and educational achievement and aspiration", in D. PEARL, L. BOUTHILET & J. LAZAR (eds.), *Television and behavior: Ten years of scientific progress and implications for the 80's, volume II, Technical reviews*, Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health, pp. 78-90.

MORGAN, M. & ROTHSCHILD, N. (1983), "Impact of the new television technology: Cable TV, peers, and sex-role cultivation in the electronic environment", *Youth and Society*, 15(1), pp. 33-50.

MORGAN, M., SHANAHAN, J. & HARRIS, C. (1990), "VCRs and the effects of television: New diversity or more of the same?", in J. DOBROW (ed.), *Social and cultural aspects of VCR use*, Hillsdale, N.J.: Erlbaum, pp. 107-123.

MORGAN, M. & SHANAHAN, J. (1991a), "Do VCRs change the TV picture?: VCRs and the cultivation process", *American Behavioral Scientist*, 35(2), pp. 122-135.

MORGAN, M. & SHANAHAN, J. (1991b), "Television and the cultivation of political attitudes in Argentina", *Journal of Communication*, 41(1), pp. 88-103.

MORGAN, M. & SHANAHAN, J. (1992a), "Television viewing and voting", *Electoral Studies*, 11(1), pp. 3-10.

MORGAN, M. & SHANAHAN, J. (1992b), "Comparative cultivation analysis: Television and adolescents in Argentina and Taiwan", in F. KORZENNY & S. TING-TOOMEY (eds.), *Mass media effects across cultures: International and intercultural communication annual*, vol. 16, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 173-197.

MORGAN, M. & SIGNORIELLI, N. (1990), "Cultivation analysis: Conceptualization and methodology", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 13-34.

MORLEY, D. (1993), "Active audience theory: Pendulums and pitfalls", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp. 13-19.

MOSCO, V. (1983), "Critical research and the role of labor", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 237-248.

MURPHY, D. M. (1985), *George Gerbner and communication research*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, School of Public Communication, Boston University.

MURRAY, J. P. & KIPPAX, S. (1979), "From the early window to the late night show: International trends in the study of television's impact on children and adults", in L. BERKOWITZ (ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology*, New York: Academic Press.

NEVILLE, T. J. (1980a), *Television viewing and the expression of interpersonal mistrust*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Princeton University, New Jersey.

NEVILLE, T. J. (1980b), "More on Wober's 'Televised violence and viewers' perceptions of reality'", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 44(1), pp. 116-117.

NEWCOMB, H. (1978), "Assessing the violence profile of Gerbner and Gross: A humanistic critique and suggestions", *Communication Research*, 5(3), pp. 264-282.

NEWCOMB, T. (1953), "An approach to the study of communicative acts", *Psychological Review*, 60, pp. 393-404.

NEWCOMB, T. (1959) "The study of consensus", in R. K. MERTON, L. BROOM & S. COTTRELL (eds.), *Sociology today*, New York: Basic Books.

NEWHAGEN, S. G. (1993), "Revealing the Black Box: Information processing and media effects", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp. 42-50.

O'KEEFE, G. J. (1984), "Public views on crime: Television exposure and media credibility", in R. N. BOSTROM (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 8*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp. 514-535.

OWEN, B. M. (1972 Jun), *Measuring violence on television: The Gerbner Index*, STAFF RESEARCH PAPER, OFFICE OF TELECOMMUNICATIONS POLICY, OTP-SP-7.

PALMGREEN, P. & RAYBURN, J. D. (1979), "Uses and gratifications and exposure to public television, a discrepancy approach", *Communication Research*, 6, 155-180.

PASSUTH, P. M. & COOK, F. L. (1985), "Effects of television viewing on knowledge and attitudes about older adults: A critical re-examination", *Gerontologist*, 25(1), pp. 69-77.

PERSE, E. M. (1986), "Soap opera viewing patterns of college students and cultivation", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 30(2), pp.175-193.

PERSE, E. M. (1990), "Cultivation and involvement with local television news", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage publications, pp. 51-70.

PIEPE, A., CHARLTON, P. & MOREY, J. (1990), "Politics and television viewing in England: Hegemony or pluralism?", *Journal of Communication*, 40(1), pp. 24-35.

