

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98105

*Department of Sociology
Guthrie Hall*

January 15, 1969

Dr. George Gerbner, Dean
Annenberg School of Communications
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

Dear George:

I appreciate your letter of January 13 and your kind understanding of my situation.

I am pleased to offer my estimate of the qualifications of Dr. Sandra Ball. She came to the University of Washington from San Diego State to complete her final year of the BA program and to go on for both an MA and Ph.D. Her performance was one of the best of the 110 Ph.D.'s that have been granted here in the past twenty years. She was, for example, granted one of our NIMH Fellowships that are reserved for the top students.

Her MA Thesis involved a survey in a public school; her dissertation involved a laboratory study of collective behavior. In both efforts she displayed unusual competence in organizing and carrying out independent research efforts. That is, she did all her own work and did not ride through on some mass project. On the basis of these efforts, I know that she has the skill, the motivation, and the capacities to undertake a productive research career. Her recent experience in Washington with the Violence Commission did not afford opportunities for carrying out original research, but it did give her vital experience in research planning and administration. Dr. James F. Short, Jr of Washington State University has told me, and could inform you, of the competence that she brought to that task.

Dr. Ball completed her dissertation just last summer (1968). She has not yet had the time to meet an important test of her abilities namely the production of journal articles. I know that she has ideas and plans to do this (and to produce some monographs) and I am confident that it will come to pass. She has some things to learn about writing yet, but that, too, I feel will come with more experience.

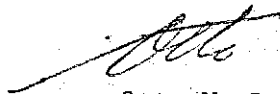
Dr. Ball has had teaching experience at Bellevue Community College, at the University of Alberta, and at San Diego State (summer session). From each of these places I have had glowing reports of her performance. Besides being an attractive person, she is a competent, confident classroom teacher who comes well-prepared and manages to stimulate high interest in the subject matter. For her first year at Alberta she was given some advanced courses, including work in methodology, and, according to the reports that I have from several sources, she did an outstanding job. Her substantive interests are on the sociology side of social psychology including group processes, communication, public opinion and, in particular, collective behavior. I have no doubts whatsoever that she would bring great strength to the teaching of the sociology of these substantive matters as well as to teaching in general sociology methodology--research design, survey methods, etc.

When it comes to writing letters about young Assistant Professors we all have to place bets, and sometimes we lose. In the present case, however, I am willing to bet high and do so with great confidence. Sandra Ball is all the things I have said and in addition she is dedicated to a professional career where growth is possible. One other point: she has a well-balanced personality and is responsible and mature in her judgment. Many of her peers have relied on her counsel, and she gets on very well with persons from all backgrounds. I particularly admire her independent spirit. She speaks candidly on all topics, but she is not stubborn and would be a cooperative member of a faculty.

As you can see, I intend this to be the highest recommendation that I can give.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,



Otto N. Larsen
Professor

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON 98105

Department of Sociology
Guthrie Hall

January 15, 1969

Dr. George Gerbner, Dean
Annenberg School of Communications
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pa. 19104

Dear George:

I appreciate your letter of January 13 and your kind understanding of my situation.

I am pleased to offer my estimate of the qualifications of Dr. Sandra Ball. She came to the University of Washington from San Diego State to complete her final year of the BA program and to go on for both an MA and Ph.D. Her performance was one of the best of the 110 Ph.D's that have been granted here in the past twenty years. She was, for example, granted one of our NIMH Fellowships that are reserved for the top students.

Her MA Thesis involved a survey in a public school; her dissertation involved a laboratory study of collective behavior. In both efforts she displayed unusual competence in organizing and carrying out independent research efforts. That is, she did all her own work and did not ride through on some mass project. On the basis of these efforts, I know that she has the skill, the motivation, and the capacities to undertake a productive research career. Her recent experience in Washington with the Violence Commission did not afford opportunities for carrying out original research, but it did give her vital experience in research planning and administration. Dr. James F. Short, Jr of Washington State University has told me, and could inform you, of the competence that she brought to that task.

Dr. Ball completed her dissertation just last summer (1968). She has not yet had the time to meet an important test of her abilities namely the production of journal articles. I know that she has ideas and plans to do this (and to produce some monographs) and I am confident that it will come to pass. She has some things to learn about writing yet, but that, too, I feel will come with more experience.

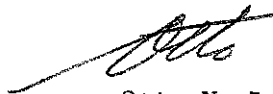
Dr. Ball has had teaching experience at Bellevue Community College, at the University of Alberta, and at San Diego State (summer session). From each of these places I have had glowing reports of her performance. Besides being an attractive person, she is a competent, confident classroom teacher who comes well-prepared and manages to stimulate high interest in the subject matter. For her first year at Alberta she was given some advanced courses, including work in methodology, and, according to the reports that I have from several sources, she did an outstanding job. Her substantive interests are on the sociology side of social psychology including group processes, communication, public opinion and, in particular, collective behavior. I have no doubts whatsoever that she would bring great strength to the teaching of the sociology of these substantive matters as well as to teaching in general sociology methodology--research design, survey methods, etc.

When it comes to writing letters about young Assistant Professors we all have to place bets, and sometimes we lose. In the present case, however, I am willing to bet high and do so with great confidence. Sandra Ball is all the things I have said and in addition she is dedicated to a professional career where growth is possible. One other point: she has a well-balanced personality and is responsible and mature in her judgment. Many of her peers have relied on her counsel, and she gets on very well with persons from all backgrounds. I particularly admire her independent spirit. She speaks candidly on all topics, but she is not stubborn and would be a cooperative member of a faculty.

As you can see, I intend this to be the highest recommendation that I can give.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,



Otto N. Larsen
Professor

Dr. S. Frank Miyamoto, Chairman, Department of Sociology,
University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 98105

Dr. James F. Short, Department of Sociology, Washington State
University, Pullman, Washington

Jim

Dr. Baha Abu-Laben, Department of Sociology, University of
Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

February 11, 1969

Dr. Baha Abu-Laben
Department of Sociology
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, CANADA

Dear Dr. Abu-Laben:

We are considering Dr. Sandra J. Ball for a faculty appointment in the graduate communications program. The position calls for leadership in teaching and research in the social aspects of mass communications. I would be most grateful for your candid appraisal of Dr. Ball's professional qualifications and achievements and personal suitability for such a position.

Sincerely yours,

GG:kaf

George Gerbner,
Dean

February 11, 1969

Dr. S. Frank Miyamoto, Chairman
Department of Sociology
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington 98105

Dear Dr. Miyamoto:

We are considering Dr. Sandra J. Ball for a faculty appointment in the graduate communications program. The position calls for leadership in teaching and research in the social aspects of mass communications. I would be most grateful for your candid appraisal of Dr. Ball's professional qualifications and achievements and personal suitability for such a position.

Sincerely yours,

GG:kaf

George Gerbner,
Dean

February 11, 1969

Dr. James F. Short
Department of Sociology
Washington State University
Pullman, Washington

Dear Jim:

We are considering Dr. Sandra J. Ball for a faculty appointment in the graduate communications program. The position calls for leadership in teaching and research in the social aspects of mass communications. I would be most grateful for your candid appraisal of Dr. Ball's professional qualifications and achievements and personal suitability for such a position.

Sincerely yours,

GG:kaf

George Gerbner,
Dean

February 11, 1969

Dr. Sandra Ball
Department of Sociology
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, CANADA

Dear Sandra:

Our faculty unanimously approved offering you an appointment as Assistant Professor. We are most enthusiastic about the prospect of your joining us. The terms, as we have discussed them, would be spelled out in the formal letter of offer. If you have any questions, please let me know. As soon as I receive word from you indicating that you would be inclined to accept a suitable offer, I will submit our request for the authority to make such an offer to the Provost.

