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Discovering “Joe Six Pack” Content in Television News: The Hidden History of Audience Research, News Consultants, and the Warner Class Model

Craig Allen

This historical study reveals that content priorities in local TV news can be traced to the first use of audience research by news consultants. It argues that “downmarket” standards were not a function of broadcasters’ ratings demands. More elementary were characteristics of TV’s majority viewers, who no longer merely watched TV news. Through audience research they became part of the news process.

The recent opening of the papers and records of the McHugh & Hoffman news consulting organization is an opportunity to better understand content priorities in local television news. Local newscasting is criticized for a plague that Klite (1995) has termed “tabloidosis.” The literature has one theory for its crime, car wrecks, kicker stories, and “news you can use,” that newsrooms respond to audience ratings and thus deliver mass-appealing and salable news. “Degraded standards” mean “big numbers” and this “makes financial officers hum with delight,” Gitlin (1993, p. 24) has explained.

Yet, seldom considered is the first part of this familiar syllogism. If degraded standards do mean news to most Americans, why is this true? It may be because standards are relative and differ between differing groups of people. A key juncture in the history of local TV news came when the first news consultancy, McHugh & Hoffman, introduced audience research in newsrooms. After decades of proprietary secretcies, works by Allen (2001) and Berkowitz, Allen, and Beeson (1996) were the first to publish examples of audience research that consultants had used in newsrooms. Apparent was the influence of focus groups and field surveys in the news “gatekeeping” process. For decades, viewers had “voted” on news subjects. The most popular content had set news agendas.

But also noted, and left for further study, had been two additional discoveries. Not only had the consultants’ research been steeped in social class analysis. Those who

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had brought this to TV news had not been amateurs but "Chicago School" sociologists headed by famed theorist Lloyd Warner. To learn about TV news, they had drawn viewers from random samples that reflected the total population. Their purpose was to have each viewer define "good" journalism. Results came from the upper and upper-middle class—as well as from the lower-middle and lower class. What media authors have known as the "lowest common denominator," the sociologists had known as the bottom groups. That they had been included may suggest an explanation more penetrating than ratings for the lowest common denominator content many observe. The bottom groups had comprised two thirds of American society. When the research concluded, it is highly likely that the lowest common denominator would have comprised most of the sample.

The possibility that TV news reflects not ratings but the composition of society nevertheless remains loosely proposed. Still unexposed are the McHugh & Hoffman materials that are said to demonstrate class analysis. Peale and Harmon (1991) and Meehan (1990) discussed audience research as a mechanism that promotes, in Meehan's words, "the forced choice behaviors of the mass of television viewers" (p. 118). Whereas Kaniss (1991) further documented newswriters' orientation to a "less educated and less affluent mass audience" (p. 103), and Speer (2000) confirmed a "mentality" that "your audience is Joe and Martha Sixpack" (p. 12), rarely have media authors approached either the theory from which their labels and terms are derived, or why, with the advent of audience research, "mass audience" standards did emerge.

What follows through further use of the McHugh & Hoffman sources is a historical account of the genesis of "science" in TV news selection. It covers the period between 1962 and 1971, when sociologists from the University of Chicago as a commercial pursuit established McHugh & Hoffman. Their ideas then contributed to a turning point in "downmarket" journalism called "Eyewitness News." The account suggests that TV news has vital roots in the field of sociology. The sociologists had been baffled that broadcasters felt they were providing public service with newscasts that appealed only to the 25% of viewers with college degrees. They had questioned extensive coverage of government and politics. The research had shown that newsrooms should get out of government halls and into the domains where majority viewers had lived. Seen through history are several matters worthy of contemporary discussion. Among these is the claim, exhorted by the sociologists, that TV news cannot satisfy "one" American public. Another is the claim that sealed broadcasters' acceptance of class theory, that by fitting news to the largest groups both profits and public service are achieved.

Background

News consultants are the main providers of the audience research and outside counsel that many broadcasters deem essential in maximizing the profits of newscasts. Hired by managers, consultants implement strategies inside newsrooms during interactions with news directors, producers, editors, and reporters. Although much of

the public's news comes from consulted newscasts, rarely is the consulting process, which broadcasters deem a "trade secret," publicly disclosed. News consulting peaked around 1990, when three fourths of the 800 news-active local stations had consulting contracts (Butler, 1988). More recently, as the formation of large station groups brought greater in-house research and advising, outside news consulting became less widespread. Yet, several hundred stations remained joined to one of many nationally based consulting firms (Guensberg, 2000). The largest was Frank N. Magid Associates, which entered news in 1970 and recently consulted in 150 newsrooms (Magid & Associates, 2003).