PIEPE, A., COUCH, J. & EMERSON, M. (1977), "Violence and television", *New Society*, 41(780), pp. 536-538.

PINGREE, S. (1978), "The effects of nonsexist television commercials and perceptions of reality on children's attitudes about women", *Psychology of Women Quarterly*, 2(3), pp. 262-277.

PINGREE, S. (1983), "Children's cognitive processes in constructing social reality", *Journalism Quarterly*, 60(3), pp. 415-422.

PINGREE, S. & HAWKINS, R. P. (1981), "U.S. programs on Australian television: The cultivation effect", *Journal of Communication*, 31(1), pp. 97-105.

POOL, I. D. S. & SHULMAN, I. (1964), "Newsmen's fantasies, audiences, and newswriting", in L. A. DEXTER & D. M. WHITE (eds.), *People, society, and mass communications*, New York: The Free Press.

POTTER, W. J. (1986), "Perceived reality and the cultivation hypothesis", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 30(2), pp. 159-174.

POTTER, W. J. (1988), "Three strategies for elaborating the cultivation hypothesis", *Journalism Quarterly*, 65, pp. 930-939.

POTTER, W. J. (1991a), "Examining cultivation from a psychological perspective: Component subprocesses", *Communication Research*, 18, pp. 77-102.

POTTER, W. J. (1991b), "The relationship between first - and second - order measures of cultivation", *Human Communication Research*, 18(1), pp. 92-113.

POTTER, W. J. (1991c), "The linearity assumption in cultivation research", *Human Communication Research*, 17(4), pp. 562-583.

POTTER, W. J. & CHANG, I. C. (1990), "Television exposure measures and the cultivation hypothesis", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 34(3), pp. 313-333.

PRESTON, E. H. (1990), "Pornography and the construction of gender", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 107-122.

PURAYIDATHIL, T. (1992), "L'approccio della "coltivazione" di Gerbner e alcuni aspetti del dibattito che lo hanno seguito", *Orientimenti Pedagogici*, 39, (1), pp. 113-149.

RAGIN, C. C. (1989), *The comparative method*, Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

REIMER, B. (1986), *Maps of culture: Macro and micro. Arbetsrapport nr. 16*, Sweden: Audelningen for Masskommunikation Gotesborgs Universitet.

REIMER, B. & ROSENGREN, K. E. (1990), "Cultivated viewers and readers: A life-tyle perspective", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 181-206.

ROBERTS, C. (1981), "Children's and parents' television viewing and perceptions of violence", *Journalism Quarterly*, 58(4), pp. 556- 564, 581.

ROGERS, E. M. (1976), "Communication and development: the passing of the dominant paradigm", *Communication Research*, 3, pp. 213- 240.

ROGERS, E. M. & SHOEMAKER, F. (1973), *Communication of innovations*, Glencoe: Free Press.

ROGERS, E. M. (1982), "The empirical and the critical schools of communication research", in M. BURGOON (ed.), *Communication yearbook 5*, New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, pp. 125-144.

ROSENGREN, K. E. (1974), "Uses and gratifications approach: a paradigm outlined", in J. G. BLUMLER & E. KATZ (eds.), *The uses of mass communications*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

ROSENGREN, K. E. (ed.), (1981), *Advances in content analysis*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

ROSENGREN, K. E. (1983), "Communication research: One paradigm or four?", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 185-207.

ROSENGREN, K. E. (1984), "Cultural indicators for the comparative study of culture", in G. MELISCHEK, K.E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 377-388.

ROSENGREN K. E., ET AL. (1977), *Cultural indicators: The Swedish symbol system 1945-1975*, Sweden: University of Lund, mimeographed.

ROSENGREN, K. E. & WINDAHL, S. (1972), "Mass media consumption as a functional alternative", in D. McQUAIL (ed.), *Sociology of mass communications*, Harmondsworth: Penguin.

ROTHSCHILD, N. (1984), "Small group affiliation as a mediating factor in the cultivation process", in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenshaften, pp. 377-387.

ROTHSCHILD, N. & MORGAN, M. (1987), "Cohesion and control: Relationships with parents as mediators of television", *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 7(3), pp. 299-314.

ROUNER, D. (1984), "Active television viewing and the cultivation hypothesis", *Journalism Quarterly*, 61(1), pp. 168-174.