The professional grounds for your decision should be clear. If you wish to be the outstanding sociologist of communications, we need you and can provide the best setting for your work. So-- think hard, think yes, and let me know.

I am also looking forward to receiving violence report draft materials. TV Guide is very interested in an article for the June 14 issue. The deadline would be in mid-March, and they'd like to see an outline. The "two worlds of violence" idea is a good one. If you could send me a proposed outline at least for the "real world" part, I'd add the rest and return for comments prior to submitting it.

Your visit was most successful and enjoyable. When are you coming East again?

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

GG:kaf

George Gerbner,
Dean

Memo

2/5/09

- ① Collaborate on 2 articles based on existing material & Commission report
 - (a) e.g. TV Guide - for June publication
 - (b) scholarly journal or semi -
ASA, POQ, JQ, The Annals of MASS as?
Social Forces, Social Problems, Transition?
- ② Book edited in collaboration, consisting of major studies -
 - Summary
 - Content analyses
 - Other relevant contributionsin well-developed theoretical and policy and problem oriented context.

TO DO

- A. Will send draft(s) of bases for ① a. & b. as soon as possible.
- B. Line up contributions & contributors for ②. Assemble available material
- C. Publisher and publ. date? Payment to contributors? Contract? Who'll negotiate with publisher?

University of Alberta
Department of Sociology

January, 1969

CURRICULUM VITA

SANDRA JEAN BALL

Department of Sociology
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta
Canada

Office Phone: 432-4523 (Area Code 403)
Home Phone: 439-7924 (Area Code 403)

Date of Birth

October 27, 1941; Ottawa, Canada. Citizenship: U.S.A., 1951

Marital Status

Single

Educational Background

Undergraduate Work: 1959-1962, San Diego State College
1962-1963, University of Washington
B.A.: University of Washington (1963)

Graduate Work: M.A.: Fall 1965, University of Washington
Ph.D.: Summer 1968, University of Washington

Areas of Research Interest

Power, Influence Structures
Collective Behavior: Violence and Protest
Interpersonal and Mass Communication
Urban Problems
Social Perception and Linguistic Analysis
Social Change and Social Control

Areas of Teaching Interest

Political Sociology
Social Psychology
Urban Sociology
Research Methodology
Philosophy of Science

Teaching Experience

Introductory Sociology: Winter and Spring Quarters, 1966,
Bellevue Community College, Bellevue, Washington
Statistics, Research Methods, Seminar in Collective Behavior
Research Methodology, University of Alberta, Edmonton,
Alberta, Canada: 1967-1969
Collective Behavior and Introductory Sociology, San Diego
State College: Visiting Asst. Professor, Summer, 1968
San Diego, California

Research Experience

Co-Director: Mass Media and Violence Task Force, National
Commission On The Causes and Prevention of Violence (August
1968 - March, 1969)

Co-Director: Correspondence Study Evaluation Project,
University of Washington (Summer, 1966)

Research Consultant: Washington State Fryer's Association,
Olympia, Washington (Summer, 1965)

Interviewer and Research Assistant: Public Health Department,
State of Washington (Summer, 1963)

Master's Thesis

Title: "A Re-Examination of the Influencing Process"
Degree Received: Fall, 1965
Sponsor: Dr. Otto N. Larsen

Doctoral Dissertation

Title: "Adaptations to the Experience of Cognitive Ambiguity"
Chairman of Supervisory Committee: Dr. Otto N. Larsen
Degree Received: Summer, 1968

Professional Associations and Honors

N.I.M.H. Fellow, 1963-1967
American Sociological Association
Pacific Sociological Association
Alpha Kappa Delta

References

Dr. Otto N. Larsen, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 98105

Dr. S. Frank Miyamoto, Chairman, Department of Sociology, University of Washington, Seattle, Washington, 98105

Dr. James F. Short, Department of Sociology, Washington State University, Pullman, Washington

Dr. Baha Abu-Laben, Department of Sociology, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

AIR MAIL

February 24, 1969

Dr. Sandra Bell
Department of Sociology
University of Alberta
Edmonton, Alberta, CANADA

Dear Sandra:

Needless to say, I regret that you will not join us here. I understand your considerations and wish you all the best in your new position.

I trust that your decision will not alter the other plans we have made. I need to know where we stand.

First, I cannot delay submitting our report to GEO much longer. You were going to send me some suggested revisions, and a draft of the Task Force for purposes of information and planning for publications in light of what the report contains. I don't want to start working on our articles, etc. until I know how much of the information will be in the report, and in what form.

Secondly, we have outlined plans for joint publications and a book. TV Guide wants a draft or at least a full outline in two weeks because the editor will leave on vacation in mid-March and he would like to handle this himself. They want to do something extraordinary by way of play in the magazine and promotion, so from the point of view of readership and impact this would be an opportunity to make a contribution.

Unless you have written or sent me materials already, I would appreciate your calling me (collect) to bring me up to date on the status of our work and plans.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

GG:kaf

George Gerbner,
Dean

September 29, 1969

Dr. Sandra Ball
Department of Sociology
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Dear Sandra:

I received your letter of September 19 and the draft of the three papers plus your statements. I also received a letter from Bill Gum and a check for \$750, \$250 of which represents expense money. I am dictating this at home and don't have Bill's letter or the contract handy so I don't know off hand if this is what we agreed to, but will check on it when I can.

We will try to get your handwriting deciphered (almost as bad as mine!) and then I will be in a better position to comment. Right now I am more concerned about three things:

1. The manuscript you sent me is about 100 pages. We agreed to give Bill a manuscript of about 400 pages. Didn't you cut out too much? How long will your survey report be?
2. If this is really going to be an author-written book rather than a symposium of various contributions, we cannot really begin to write even the semi-final draft until we have all the major portions in hand. This means your study as well as ours, and all of the substantive transitions etc. Consequently, our target date must be considerably delayed. Perhaps we should inform Bill Gum of that fact.
3. One of the advantages of the delay is that we can include some comment on the Commission's report, as well as perhaps something about the task force and Commission working relationships, problems, etc. For example, you probably know the inside story of why the Commission statement came out before (or instead?) of the task force report. What do you think about the whole problem of commenting on the Commission's report and work?

Another possibility arises with the delay, which is that perhaps we can include some 1969 figures. At any rate, please send me your draft of the survey findings

September 29, 1969

as soon as you can, let me know what you think about these questions and suggestions, and generally keep me posted.

Ilona sends best regards, as do I.

Sincerely yours,

GG:kaf

George Gerbner,
Dean

Sent foli Sci paper

March 4, 1969

Dr. Guido H. Stempel III
Chairman, AEJ Research Committee
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio 45701

Dear Dr. Stempel:

Our study on the portrayal of violence in network television drama was done on a contract from the Commission which stipulated that we cannot release the report until June 10. By that time we expect to have materials of our own, based on the study, prepared for publication in scholarly journals and in other forms.

I am sorry that we are not at liberty to release the report at this time. However, the Commission's own report will contain the major aspects of our findings.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

GG:kaf

George Gerbner,
Dean

OHIO UNIVERSITY
School of Journalism
ATHENS, OHIO

February 27, 1969

Dr. George Gerbner
Dean of the Annenberg School of Communication
University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19104

Dear Dr. Gerbner:

The Research Committee's program at the AEJ convention at Berkeley in August will focus on the Violence Commission. We plan to do three things in our program:

- (1) Summarize the papers submitted on violence and the media.
- (2) Have one of the journalism educators who contributed discuss his experiences.
- (3) Have someone from the Violence Commission discuss the value of the commission concept and the contribution, both real and ideal, of academic people.