The first of these firms was McHugh & Hoffman. It was founded in 1962 by former ad executives Philip McHugh and Peter Hoffman. At its peak in 1985, McHugh & Hoffman consulted in around 100 newsrooms. In 1999, McHugh & Hoffman was reorganized as Convergent Communication. Its materials became the property of former McHugh & Hoffman president John E. Bowen, who opened them to scholars the following year.

This firm is considered significant in the development of local television news for events around 1970, when it teamed with ABC local news innovator Al Primo in a maligned yet path-clearing newscast concept called "Eyewitness News." Much literature traces the spread of news consultants to the high ratings this concept achieved. Study was propelled by period authors, including Barrett (1975, pp. 89–112), Diamond (1975, pp. 87–109), and notably Powers, in his 1977 *The Newscasters* (pp. 66–77), who speculated that a "blueprint" devised by consultants lowered newscasts to same "mass" audiences as popular entertainment shows. Led by Walter Cronkite, Eric Severeid, and other eminent figures, critics assailed "Eyewitless News" for its "happy talk," "reporter involvement," and "action" visualization (Murray, 1990, pp. 386–387). A theme in subsequent studies was the acceptance of these "gimmicks" as standard newscasting techniques (Kaniss, 1991, pp. 102–113; McManus, 1994, pp. 57–84; Robinson & Levy, 1986, pp. 216–217).

Two questions have attracted scholars. First, did news consultants influence news content? McHugh & Hoffman denied editorial influence. However, content studies had shown that "gatekeepers" at consulted stations had deemphasized government and politics in favor of weather, crime, human interest, and problem-solving topics known as "news you can use" (Hardman, 1990; Maier, 1986; Peale & Harmon, 1991). Clear evidence came when scholars first examined the McHugh & Hoffman documents. Allen (2001, pp. 207–225) and Berkowitz et al. (1996, pp. 449–450) wrote of a "socialization" of newswriters to years of focus groups and field surveys in which news content was tested. Gatekeepers learned to select topics most appealing to viewers.

Less resolved has been the second question: Were content influences decided by the same priorities that had led consultants to a mass audience? Little research in mass communication relates class divisions. The McHugh & Hoffman research is important for, as Allen (2001, pp. 41–51) has shown, it had been conducted by an applied research institute at the University of Chicago called Social Research, Inc.

(SRI). Its Ph.D. directors had been students of social researcher Lloyd Warner, who had founded SRI in 1946 and whose volume of scholarly work in the 1930s was the first to document an American class system. News consulting began when Warner had encouraged McHugh and Hoffman to join SRI as "consultants" whose job was to sell research to broadcasters. Four sociologists conducted the first TV news research. They were Sidney Levy, later the head of sociology at Northwestern; Ira Glick, later a chair in sociology at Chicago; Lee Rainwater, later a professor of sociology at Harvard; and Richard Coleman, who later headed the Joint Center for Urban Studies at Harvard and MIT.