RUBIN, A. M., PERSE, E. & TAYLOR, D. (1988), "A methodological examination of cultivation", *Communication Research*, 15(2), pp. 107-134.

RUBIN, H. (1984), *Applied social research*, Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merril.

SAITO, S. (1991), *Does cultivation occur in Japan?: Testing the applicability of the cultivation hypothesis on Japanese television viewers*, Unpublished Master's Thesis in communication, The Annenberg School of Communication, Univesity of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. (Thesis Supervisor was George Gerbner).

SCHEITZER, J. C. (1989), "Factors affecting scholarly research among mass communication faculty", *Journalism Quarterly*, 66(2), pp. 410-417.

SCHILLER, D. (1993), "Back to the future: Prospects for study of communication as a social force", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp.17-124.

SCHILLER, H. I. (1983), "Critical research in the information age", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 249-257.

SCHRAMM, W. (1980), "The beginnings of communication research in the United States", in D. NIMMO (ed.), *Communication Yearbook*, vol. 4, New Brunswick: Transaction Books, pp.73-82.

SCHRAMM, W. (1988a), "Sleeper effect", in G. GERBNER (chair, Editorial Board.), *International encyclopedia of communications*, vol. 4, New York: Oxford University Press, p. 88.

SCHRAMM, W. (1988b), "Lewin, Kurt (1890-1947)", in G. GERBNER (Chair, Editorial Board.), *International encyclopedia of communications*, vol.2, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 418-419.

SCHRAMM, W. (1988c), "Lasswell, Harold D. (1902-1978)", in G. GERBNER (Charir, Editorial Board.), *International encyclopedia of communications*, vol.2, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 404-405.

SCHRAMM, W. (1988d), "Hovland, Carl (1912-1961)", in G. GERBNER (Chair, Editorial Board.), *International encyclopedia of communications*, vol.2, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 294-295.

SEVERIN, W. J. & TANKARD, J. W. (1988), *Communication theories* (2nd ed.), New York: Longman.

SHANAHAN, J. & MORGAN, M. (1992), "Adolescents, families and television in five countries: Implications for cross-cultural educational research", *Journal of Educational Television*, 18(1), pp. 35-55.

SHAPIRO, M. (1991), "Memory and decision processes in the construction of social reality", *Communication Research*, 18(1), pp. 3-24.

SHAPIRO, M. & LANG, A. (1991), "Making television reality: Unconscious processes in the construction of social reality", *Communication Research*, 18(5), pp. 685-705.

SHARMA, S. J. (1985), *Mass communication - A philosophical study*, Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Delhi University, New Delhi.

SHARP, N. W. (ed.), (1988), *Communications research*, New York: Syracus University Press.

SHELEY, J. F. & ASHKINS, D. C. (1981), "Crime, crime news, and crime views", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 45(4), pp. 492-506.

SHOEMAKER, P. J. (1993), "Communication in crisis: Theory, curricula, and power", *Journal of Communication*, 43(4), pp.146-153.

SHUBERT, W. H. (1986), *Curriculum*, New York: Macmillan Publishing Company.

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1979), *Television's contribution to sex-role socialization*, Skytop, PA: Telecommunications Policy Research Conference. (Paper presented at the seventh annual Telecommunications Policy Research Conference).

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1982), "Marital status in television drama: A case of reduced options", *Journal of Broadcasting*, 26(2), pp. 585-597.

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1983a), "Health, prevention and television: Images of the elderly and perceptions of social reality", *Prevention in Human Services: Aging and Prevention*, 3(1), pp. 97-118.

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1983b), "The demography of the television world", in O. H. GANDY JR., P. ESPINOSA & J. A. ORDOVER (eds.), *Proceedings from the Tenth Annual Telecommunications Policy Research Conference*, Norwood, NJ: Ablex, pp. 53-73.(Also in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna, 1984, pp. 137-157).

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1985), "The measurement of violence in television programming: Violence indices", in J. R. DOMINICK & J. E. FLETCHER (eds.), *Broadcasting research methods*, Boston: Allyn & Bacon, pp. 235-251.

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1986), "Selective television viewing: A limited possibility", *Journal of Communication*, 36(3), pp. 64-75.

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1987a), "Drinking, sex, and violence on television: The cultural indicators perspective", *Journal of Drug Education*, 17(3).