The three of us who have assumed responsibility for this program--Pete Clarke of Washington, Jim Carey of Illinois and myself--would like to read all the material submitted to the Violence Commission by journalism educators so we can get a perspective. Could you please send me a copy of the paper you submitted to the commission?

Sincerely,

Guido H. Stempel III
Guido H. Stempel III
Chairman, AEJ Research Committee

GHS/km

March 4, 1969

Dr. Guido H. Stempel III
Chairman, AEJ Research Committee
Ohio University
Athens, Ohio 45701

Dear Dr. Stempel:

Our study on the portrayal of violence in network television drama was done on a contract from the Commission which stipulated that we cannot release the report until June 10. By that time we expect to have materials of our own, based on the study, prepared for publication in scholarly journals and in other forms.

I am sorry that we are not at liberty to release the report at this time. However, the Commission's own report will contain the major aspects of our findings.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

GG:kaf

George Gerbner,
Dean

AIR MAIL

April 30, 1971

Dr. Sandra Bail-Rekeach
Department of Sociology
University of Western Ontario
London, Ontario, CANADA

Dear Sandra:

I am in agreement with your proposal, and will notify Bill Gam accordingly. I do not yet know when I will be coming to Western Ontario as a consultant; that's up to Ben Singer, and his group.

I certainly hope that we can keep in communication with an eye toward the future collaboration of the kind you describe. I would appreciate having a more explicit description of your thoughts about research issues involving the role of mass media, a subject that interests me very much.

With our best regards to you and Milt.

Sincerely yours,

GG:kas

George Gerbner,
Professor of Communications
and Dean

WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY

PULLMAN, WASHINGTON 99163

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

21 May 1975

Dear George,

Good to talk with you. I've enclosed an updated though somewhat messy version of my vita along with a draft of the theoretical chapters I mentioned during our conversation.

Thank you again for allowing me to list you as a reference. As I indicated, discussions with Duke are very tentative, but if something develops there or elsewhere, you may be contacted.

If we're not in touch before June, I'll be sending you a copy of the career development grant proposal and would, of course, appreciate your comments.

Cordially,
Sandie

CURRICULUM VITA

SANDRA J. BALL-ROKEACH

Associate Professor
Department of Sociology
Pullman, Washington 99163

Office Phone: 509-335-6869
Home Phone: 509-332-1980

Date of Birth

October 27, 1941; Ottawa, Canada. Citizenship: U.S.A., 1948

Educational Background

Undergraduate Work: 1959-1962, San Diego State College
1962-1963, University of Washington
B. A.: University of Washington (1963)

Graduate Work: M. A.: University of Washington, Fall 1965
Ph.D.: University of Washington, Summer 1968

Areas of Research Interest

Interpersonal Violence
Social Effects of Mass Communications
Social Psychological Correlates of Social Change
The Relationships between Ideology and Behavior
Sex Roles

Areas of Teaching Interest

Political Sociology
Collective Behavior
Social Psychology
Mass Communications
Interpersonal and Collective Violence

Publications

Books

R. K. Baker and S. J. Ball, Violence and the Media. G.P.O.:
Washington, D. C., 1969.

M. De Fleur and S. J. Ball-Rokeach, Theories of
Mass Communication (3rd Edition). McKay:
New York, 1975.

Articles in Refereed Journals

- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, From Pervasive Ambiguity to a Definition of the Situation. Sociometry, 36 (No. 3), 378-389 (September:1973)
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, Values and Violence: A Test of the Subculture of Violence Thesis. American Sociological Review, 38 (No. 6), December:1973.

S. J. Ball-Rokeach, S.E.S. - Violence Associations Do Not A Subculture Make. American Sociological Review (forthcoming, December:1975).

Articles in Books

- S. J. Ball, H. Y. Kim, and A. B. Olmsted, Correspondence Study Evaluation Project. In Von-Kartheinz Rebel, Individual Learning Processes, Verlag Julius Bertz, Berlin: Germany, 1969.
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, The Legitimation of Violence, In J. F. Short and M. E. Wolfgang, Collective Violence, Aldine: Chicago, 1971.
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach (ed.), Violence in Television Entertainment Programming, In M. DeFleur, Contemporary Concerns in Mass Communication, McKay: New York, 1975.
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, Values Underlying Receptivity to Sex Role Change, In Women in Science AAAS-Conacyt Publication, Mexico City (In Press).
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, The Subculture of Violence and Social Class as Determinants of Inter-personal Violence, In S. Genoves and J. P. Scott (eds.), Symposium on Violence and Behavior, AAAS-Conacyt, Washington D. C. (in Press).

Book Reviews

- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, Television and Aggression by S. Feshbach and R. Singer, in Public Opinion Quarterly, Vol. XXXV, No. 3, 501-504 (1971).

S. J. Ball-Rokeach, The Saturday Night Special by R. Sherril, in Urban Life (forthcoming).

Articles Submitted to Refereed Journals

- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, ~~_____~~ A Dependency Model of Mass Media Effects.
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, Receptivity to Sex-Role Equality. ~~_____~~

Books in Preparation

~~M. DeFleur and S. J. Ball-Rokeach, Theories of Mass Communication (a much revised edition), David McKay, Inc.: New York.~~

Papers Presented at Professional Meetings

- S. J. Ball, "Violence: Television and Reality," Presented at the Annual Meeting of the Pacific Sociological Association, Seattle (1969).
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, "The Violence Commission Revisited: Implications for Social Science Policy and Research," Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Pasadena (1971).
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, "Values Underlying Receptivity to Sex-Role Equality," Presented at the American Association for the Advancement of Science International Meetings, Mexico City (1973).
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, "The Subculture of Violence and Social Class as Determinants of Interpersonal Violence," Presented at the American Association for the Advancement of Science International Meetings, Mexico City (1973).
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, Seminar Discussant of "Family Violence Research," at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, New York (1973).
- S. J. Ball-Rokeach, "The Information Perspective," Presented at the Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, Montreal (1974).

Research in Progress

An empirical and theoretical analysis of the role of competence-morality value orientations in ideology and political behavior. Pilot project underway and grant application to the National Institutes of Mental Health and Washington State University Research Program in preparation.

Values and health in American society. Co-Investigator with M. Rokeach. Grant application to National Institutes of Mental Health presently pending.

Explication and Empirical Test of A Dependency Theory of Mass Media Effects
~~An examination of what it means to be black as opposed to what it means to be female. Presently in data analysis phase.~~

Teaching Experience

Undergraduate Courses Taught

- Introductory Sociology
- Social Psychology
- Collective Behavior
- Political Sociology

S. J. Ball-Rokeach, President and Organizer, Massmedia and Public Opinion Session, Annual Meetings of the American Sociological Association, San Francisco, 1975.

S. J. Ball-Rokeach, Toward An Integrated Theory of Mass Media Effects. Pacific Speech-Communication Association, Seattle, 1975

Mass Communications
 Urban Sociology
 Statistics and Research Methods
 Interpersonal and Collective Violence

Graduate Courses Taught

Advanced Methodology
 Political Sociology
 Social Movements and Revolutions

Institutional Affiliations

- 1967 - 1969: Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology,
 University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta,
 Canada.
- Summer 1968: Visiting Assistant Professor, Department of
 Sociology, California State University at San
 Diego, San Diego, California.
- 1969 - 1970: Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Michigan
 State University, East Lansing, Michigan (On
 leave 1970-72).
- 1970 - 1972: Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, Univer-
 sity of Western Ontario, London, Ontario,
 Canada.
- 1972 - Assistant Professor, Associate Professor (1974),
 Department of Sociology, Washington State
 University, Pullman, Washington.