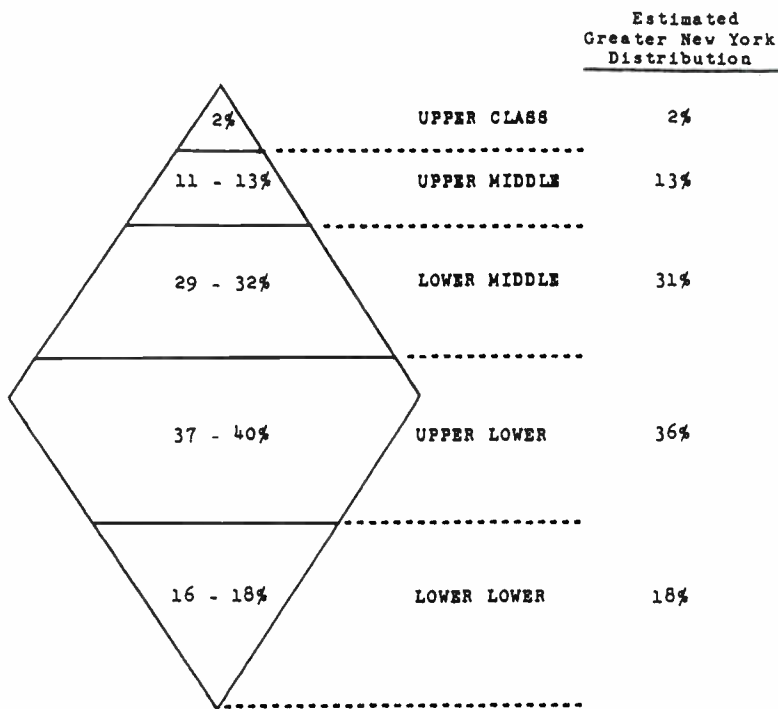
Much literature in sociology, marketing, and the applied social sciences recognizes Warner and SRI. Under Warner, SRI became the first center of modern market research (Packard, 1957). Until its dissolution shortly after Warner's death in 1970, SRI had thrived during a post-World War II "organizational revolution" in which production and marketing were changed by SRI's inventions of the focus group and the "brand image" concept (Easton, 2001; Karesh, 1995). SRI also had pioneered demographic analysis. This had led from class analysis. As Coleman (1983) related: "The class concept won entry into the marketing discipline when the proposition that consumer motivations varied consistently by social class was set forth in the 1950s by 'the Chicago group'" (p. 269).

Familiar in sociology is the model Warner had proposed. In the first volume of his "Yankee City" series, Warner had established a division of Americans into six classes (Warner & Lunt, 1941). Two "aristocratic" upper classes comprised 2% of Americans. Next was a third elite group, the upper-middle class. It consisted of the then 12% of Americans who had finished college and who had salaried professional positions and above-average incomes. Below the upper-middle class and twice its size was the lower-middle class, comprised of those with some post-high school education, white collar or skilled blue collar jobs, and average incomes. The largest group was the upper-lower class. It consisted of the 42% of Americans who had no more than high school educations, average to lower incomes, and unskilled jobs. At the bottom and estimated at 12% was the chronically poor and mostly undereducated lower-lower class.

Warner pictured this model in diamond-shaped diagrams which emphasized the substantial size and likeness of the lower-middle and upper-lower classes. This diamond diagram later would appear in most McHugh & Hoffman consulting reports. Figure 1, taken from a 1965 document entitled *Essential Findings and Recommendations for WCBS-TV*, discussed later, is an example of what station managers and news directors had seen.

Sociologists Pfautz and Duncan (1950), who rejected the model's generalizations, opened a body of literature questioning Warner's work. Yet, Warner's acclaim grew from his revival of class study after it had faded from disinterest in the wealth-and-power theory of Karl Marx. Warner's six classes were people equal in esteem and who shared characteristics that reflected behavior. This thinking inspired a "Chicago School" of social research that peaked in the 1960s but which, against

Figure 1
Social Class Diagram



Note: From WCBS–McHugh & Hoffman. (1965, February). *Essential findings and recommendations* (Reports Section, p. 19). McHugh & Hoffman Collection, Bethesda, MD.

newer models and renewed disinterest in the value of class, declined in the 1980s. Yet, studies had continued. Table 1 compares more-recent class size estimates of Rossides (1990), Kerbo (1991), and Beeghley (1996) with those of Warner (Warner & Lunt, 1941). Sociologists note an enlargement of the upper-middle class to upwards of 25%. They also discuss what Lemel and Noll (2002, pp. 386–405, 424–428) observed as the system’s “remarkable stability.” This can be seen in the largest class, the upper-lower class. It was estimated at 40% of Americans in the 1990s. This was the same proportion Warner had reported in the 1930s.