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1987b), "Children and adolescents on television: A consistent pattern of devaluation", *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 7(3), pp. 255-268.

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1989), "Television and conceptions about sex roles: Maintaining conventionality and the status quo", *Sex Roles*, 21(5/6), pp. 337-356.

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1990), "Television's mean and dangerous world: A continuation of the cultural indicators perspective", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 85-106.

SIGNORIELLI, N. (1991), *A sourcebook on children and television*, New York: Greenwood Press.

SIGNORIELLI, N. & GERBNER, G. (1978), "The image of the elderly in prime-time television drama", *Generations*, 3(2), pp. 10-11.

SIGNORIELLI, N., GROSS, L. & MORGAN, M. (1982), "Violence in television programs: Ten years later", in D. PEARL, L. BOUTHILET & J. LAZAR (eds.), *Television and behavior: Ten years of scientific progress and implications for the 80's*, Volume II, technical reviews, Rockville, MD: National Institute of Mental Health, pp. 158-173.

SIGNORIELLI, N. (in press), "Adolescence and ambivalence towards marriage: A cultivation analysis", *Youth and Society*.

SIGNORIELLI, N. & LEARS, M. (1991), *Children, television and conceptions about chores: Attitudes and behaviors*, [Unpublished manuscript], University of Delaware.

SIGNORIELLI, N. & LEARS, M. (in press), "Television and children's conceptions of nutrition: Unhealthy messages", *Health Communication*.

SIGNORIELLI, N. & LEARS, M. (in press), "Children, television and conceptions about chores: Attitudes and behaviors.", *Sex Roles*.

SIGNORIELLI, N. & MORGAN, M. (eds.), (1990), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

SILLS, D. L. (1988), "Lazarsfeld, Paul F. (1901-1976)", in G. GERBNER (Chair, Editorial Board.), *International encyclopedia of communications*, vol.2, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 411-412.

SIMON, J. (1985), *Basic research methods in social science* (3rd ed.), New York: Random House.

SINGER, J. L., SINGER, D. G. & RAPACZYNSKI, W. (1984), "Family patterns and television viewing as predictors of children's beliefs and aggression", *Journal of Communication*, 34(2), pp. 73- 89.

SINGER, J. L. & SINGER, D. G. (1983a), "Implications of childhood televisiion viewing for cognition, imagination and emotion", in J. BRYANT & D.R. ANDERSON (eds.), *Children's understanding of television*, New York: Academic Press, pp. 265- 291.

SINGER, J. L. & SINGER, D. G. (1983b), "Psychologists look at television: Cognitive development, personality and social policy implications", *American Psychologist*, 826-834.

SLACK, J. D. & ALLOR, M. (1983), "The political and epistemological constituents of critical communication research", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 208-218.

SLATER, D. & ELLIOTT, W. R. (1982), "Television's influence on social reality", *Quarterly Journal of Speech*, 68(1), pp. 69-79.

SMITH, M. J. (1988), *Contemporary communication research methods*, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

SMITH, T. W. (1981), "Qualifications to generalized absolutes: Approval of hitting questions on the GSS", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 45(2), pp. 224-230.

SMYTHE, D. W. & DINH, T. V. (1983), "On critical and administrative research: A new critical analysis", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 117-127.

SPARKS, G. G. & OGLES, R. (1990), "The difference between fear of victimization and the possiblility of being victimized", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 34(3), pp. 351-358.

SPLICHAL, S. (1989), "Critical theory and empirical critique in mass communication research: Some methodological considerations", in J. A. ANDERSON (ed.), *Communication yearbook 12*, London: Sage Publications, pp. 618-635.

STAPPERS, J. G. (1984), "De eigen aard van televisie; tien stellingen over cultivatie en culturele indicatoren (Television's specific nature: ten theses on cultivation and C. I.)", *Massacommunicatie*, 12(5-6), pp. 249-258.

STEVENSON, R. L. (1983), "A critcal look at critical analysis", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 262-269.

SUCHMAN, E. (1942), "An invitation to music", in P. F. LAZARSFELD & F. N. STANTON (eds.), *Radio research*, New York: Duell, Sloan and Pearce.