Committees

Departmental

Executive Committee
 Colloquium Committee (Chair)
 Grievance Committee
 Social Psychology Examination Committee (Chair)
 Political Sociology Examination Committee

University

Chair, Faculty Committee on Women's Studies
 University Senate
 Discriminatory Practices Committee
 Social Science Research Council

Professional Associations and Honors

N.I.M.H. Fellow, 1963-1967
 American Sociological Association
 North Central Sociological Association
 Alpha Kappa Delta
 Pacific Sociological Association (Committee on Status of Women)
 International Society for Research on Aggression

Chapter 12: Draft Copy, Theories of Mass Communication
(3rd Edition) by Melvin De Fleur and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach,
McKay (1975).

Not for publication or quotation without written
permission by the authors.

Chapter XII

TOWARD AN INTEGRATED THEORY OF MASS MEDIA EFFECTS

The foregoing chapters have presented a variety of theoretical issues and perspectives on mass communication. A number of these have pertained to the patterns of growth of the media and their functioning in society. Several have reviewed the way in which people are exposed to media messages. Others deal with the effects of those messages on behavior. The present chapter returns once again to the ^{effects} issue ~~(of the effects the media have)~~ in an attempt to place it in a broader context.

We have seen that there are theories of specific effects, such as those dealing with the impact of televised violence. We have also seen that there are theoretical formulations concerning media persuasion, such as the psychodynamic and sociocultural models outlined in Chapter XI. What we lack, however, is a general theory of the effects of mass communications on individuals and society. Such a theory should provide an explanatory framework for a broad range of media effects, including audience cognitions, feelings, and overt behavior.

The goal of the present chapter is to sketch the outlines of such an integrated theory. This will include identifying major factors and variables that must be part of such a theory as well as identifying many of the relationships that prevail between these components. While this effort requires presentation of some new material, much that has already been presented in previous chapters can now be pulled together.

At this point in time, our skeleton integrated theory must remain both rather tentative and vague in places because the underlying specific formulations from which it is drawn are in many cases themselves tentative and vague. Even so, its outlines can be perceived and it is important to grope toward such a higher level of abstraction in order to understand where our research and analyses appear to be leading us.

SPECIFIC THEORIES AS STARTING POINTS

How does one even start to develop an "integrated" theory? In any scientific field, efforts toward integration begin with specific formulations that deal with defined aspects of a process. These more specific theories are grouped together into some logical and empirically valid configuration. More abstract

propositions and statements of relationship among components in the configuration are then induced.

Turning directly to mass communication, what are these more specific theories and what do they tell us? Starting with basics, we know from the discussion in Chapter V that a prerequisite of effective mass communication is a mode of message sending that reduces noise to a minimum so that the message reaching the audience is pretty much the same as that intended and sent by the mass communicator. Moreover, the perspectives discussed in Chapter IX on how audiences encounter the media pull together a substantial body of theory and research to demonstrate the basic psychological and social mechanisms that prevent the media from having arbitrary control over their audiences. The theory and research discussed in Chapter IX also presents a strong challenge to the theoretical notions about mass society discussed earlier (Chapter VI). Rather than assume the loose unconnectedness of people that would necessarily prevail in a mass society, it was shown that members of the media audience relate themselves to each other in groups and are engaged in stable social relations. These associations not only produce and maintain social realities that individuals share to varying degrees, but also operate

to insulate individuals from easy media manipulation. These several theoretical issues must continue to be taken into account.

Chapter VII showed that the media are, themselves, social systems that operate according to specific goals, values, organizational style, and technological capabilities. Earlier, (Chapter I-IV), our examination of the historical development of each of our contemporary American media illustrated how they emerged as systems with specific forms shaped by their surrounding socio-cultural context and underwent progressive change as that sociocultural context changed. These earlier chapters also provide concrete illustrations of the fundamental sociological proposition that current media systems remain linked to the larger society in systemic ways.

In other words, the media do not exist in a vacuum. The behavior of a given medium is not only governed by the dictates of its own internal system, but is also affected and limited by the characteristics and context of the societal system within which it operates. Media content must be compatible with the sociocultural context as a whole in order for it to be comprehensible and desirable to an audience large enough for the medium to achieve its economic goals. Furthermore, media

personnel are products of their society with learning experiences affecting every aspect of their communication behavior.

In as brief a form as possible we can now summarize what has been said up to this point in our overview of previous chapters:

Mass media not only lack arbitrary influence powers, but their personnel lack the freedom to engage in arbitrary communication behavior. Both the media and their audiences are integral parts of their society. The surrounding sociocultural context provides mechanisms of constraint not only on the nature of media messages but on the nature of their effects on audiences.

These broad propositions must be a part of any attempt to construct an integrated general perspective on mass media effects. However, for the most part, these propositions generally describe limitations on effects. As previous chapters have shown, the majority of scientific evidence gathered from laboratory and survey approaches to the study of media effects finds the media to have little direct influence on people, or only limited power under restricted circumstances.

On the other hand, theorists such as Harold Innis, Charles Cooley and Daniel Lerner, plus a host of others

from the past and the present, make a convincing case that the coming of new media to a society makes a tremendous difference in the lives of people and in the social process. Our discussion of media technology and social change in Chapter I provided specific illustrations of this from the past.

We are caught, then, in a dilemma. A trustworthy method--science--says the media have few effects. Another trustworthy method--careful study by insightful historians and other analysts of the broader picture--say that they have sweeping effects. Is this a flat contradiction or have these two approaches operated on quite different levels of abstraction? We feel that the latter is the case. Most scientific work is conducted in the here-and-now, looking for immediate signs that specific persons have been altered by specific messages. Things probably just do not work that way. Specific theories resulting from a scientific approach (individual differences, social relations, theories of response to violence, etc.) show many limitations on media power. Yet, here we are about to develop a theory that shows the media have a number of rather powerful effects on people. We are also saying that this theory will be obtained in part from the same specific theories that mainly pose limitations on effects.

To unravel this dilemma, we need first to return to some of the classical analyses that were formulated by sociologists observing the growth of urban-industrial society. These theoretical sources identify features of societies and their changing patterns that lead one logically to the assumption of broad patterns of media influence. These range from Durkheim's structural complexity theories through Tonnies's *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* (^{typology} ~~contrast~~) to Marx's dialectical mechanisms for change.³ All of these analyses of growing societal complexity lay the theoretical foundation for concluding that as mass media develop, they play a significant role in people's lives.

Essentially, these theories were developed before the media themselves were well developed. Furthermore, they did not actually address the problem of media. However, a common theoretical theme that emerges from these writings is that as informal relationships characteristic of more traditional non-industrial societies come into decline, unfulfilled needs for information rise accordingly. Extending this reasoning, it follows that people become dependent on media external to their groups when informal channels ^{beyond} ~~within~~ ^{immediate} their groups begin to be disrupted. As these informal channels become more difficult to maintain, as is the case in the shift

R. G. 1/1

from mechanical to organic solidarity, or from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft*, or from communal to associative (bureaucratic) society--and as the structure becomes more complex, people have less and less contact with the social system as a whole. In other words, they begin to be less aware of what is going on in their society beyond their own position in the structure.

These propositions are easily derivable from the very heart of classical theories of societal change. They definitely do not represent a reversion to naive assumptions of a mass society lacking in meaningful group ties. The central derived proposition merely states that existing informal ties in societies of complex structure are not able to supply many needs people have for specific categories of information. It is this elementary fact of dependency on external media in increasingly complex structures that provides the key to the development of an integrated perspective on the effects of the media.