The basis of SRI’s commercial research had been Warner’s procedure for designating social class. Researchers had probed for personal criteria, usually income, education, occupation, and living condition. An index enabled the class marking of every individual. In some studies, such as those that assisted SRI’s largest client, General Motors, in redesigning the Cadillac, subjects had been limited to those of high status. Differently, in studies of universally used items, such as television news, samples were

Table 1
Estimates of Class Composition (% of Population)

	Warner and Lunt (1941)	Rossides (1990)	Kerbo (1991)	Beeghley (1996)
Upper	2	1–3	1	3
Upper-middle	12	10–25	21	21
Lower-middle	32	30–35	22	21
Upper-lower	42	40–45	43	40
Lower-lower	12	20–25	13	15

drawn in proportion to the full population. Thus, studies of TV news had required three times as many lower-middle and upper-lower subjects as upper and upper-middle subjects. An index used by McHugh & Hoffman (1983) in television news research through the 1990s appears in Table 2.

The sociologists assigned to McHugh & Hoffman—Glick, Levy, Rainwater, and Coleman—did not write about television in their later published works. Although this was because their areas were class behavior, applied sociology, and urban studies, another reason was given by Coleman in a “last lecture” speech in 1995 as an emeritus professor at Kansas State University. He said he did not savor having other scholars know of his work in local TV news. Eventually detesting the “Eyewitness News” concept, Coleman (1995) developed “a massive disinterest in most of what the average viewer is entranced with on television” (p. 1).

Yet, bounding in Chicago School study had been that concept’s rationale. By 1960, sociologists were writing of television as a class-conflicted medium. It had become a center of life for those both in the lower-middle and upper-lower classes, groupings Warner had labeled together as the “middle majority.” However, television’s “high brow” audience—comprised almost entirely of the upper-middle class—was small in size and often unwilling to accurately estimate their television use (Gardner, 1960, pp. 23–25). Rainwater (1959, pp. 26–41) highlighted the prosaic and localized lifestyles of the working class families who were drawn to TV. Warner associates Horton and Wohl (1956) expanded on the attraction of TV to the working classes. They showed that lower strata viewers formed vicarious “friendships” with television performers. The one book in sociology devoted to television has remained Glick and Levy’s (1962) *Living With Television*. By the time this book was published, Glick and Levy had moved from the University of Chicago to SRI and had become SRI directors. Notable were their findings on television news. Although upper-middle individuals had “embraced” the current events genre, lower-middle and upper-lower individuals had “accommodated” or “protested” it (pp. 134–135). Toward every other genre except drama, perceptions by class were reversed (p. 112).

The SRI sociologists also had been aware that although upper Americans had high levels of political participation and interest, and held “a proportion of [offices] far out

Table 2
Field Research Status Index

Income (Individual)	Score	Education	Score
<\$5,000	1	Grammar school	1
\$5,000–\$9,999	2	Some high school	2
\$10,000–\$14,999	3	High school diploma	3
\$15,000–\$19,999	4	Some post high school	4
\$20,000–\$24,999	5	2–3 years college	5
\$25,000–\$34,999	6	Bachelor's degree	7
\$35,000–\$49,999	7	Master's degree	8
≥\$50,000	8	Doctoral degree, professional degree	9
Occupation	Score	Residence	Score
Unemployed	1	Slum area	1
Marginal semiskilled	2	Poor housing	2
Average skill blue collar	3	Blue collar area	3
Skilled craftspeople	4	White collar area	5
Small business owners, technicians, office workers, civil servants, small sales	5	Excellent area	7
Middle management, teachers, knowledge workers, creative	6	Wealthy, society neighborhood	9
Middle owners, top management, professors, top knowledge workers	7	Status	Score
Top owners, corporate executives, accomplished professionals	9	Upper class	35–33
		Upper-middle class	32–24
		Lower-middle class	23–17
		Upper-lower class	16–10
		Lower-lower Class	9–4

Note: From McHugh & Hoffman. (1983). *Computerized status index* (Television 1983–KPR File, Box 23). McHugh & Hoffman Collection, Bethesda, MD.

of keeping with their representation in the general population," lower-middle individuals had fewer and upper-lower individuals often negligible opportunities in politics and government (Warner & Lunt, 1941, pp. 366–373). Upper-middle interests were ordered by members' possession of sophisticated educational credentials, whereas lower-middle and upper-lower individuals "had a high-school education." Although "many have had some additional special training," lower-middle and upper-lower Americans "seldom make basic decisions about their work" (Kahl, 1957, p. 203). For news and information, the latter groups had been observed "relying on kin for tips on jobs, soliciting advice from them on purchases, and counting on them in times of trouble" (Coleman, 1983, p. 270). This is "only one sign of how much more limited—and how different—working class horizons are socially, psychologically, and geographically. ... In almost every respect, a parochial view characterizes this blue-collar world" (Coleman, 1983, p. 270).