SUN, L. (1989), *Limits of selective viewing: An analysis of 'diversity' in dramatic programming*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, The Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

TAMBORINI, R. & CHOI, J. (1990), "The role of cultural diversity in cultivation research", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 157-180.

TAMBORINI, R., ZILLMANN, D. & BRYANT, J. (1984), "Fear and victimization: Exposure to television and perceptions of crime and fear", in R. N. BOSTRUM (ed.), *Communication Yearbook 8*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp. 492-513.

TAN, A. S. (1979), "Media use and academic achievement", *Journalism Quarterly*, 56(4), pp. 827-831.

TAN, A. S. (1982), "Television use and social stereotypes", *Journalism Quarterly*, 59(1), pp. 119-122.

TAN, A. S. (1983), "Media use and political orientations of ethnic groups", *Journalism Quarterly*, 60(1), pp. 126-132.

TAN. ALEXIS S., LI, S. & SIMPSON, C. (1987), "American television and social stereotpes of Americans in Taiwan and Mexico", *Journalism Quarterly*, 63, pp. 809-814.

TAN, A. S. & SUARCHAVARAT, K. (1988), "Social stereotypes of Americans in Thailand", *Journalism Quarterly*, 65(4), pp. 648-654.

TAN, A. S., TAN, G. K. & TAN, A. S. (1987), "American television in the Philippines: A test of cultural impact", *Journalism Quarterly*, 64, pp. 65-72, 144.

TANKARD, J. W. J. & HARRIS, M. C. (1980), "A discriminant analysis of television viewers and nonviewers", Journal of Broadcasting, 24(3), pp. 399-409.

TANNENBAUM, P. H. (1984), "If cultural indicators are the answer, what is the question?", in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. REOSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Verlang der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 97-104.

THOMAS, S. (1982), "Some problems of the paradigm in communication theory", in D. C. WHITNEY, E. WARTELLA & S. WINDAHL (eds.), *Mass communication review yearbook*, Vol. 3, London: Sage Publications, pp. 78-96.

THUNBERG, A. M., NOWAK, K. & ROSENGREN, K. E. (1979), *Samverkansspiralen*, Stockholm: Liber Forlag.

TICHENOR, P. J., DONOHUE, G. A. & OLIEN, C. N. (1970), "Mass media and differential growth in knowledge", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 34, pp. 158-170.

TICHENOR, P. J., RODENKIRCHEN, J. M., OLIEN, C. N. & DONOHUE, G. A. (1973), "Community issues, conflict and public affairs knowledge", in P. CLARKE (ed.), *New models for communication research*, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications.

TUCHMAN, G. (1983), "Consciousness industries and the production of culture", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 330- 341.

UMBLE, D. Z. (1990), "Mennonites and television: Applications of cultivation analysis to a religious subculture", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN, *Cultivation anaylsis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 141-156.

VAN DER VOORT, T. H. A. (1984), "Twaalf stellingen over theorie enonderzoek van George Gerbner (Tweleve theses on the theory and research of George Gerbner)", *Massacommunicatie*, 12(5-6), pp. 236-248.

VAN POECKE, L. (1980), "Gerbner's cultural indicators: The system is the message", in G. C. WILHOIT & H. D. BOCK (eds.), *Mass communication review yearbook*, Vol. 1 (eds.), Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp. 423-431.

VARIS, T. (1984), "The international flow of television programs", *Journal of Communication*, 34(1), pp. 143-152.

VOLGY, T. J. & SCHWARZ, J. E. (1980), "Television entertainment programming and sociopolitical attitudes", *Journalism Quarterly*, 57(1), pp. 150-155.

WALTERS, H. F. (1982), "Life according to TV", *Newsweek*, (December 6), pp. 136-140.

WATERMAN, D. & GRANT, A. (1991), "Cable television as an aftermarket", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 35(2), pp. 179-188.

WEAVER, D. H. & GRAY, R. G. (1980), "Journalism and mass communication research in the United States: past, present and future", in WILHOIT & DE BOCK (eds.), *Mass communication review yearbook*, Vol. 1, New Brunswick: Transaction Books, pp. 125-160.

WEAVER, J. & WAKSHLAG, J. (1986), "Perceived vulnerability to crime, criminal victimization experience, and television viewing", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 30(2), pp. 141-158.