But what kinds of effects are we alluding to? They are the kinds of effects that are not easily detected in laboratory experiments, or in before-after studies of people who have been exposed to specific messages. We are referring to the enlargement of people's belief systems that new media bring; to the

Relyse

formation of attitudes toward a constant flow of new topics; to subtle shifts of individual and collective sentiment that may not be seen in the actions of individuals; and to a number of other kinds of society-wide changes. We will attempt to show that such changes come about mainly because mass media are present in and operating in the society. In the section that follows, the basic assumptions of what we will now call a dependency theory of audience-media^{society} relations are set forth in an attempt to show that media effects do occur, even though most of our prior chapters have stressed limitations on such effects.

A DEPENDENCY THEORY OF AUDIENCE-MEDIA^{SOCIETY} RELATIONS

It is not necessary to subscribe to either the more naive assumptions of mass society theories or unsophisticated accusations of media conspiracies to conclude that the media do influence us regarding many important aspects of our lives. Rather, we assume that the ultimate basis of media influence lies in the nature of the three-way relationship between the larger social system, the media's role in that system, and audience relationships to the media. This line of thinking is a departure from previous perspectives.

It is at the same time more general and more abstract. In contrast with approaches that focus solely on the nature of the individual or, on the other hand, on the nature of the society, as the birthplace of media influence. We propose that it is the nature of the tripartite audience-media-society relationship which most directly determines many of the effects that the media have on people and society.

While there are a number of aspects of audience-media-society relationships that could be discussed, the one we focus upon first is the high level of dependence of audiences on mass media information resources in urban-industrial societies. The primary reason for this focus is that the degree of audience dependence on media information is a key variable in understanding when and why media messages alter audience beliefs, feelings, or behavior.

Dependency on media information is a ubiquitous condition in modern society. One finds this condition in many settings, ranging from the need to find the best buys at the supermarket to more general or pervasive needs such as obtaining the kinds of information that will help to maintain a sense of connectedness and familiarity with the social world.

outside one's neighborhood. There are numerous ways in which people are dependent on media to satisfy information needs. For example, one form of dependency is based on the need to understand one's social world; another type of dependency arises from the need to act meaningfully and effectively in that world; still a third type of dependency is based on the need for fantasy-escape from daily problems and tensions.

The greater the need and consequently the stronger the dependency in such matters, the greater the likelihood that the information supplied will alter various forms of audience cognitions, feelings, and behavior.

It can be assumed that as societies grow more complex, and as the quality of media technology improves, the media continuously take on more and more unique information delivery functions. In the American society, for example, the media are presumed to have several unique functions. They operate as a Fourth Estate delivering information about the actions of government; they serve as the primary signalling system in case of emergencies; they constitute the principle source of the ordinary citizen's conceptions of national and world events; they provide enormous amounts of entertainment information for fantasy-escape.

Some media information delivery functions are more socially central than others. In other words, some are more essential than others for societal and individual well-being. Providing national sports coverage to residents of small towns is probably a less central function than providing them with information about national economic or political decisions that strongly affect their lives. It can be hypothesized that the greater the number and centrality of the specific information delivery functions served by a medium, the greater the audience and societal dependency on that medium.

The second condition in which dependency is heightened occurs when a relatively high degree of change and conflict is present in a society. Forces operating to maintain the structural stability of a society always coexist with forces toward conflict and change. The relative distribution of forces for stability or for change varies over time and place. Societies undergoing modernization, for example, experience high levels of conflict, leading to rapid change until societal adaptations are made which reduce conflict and promote structural stability. Social conflict and social change usually involve challenges to established institutions, beliefs, or

practices. When such challenges are effective, established social arrangements become, to one degree or another, inadequate as frameworks with which members of a society can cope with the situation. People's dependence on media information resources is intensified during such periods. This is a joint consequence of the reduced adequacy of their established social arrangements and the media's capacity to acquire and transmit information that facilitates reconstruction of arrangements. We can hypothesize, therefore, in societies with developed media systems, audience dependency on media information increases as the level of structural instability (societal conflict and change) increases.

These basic propositions of dependency theory can be summarized as follows: The potential for mass media messages to achieve a broad range of cognitive, affective, and behavioral effects will be increased when media systems serve many unique, and central information delivery functions. That potential will be further increased when there is a high degree of structural instability in the society due to conflict and change. We need to add, however, the idea that ~~increased dependency~~ altering audience cognitive, affective and behavioral conditions can feed back in turn to alter both society and the media. This is,

what was meant by a tripartite relationship between media, audience and society. The general relationships implied in these propositions are presented in diagrammatic form in Figure 8.

(Insert Figure 8)

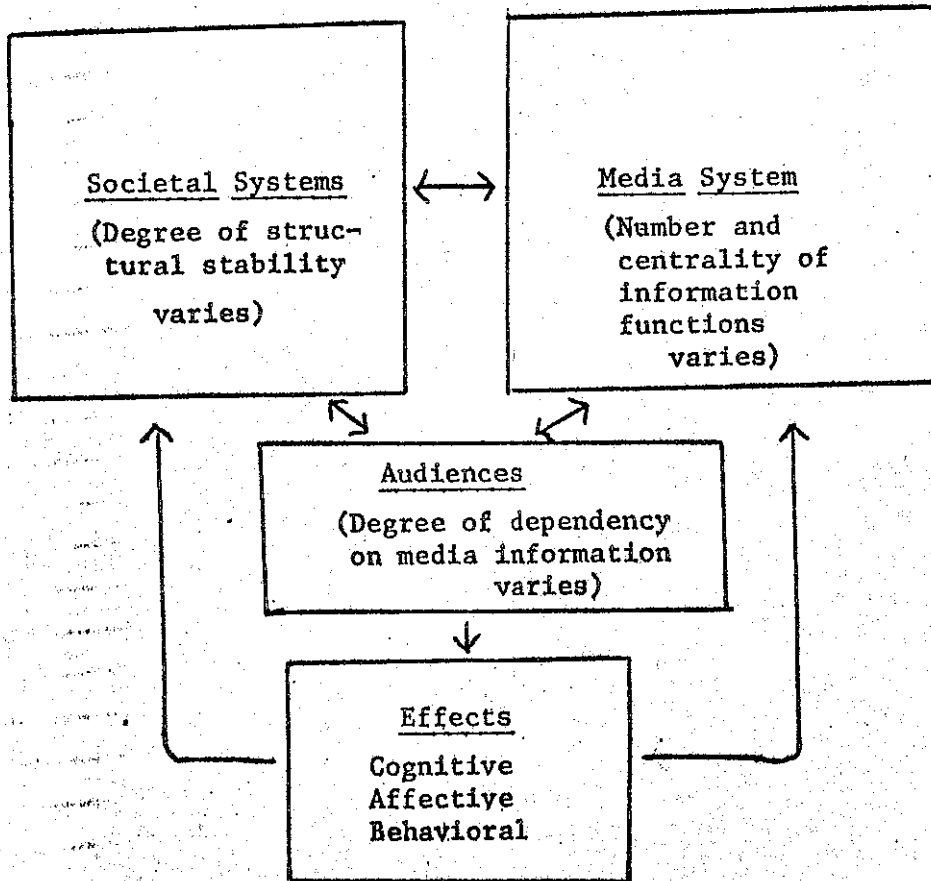
We can now illustrate how dependency theory predicts certain types of effects. We will attempt to identify specific kinds of cognitive, affective, and behavioral changes in people that are regularly brought about by the mass media because of their information delivery functions in society.