WEBER, R. (1984), "Content-analytic cultural indicators", in G. MELISCHEK, K.E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 301-314.

WEIMANN, G. (1984), "Images of life in America: The impact of American TV in Israel", *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 8(2), pp. 185-197.

WESTLEY, B. H. (1989), "The controlled experiment", in G. H. STEMPEL & B. H. WESTLEY (eds.), *Research methods in mass communication*, (2nd ed.), Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

WHITE, D. M. (1950), "The gatekeepers", *Journalism Quarterly*, 27, pp. 383-390.

WHITE, D. M. (1964), "The gatekeeper: A case study in the selection of news", in L. A. DEXTER & D. M. WHITE (eds.), *People, society and mass communications*, New York: The Free Press.

WHITE, R. A. (1983), "Mass communication and culture: Transition to a new paradigm", *Journal of Communication*, 33(3), pp. 279-301.

WHITE, R. A. (1985), "The significance of recent developments in the field of Mass Communication", *Massacommunicatie*, 7(3-4), pp. 112-125.

WIGGERHAUS, R. (1992), *La Scuola di Francoforte*, Torino: Bollati Boringhieri.

WILLIAMS, F., RICE, R. & ROGERS, E. (1988), *Research methods and the new media*, New York: Free Press.

WILLIAMS, R.(1976), *Key words: A vocabulary of culture and society*, New York: Oxford University Press.

WILLIAMS, T. M., ZABRACK, M. L. & JOY, L. A. (1982), "The portrayal of aggression on North American television", *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 12(5), pp. 360-380.

WILLIAMS, T. M. (1986), *The impact of television: A natural experiment in three communities*, New York: Academic Press.

WIMMER, R. D. & DOMINICK, J. R. (1991), *Mass media research: An introduction*, (3rd ed.), Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company.

WINDAHL, S. (1981), "Uses and gratifications at the crossroads", in G. C. WILHOIT & H. DE BOCK (eds.), *Mass communication review yearbook* (2nd ed.), Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp. 174-186.

WINTERHOF-SPURK, P. (1989), *Fernsehen und Weltwissen* (Television and world knowledge), Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag.

WITHEY, S. B. (1975 July), "A profile on televised violence", a *report* to the Social Science Research Council, Committe on Television and Behavior.

WOBER, J. M. (1978), "Televised violence and paranoid perception: The view from Great Britain", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 42(3), pp. 315-321.

WOBER, J. M. (1979a), "Televised violence and viewers' perceptions of reality: A reply to criticisms of some British research", *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 43(2), pp. 271-273.

WOBER, J. M. (1979b), "Experience of television, and of the world at large: Some Scottish evidence" (*Research summary* of the Independent Broadcast Authority, December 4), London: Independent Broadcast Authority.

WOBER, J. M. (1980), "Use of television in relation to events in the environment: More evidence on violence", (*Research summary* of the Independent Broadcast Authority, January 11) London: Independent Broadcast Authority.

WOBER, J. M. (1984), "Prophecy and prophylaxis: Predicted harms and their absence in a regulated television system", in G. MELISCHEK, K. E. ROSENGREN & J. STAPPERS (eds.), *Cultural indicators: An international symposium*, Vienna: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, pp. 423-440.

WOBER, J. M. (1986), "The lens of television and the prism of personality", in J. BRYANT & D. ZILLMANN (eds.), *Perspectives on media effects*, Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 205-228.

WOBER, J. M. (1990), "Does television cultivate the British? Late 80s evidence", in N. SIGNORIELLI & M. MORGAN (eds.), *Cultivation analysis: New directions in media effects research*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications, pp. 207-224.

WOBER, J. M. & GUNTER, B. (1988), *Television and social control*, New York: St. Martin's Press.

WURTZEL, A. & LOMETTI, G. (1984), "Researching television violence", *Society*, 21(6), pp. 22-30.

YIN, R. (1989), *Case study research* (2nd ed.), Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications.

ZEMACH, T. & COHEN, A. A. (1986), "Perception of gender equality on television and in social reality", *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, 30(4), pp. 427-444.

ZILLMANN, D. & WAKSHLAG, J. (1985), "Fear of victimization and the appeal of crime drama", in D. ZILLMANN & J. BRYANT (eds.), *Selective exposure to communication*, Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 141-156.