Cognitive Effects:

The term cognitive has replaced what an older psychology or the ordinary person might call "mental" effects. These are effects on inner or psychic variables of the type discussed earlier in sections on psychodynamic persuasion. Cognitive effects are distinct from effects on overt behavior, but the two may be functionally related. In the present section we will make reference to people's feelings of ambiguity, their attitudes, beliefs and values.

Figure 8

Society, Media, and Audience: Reciprocal Relationships



The creation and resolution of ambiguity serves as the first example of a cognitive alteration effect which is particularly likely to receive the attention of investigators working from a dependency model.

Ambiguity is a problem of either insufficient or conflicting information.⁴ Ambiguity can occur either because people lack enough information to understand the meaning of an event, or because they lack adequate information to determine which of several possible interpretations of an event is the correct one. Research evidence shows that when unexpected events occur, such as natural disasters or the assassination of a political leader, many people first become aware of such events through mass media information channels.⁵ When the initial information gathered and delivered by the media is incomplete, feelings of ambiguity are created whereby audience members know that an event has occurred, but do not know what it means or how to interpret it. More information will probably be sought in attempts to resolve such ambiguity. In many instances, the only source for that information is the mass media. The ambiguity resulting from incomplete or conflicting media reports will probably be resolved by more complete information subsequently delivered by media

to their audiences. In such cases, the media's role in ambiguity creation and resolution is relatively easy to see.

What is perhaps harder to see, but what may have more sociopolitical significance, is the extent to which people are dependent on the media for continuous or ongoing ambiguity resolution. People living in times of rapid social change, who are in settings marked by relative instability or social conflict, or who are confronted with specific situations in which something unexpected has occurred, will often experience ambiguity. Such ambiguity is usually stressful. Ambiguity can be resolved in a matter of seconds where media information delivery is adequate, or it can persist for days, months, or even years in the absence of such media information.

Thus, dependency on the media for resolution of ambiguity is easy to understand. When people become heavily dependent upon the mass media for the information they need to resolve ambiguity, the defining or structuring effect of mass-mediated information is considerable. The media do not have the power to determine uniformly the exact content of the interpretations or "definitions of the situation" that every person constructs. But, by controlling what information

is and is not delivered and how that information is presented, the media can play a large role in limiting the range of interpretations that audiences are able to make.

Examination of the essential roles played by the media in periods of modernization suggests that the media clearly have such a role in the reconstruction of social reality.⁶ Persons living in societies undergoing change from traditional to industrial forms experience pervasive ambiguity. This ambiguity is particularly acute during the period between their psychological unhitching from traditional customs, values, and world views and their adoption of more modern versions. The utility of having relatively standardized information packaged and transmitted via media by those agencies seeking to promote and control the modernization process has long been recognized. Control over such media information delivery is essential precisely because of the need to control how people resolve ambiguity.

Another cognitive effect that can be particularly common when audiences rely heavily upon media information resources to keep up with their changing world is attitude formation. During any year or

decade in recent history, numerous instances of media-initiated attitude formation can be found. Publics have formed new attitudes about such events as speed limits, environmental problems, energy crises, specific wars, and political corruption. New attitudes are continually being formed as various persons gain the public eye. In modern society there is a constant parade of new political figures, religious leaders, sports personalities, scientists and artists. There is also a seemingly endless variety of social movements toward which orientations must be worked out. Even physical objects become the focus of attitude formation. These can include new household gadgets, clothing, birth control devices, car safety mechanisms, and innovations in communication technology. The media push a never-ending flow of such events, issues, objects and persons into public attention. People work out their feelings toward them as they confront this flow.

We do not suggest that the media are monolithic in their influence on such attitudes. The selectivity processes emphasized in earlier perspectives undoubtedly play a role in the attitude formation process. Likewise, local community opinion leaders selectively channel people's attention to events and influence the content or intensity of the attitude formed. :

However, these psychological and social processes probably play more of a role in determining the specific content and intensity of the attitudes formed than they do in determining which events, people, or objects are likely to become candidates for attitude formation.

Another cognitive effect centers around the media's role in agenda-setting. Neither individuals themselves nor their opinion leaders control the selection activities of the media that sort among potential topics for presentation or among available sets of information about those topics. Moreover, even though the media deliver information on a broad range of topics, people have neither the time nor the energy to form attitudes and beliefs about everything. They must select some more limited set of topics and issues about which to concern themselves. It is out of this set of necessities that the effect of agenda-setting takes place.⁷ We need to understand two major features of this process. First, why is there a considerable similarity in the agenda of concern regarding certain types of topics among members of the media audience? Second, in spite of such instances of similarity, why do members of the public who attend to the media show numerous differences in their agendas of concern regarding media presented topics.

This seeming dilemma between tendencies toward *both* uniformity and differences in personal agendas can be resolved quite simply. Not all persons respond uniformly to media presented information on a given topic; this has been understood by social scientists since the early formation of the individual differences perspective. People select material from the media in somewhat predictable ways that are related to their personality characteristics, problems and needs. However, this does not mean that media audiences show no uniformities. We noted earlier that the social categories perspective permitted predictions to be made about differences in media habits because a given set of people were located at a similar point in the social structure (e.g. older, white, farmers in the midwest vs. younger, black industrial workers in urban areas).

From the individual differences and social categories perspectives come hypotheses concerning the agenda setting effects of the media. To be certain, specific individuals will set their personal agendas in relation to their unique background of prior socialization, experience and personality structure. However, the society produces broad strata of people with sufficient uniformity of social circumstances

that they share many problems and concerns in greater or lesser degree in spite of individual differences. In a society such as ours, for example, many people are wage-earners that have limited monetary resources to obtain their mass-produced necessities. In this sense they are alike regardless of their personality differences; they share a concern over such matters as rising prices, taxes, unemployment and other economic matters that can quickly alter their standard of living. These override their individual differences. Thus, when the media present information of importance on economic matters, these topics can be expected to be placed high on their agendas of concern.

Where individual differences play an important role in agenda-setting is with respect to topics that are less tied to such social locations. Animal lovers of any social category because of their individual attitudes will be likely to attend to and respond strongly to media delivered stories of mistreatment. People of all walks of life who enjoy fishing are likely to include in their agendas new policies of the fish and game department.

Agenda setting, in other words, is brought about by an interactional process. Topics are sorted by the media for presentation to the public. Information

about those topics is selectively assembled and selectively disseminated. The public then sorts out their interest and concern with this information as a function of both their individual differences in personal make-up and their location in societal strata and categories. Out of this system of variables and factors emerges a list of topics to which varying numbers of people give differential assignments of importance. That list is the agenda of the media audience as a whole.

Still another cognitive effect that occurs in a media-dependent society is the expansion of peoples' systems of beliefs. Charles H. Cooley long ago used the term "enlargement" to refer to the idea that people's knowledge and belief systems expand because they learn about other people, places, and things from the mass media.⁸ This idea can be more specifically explained by examining what Altman and Taylor call the "breadth" dimension of belief structure.⁹ Beliefs are organized into categories. These categories, such as those pertaining to religion, family, politics, etc., reflect the major areas of a person's social activity. The breadth dimension refers to the number of categories in a belief system and how many beliefs are found in each category. Belief systems can be

broadened (enlarged) by either increasing the number of categories or the number of beliefs in a given category. For example, the vast amount of new information about ecological matters disseminated by the media in recent years has surely fostered the enlargement of people's beliefs about everything from automobiles to "baggies", from babies to compacters, and so on. These can be incorporated into existing opinions, attitudes and values concerning free enterprise, recreation, work, religion, and the family. By their constant surveillance and presentation of aspects of the changing social and physical world we live in, the media have the effect of broadening of their audiences' belief categories and enlargement of their belief systems.

The final cognitive effect that needs consideration is the media's impact on values. Values may be defined as very basic beliefs that people hold about either "desirable end states of existence" (e.g., salvation, equality, freedom) or "preferred modes of conduct" (e.g., honest, forgiving, capable).¹⁰ Only under rare conditions would we expect mass media information to be able single handedly to alter such basic beliefs.¹¹ Mass mediated information can, however, play an important part in creating the

conditions for value clarification. One way that the media facilitate value clarification is by presenting information that precipitates value conflict within audience members. For example, the recent civil rights and ecology movements not only received broad media coverage, but also involved fundamental value conflicts. Civil rights movements posed a conflict between individual freedom (e.g., property rights) and equality (e.g., human rights). Ecology movements bring economic values into conflict with aesthetic and survival values. Most people did not, however, have the interest, inclination, or information necessary to see these issues as value conflicts. Mass mediated information, in the form of reports of statements made by movement leaders or in the form of interpretations of the movement's motives and actions, usually includes identification of the underlying value conflicts. Once the value conflicts inherent in such movements are posed and clarified by the media, audience members are moved to articulate their own value positions. Such articulation can be painful because it can force a choice between mutually incompatible goals and the means for obtaining them. However, for action to take place choices must be made. In the process of trying to decide which is more important in a

particular case, general value priorities become clarified. Thus, the media indirectly have had a cognitive impact on members of their audiences.

Affective Effects:

Affective processes are those we generally refer to in terms of various categories of feelings and emotions. Human beings like and dislike; they fear, hate, love, and are amused by various features of their environment. In a society that has developed a considerable dependency on its media for information, affective change in people can be anticipated when the media deliver such information.

The impact of media messages on an audience's feelings and emotional responses is one of the least explored kinds of effects. However, a limited body of writing on the matter makes some suggestions. It has been hypothesized that prolonged exposure to violent media content has a "numbing" or de-sensitization effect.¹²
Sens. observers
 (They) suggest that such effects may promote insensitivity or the lack of a desire to help others when violent encounters are witnessed in real life.¹³ Along a similar line, Hyman has pointed out that social scientists have not paid attention to the effects of violent media content on audience sentiments.¹³

There is some evidence to suggest that the level of physiological arousal caused by exposure to audiovisual portrayals of violence does decline over time.¹⁵ But such evidence is no substitute for the kind of direct research on emotional responses that Hyman is calling for.

Fear, anxiety, and trigger-happiness are illustrations of affective effects that could be researched. For example, prolonged exposure to news messages or even TV dramas that portray cities as violence-ridden jungles may increase people's fear or anxiety about living in or even travelling to the city. In a state of anticipation of the worst, city residents or visitors may be emotionally triggered to respond violently to others' actions. These kinds of effects may be particularly likely for residents of non-metropolitan areas who depend largely on the media for information about what's going on in the cities, and who have little first-hand experience with city life.

Actually, almost all media effects could be examined in terms of their affective dimension. When media messages generate cognitive ambiguity, for example, most people experience an affective state of stress. Likewise, it is difficult to imagine

the cognitive effect of attitude formation without accompanying affective effects. Sometimes the affective element of attitude formation can have serious social consequences. In periods of intense social conflict the police may form a number of attitudes from media characterizations about groups with which they have to deal. If media-derived attitudes contain affective elements, such as anger, hostility, and frustration, it may retard the ability of the police to keep their cool when the encounter actually comes. Exactly this pattern developed in 1968 in Chicago during the disruptions of the Democratic National Convention.

Morale and alienation serve as the final examples of the kinds of alterations in audience affect ~~which~~ *that* can result from media messages. Klapp has proposed that in societies in which the mass media play central communications roles, the nature of media information has substantial effects on people's morale and level of alienation.¹⁴ The reason why can be found in the pioneering writings of Emile Durkheim.¹⁵ The sense of collective well-being and "we feeling" that promotes morale and that combats alienation is a fragile product of successful social relations that cannot be developed or maintained without effective communication systems. A key element in that effective

communication is the presence of regular and positive information about the groups and categories to which people belong, such as their society, community, profession, or ethnic group. People who rely on mass media systems as a primary source of information about their groups and categories can, thus, experience changes in morale and level of alienation when there are notable changes in the quantity or quality of the information delivered by the media about those collectives. According to this line of reasoning, any number of groups including women, Blacks, Native Americans, or even Americans generally, would be expected to undergo increased or decreased morale and changes in level of alienation as the nature of media messages about them underwent change.

Behavioral Effects:

Overt action is, of course, the kind of effect that most people are interested in. Changes in attitude, belief and affective states are interesting, but it is the degree to which they influence overt action that makes them important. Of the numerous effects of media messages on behavior that could be considered, we have chosen to discuss activation and de-activation.¹⁶ Activation refers to

instances in which audience members do something that they would not otherwise have done as a consequence of receiving media messages.

As we have already suggested, activation may be the end product of elaborate cognitive or affective effects. For example, people may engage in issue formation or issue resolution as a consequence of attitudes they have formed and feelings they have developed. Take as an illustration people whose primary contact with the contemporary women's movement is via the media. They may initially react to movement leaders' allegations of "sexism" with ambiguity, perhaps not even knowing what the term means. The problem of resolving ambiguity and the stress that accompanies it gained a high place on their cognitive agenda. Resolution of ambiguity leads to the formation of new attitudes and feelings about sexual equality and the women's movement. The culmination of this chain of effects is a felt need to act. Once established, the need to act is transformed into overt action by public expression of these new attitudes and feelings, thereby participating in issue formation. Subsequent media information, such as an announcement of a protest in support of a proposal made by a women's group, may further activate

people to join the protest, while others may be activated to organize a counter protest. These overt actions become part of the issue resolution process.

So much attention has been given to the undesirable behavioral consequences of television content that it might be well to mention briefly one socially desirable behavioral effect. Stein and Friedrich's recent research suggests that TV viewers may be activated to engage in both prosocial and antisocial behavior.¹⁷ Subjects in their research who viewed a popular children's show (Mr. Rogers) increased their level of cooperative activity over several weeks of exposure. Those subjects exposed to violent content, on the other hand, increased their level of aggressive activity. Thus, the research showed that both cooperation and aggression may be activated, depending on the nature of the television message received.

Research conducted in the 1940's suggests that media messages may activate altruistic economic behavior. Merton examined how a radio marathon featuring a well known singer of that era (Kate Smith) activated large numbers of people to buy war bonds.¹⁸ Processes by which media messages are used to activate charitable contributions were examined in Chapter XI.,

In many instances, such as voting and consumption, deactivation or what people would have otherwise done, but which they don't do as a consequence of media messages can be as important as what they are activated to do. Yet deactivation effects have not received as much research attention. Not voting and not consuming provide two examples of the kinds of deactivation effects which could be examined. Most people are heavily dependent on the media for information about state and national political contests and about the state of the economy. Political campaigns have not only become longer and longer, but have also depended more and more on the media to communicate to voters. Such campaigns may not change many established attitudes toward the contestants. They might, however, elicit affective responses, such as overwhelming boredom, disgust, or cognitive assessments such as that it makes no difference who wins. These inner states can culminate in non-voting or deactivation of people's intention to vote.

Likewise, when media messages help to create an affective state of fear about one's own and the nation's economic future or the belief that a depression is unavoidable, people may not buy stocks, new cars, certain foods, or a multitude of other products that

they would have otherwise bought. This would actually have the effect of deepening a recession by too much deactivation of consumption behavior.

Having outlined the assumptions of the dependency theory of media-audience relations and some of the alteration effects which it aids in understanding, we are now ready to address the problem of bringing this theory together with the previously discussed perspectives on factors that inhibit media influence.

AN INTEGRATED MODEL OF MASS MEDIA EFFECTS

The basic elements of an integrated theory of mass media effects are presented in Figure 9.

(Insert Figure 9)

This diagram presents an almost overwhelmingly complex set of factors and variables. Yet, it is within such a complex system that mass communication effects are generated. We can summarize the relationships symbolized in the diagram in the following terms:

A flow of events emerges from a societal ^{or socio-cultural} system.

The societal system has its established culture consisting of material artifacts, symbolic processes, values, and ^{regulative mechanisms.} ~~processes~~. The dynamic processes of culture

include forces toward stability, such as consensus and adaptation, as well as forces for conflict and change. The structure of the ^{Societal}~~socio-cultural~~ system includes informal and formal groups, with roles, norms, social control and ranking procedures, ~~usually associated with specialization of activity,~~ ^{Structure also includes} and various demographic categories.

This general ^{Societal}~~socio-cultural~~ system sets important limitations and boundaries on the media system and has considerable impact on its characteristics, information delivery functions, and operating procedures. The ^{Societal}~~socio-cultural~~ system also has enormous impact upon persons; it gives rise to mechanisms that inhibit arbitrary media influence, such as individual differences, membership in social categories, and participation in social relations. The ^{Societal}~~socio-cultural~~ system also operates to create needs within persons that facilitate media alteration effects, namely, the needs to understand, act in, and escape in fantasy from one's world.

Media systems cover the flow of events emanating from the ^{Societal}~~socio-cultural~~ system and persons acting within that system. Operating procedures arise from the characteristics of the media system itself. These characteristics include its economic goals, values,

technology, and organization. These in turn influence the number and the centrality of its information delivery functions. The major product of media surveillance of the flow of events, the sorting of those events, and the processing of information about those events through gatekeepers is the delivery of selected information pertaining to a limited range of topics. This constitutes media messages about the flow of events and the information available to the audience.

Remove underlining

The key to this integrated framework is that persons as members of media audiences encounter media messages with both constructed social realities and considerable dependency on media information resources. The social realities people hold are the product of the processes by which the ^{societal} ~~socio-cultural~~ system enculturates and socializes persons and structures their social action. The dependencies people have on media information are a product of the nature of the socio-cultural system, category membership, individual needs, and the number and centrality of the unique information functions that the media system serves for individuals and for society.

When media messages are not linked to audience dependencies and when peoples' social realities are entirely adequate before and during message reception,

media messages will have little or no alteration. They may reinforce existing beliefs or behavior forms. effects. In contrast, when people do not have social realities that provide adequate frameworks for understanding, acting, and escaping, and when audiences are dependent in these ways on media information received such messages will have a number of alteration effects. Media messages, in this instance, may be expected to alter audience behavior in terms of cognitive, affective, and/or overt activity. Thus, both the relative adequacy of the audience's social realities and the relative degree of audience dependency on media information resources must be taken into account to explain and predict the effects of media messages. ^{Finally} ~~Thus~~ the effects of media messages flow back to influence people's needs or psychological and social characteristics. And, in some cases, they flow back to alter the nature of the ^{societal} ~~socio-cultural~~ system itself. Behavioral alteration effects, for example, in some rare instance may take the form of massive protest which not only gets people involved in producing a new series of events to be covered by the media, but may also increase the level of societal conflict, alter societal norms, or create new social groups. This series of events in turn, can force changes in the nature of the relationships between the socio-cultural system and the media system, such as the passing of new laws designed to change the

R. Lyman

media's operating policies.

The rather complex model presented in Figure 9, then, allows for a continuous process of interaction between the ^{societal} ~~sociocultural~~ system, the media system, and the people who compose media audiences. It is also a feedback model in the sense that the ~~audience~~ effects of media messages ^{on the audience} about on-going events may themselves set into motion another chain of events. Most importantly, this model avoids a seemingly untenable all or none position of saying either the media have no significant impact on people and society, or saying that the media have an unbounded capacity to manipulate people and society. It allows us to specify in a limited way when and why media messages will or will not have significant effects upon how audiences think, feel, and behave.

Other social scientists will undoubtedly wish to make additions to, or revise, or even reject totally this integrated model of mass media effects. However, we believe that it is a more theoretically sophisticated and hopefully sounder framework than has heretofore been available. There is little doubt that it is very complicated. For that we offer no apology! The process of mass communication is itself dreadfully complicated. Little wonder that numerous oversimplified

approaches to describing it have failed to portray the effects it can have on people individually and collectively.

The present theory is obviously developed at a level of abstraction that would make a simple all-or-none test with empirical data practically impossible. This is a characteristic of every integrated theory. One must go to the specific theories for empirical testing and not to the abstract integrations induced from them. ~~In this case, the specific theories are still in doubt in many cases.~~ ~~Yet,~~ ^{# The overall implications are that} the study of mass communication--one of our newest academic disciplines--has already advanced to a point where such an integration can be attempted.

~~not~~ ^S The present formulation may prove to be hopelessly premature. Yet, if this model acts only to provoke others to denounce it and to formulate a better theory, the result will be advances in mass media theory and research. Under such circumstances, we will be satisfied. For when all is said and done, the common purpose of social science examinations of the media and their relationship to people, whether of yesterday, today, or tomorrow, is ultimately to understand mass communication's impact on how we think, feel, and behave.

Chapter XII: Footnotes and References

1. Emile Durkheim, The Division of Labor in Society, trans. by George Simpson (New York, The Free Press of Glencoe, 1964).
2. Ferdinand, Tonnies, Community and Society, trans. and ed. by Charles Loomis (East Lansing, Michigan State University Press, 1957).
3. Karl Marx, Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844 (Moscow, Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1961).
4. S.J. Ball-Rokeach, "From Pervasive Ambiguity To A Definition of the Situation," Sociometry, Vol. 36, No. 3 (September, 1973), pp. 378-389.
5. See, for example: Paul B. Sheatsley and Jacob J. Feldman, "The Assassination of President Kennedy," Evans, Readings in Collective Behavior (Chicago, Rand McNally), 1969, pp. 259-283.
6. Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society (Free Press, New York, 1959).
7. For a discussion of the various ways in which the term agenda-setting has been used, see: Jack McLeod, Lee Becker, and James Byrnes, "Another Look at the Agenda-Setting Function of the Press," Communication Research, Vol. 1 (April, 1974) pp. 131-166.

8. Charles Cooley, Social Organizations (New York, Scribner's, 1909).
9. Irwin Altman and Dalmás A. Taylor, Social Penetration (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973), pp. 15-20.
10. Milton Rokeach, The Nature of Human Values (New York, Free Press, 1973).
11. Ibid.
12. For example, see: Frederick Wertham, Seduction of the Innocent (New York, Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1954) and A. Rosenthal, Thirty-eight Witnesses (New York, McGraw Hill, 1964).
13. Herbert Hyman,
14. Orrin Klapp, Currents of Unrest (New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972).
15. Durkheim, op. cit.
16. For an earlier discussion of Activation effects, see: Otto N. Larsen, "Social Effects of Mass Communication," Robert E.L. Faris, ed., Handbook of Modern Sociology (Chicago, Rand McNally & Company, 1964), p. 348.
17. Aletha Stein and Lynette Friedrich, "Television Content and Young Children's Behavior," in Television and Social Behavior, Vol. II (Washington

complete →

D.C., Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 202-

317.

18. Robert Merton, Mass Persuasion: The Social Psychology of a War Bond Drive (New York, Harper, 1946).

indecent?
see