Finally, the sociologists had been impressed that a

lack of understanding or even sensitivity toward the working class is strikingly clear in mass communications. ... [Those] with their higher levels of education and their more sophisticated tastes look down on many of the mass communications, we find, are so important to the working class. (Gardner, 1959, p. xii)

Social Research and News Class Conflict, 1962–1966

The McHugh & Hoffman collection is housed in Bethesda, Maryland, and is owned and curated by former McHugh & Hoffman chair John E. Bowen.¹ The firm's major activity had been the presentation of 200- to 300-page research-consulting reports. Each year each client had received one of these documents. Selected for review were the first two annual reports for each of the firm's 10 original clients. These had dated between 1962 and 1965. As these materials had indicated more energetic activity among clients in the very largest markets, most of the reports for clients in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Detroit through 1970 also were selected. Roughly 50 reports, accompanying correspondence, and concept statements were examined. Examination of the reports concentrated on sections that had contained findings and recommendations. Less extensively examined were sections on newscaster analysis and market conditions.

The materials affirm that news consultants were attentive to news content. While assuring professionals that news content was immutable and fixed by the day's events, consultants had seized on news content as a viewing variable. Unmistakable was use of the Warner class model. Yet, as much as they reveal the "science" that occurred, the materials tell of a sequence of events, many stirred by McHugh & Hoffman owner Phil McHugh, from which can be seen the foreclosure of a class "mentality" in newsrooms.

The story behind this had precipitated from the low news ratings of 10 local stations, the 5 owned by CBS and the 5 that comprised Storer Broadcasting. In 1962, each group had hired the new McHugh & Hoffman firm. When word of these contracts reached SRI, Glick was assigned to a television unit dedicated to McHugh & Hoffman. The team soon would include Levy, Rainwater, and Coleman. Meeting the sociologists for the first time, Storer vice president Bill Michaels (1962) expounded to Glick that "our problem is considerably different from that of an advertiser or producer who specializes in the hope of reaping a profit on a [product's] direct sale." Glick told McHugh that Michaels's problem—the low ratings—easily might be solved.

Glick's judgment lay in the book *Living With Television*, in which he and Levy had distinguished TV news by its upper-middle class attraction (Glick & Levy, 1962). They had not been surprised. They had noted the seriousness of 1962 newscasts. They also

had noted the program's unique organization. Most TV programs had continuous plots. Newscasts were a first-to-last progression of items in which newscasters sat before cameras and read written scripts. Serious news and the "medium of record" structure fit the upper-middle class. Apparent was form borrowed from newspapers, which this group preferred for news. It was because of the same characteristics that Glick and Levy had been satisfied with that second result, that TV news was not embraced by that group called the middle majority. Serious newscasting impeded the TV friendships its members sought. Fact-laden media were not those this group had been known to use. Warner's first work had included a chapter on levels of media substance. He had used the media industry, and its hierarchy of elite, average, and tabloid newspapers, to illustrate the class system that, in that work, he had proposed (Warner & Lunt, 1941, pp. 378–419).

Because elite appeal had seemed the choice of the TV industry, Glick and Levy's (1962) finding that "the average viewer is able to talk at length about television without mentioning news programs" had not seemed significant (pp. 134–135). But now that they were part of the industry, their task an answer for low ratings, they knew this finding was profound. Glick asked McHugh and Hoffman if ratings in fact were important, for, if so, research must concentrate not on favored viewers but on the 70% for whom TV news did not register. Ratings were important, Hoffman (1962) replied: The "main thing we are after," Hoffman told Glick, "is to understand why the [disinterested] viewer acts the way he does so that we can take appropriate measures."

By mid-1963, SRI had presented annual field surveys of each of the 10 cities with CBS and Storer stations. Each survey used the Chicago School method of open-ended "qualitative" inquiry. Questions had focused on newscasters, seemingly the most likely source of middle majority indifference. SRI had theorized that TV viewing rested on performers. The research confirmed that, despite the serious nature of news, certain newscasters had the potential for bonding with middle majority viewers. A goal of all future consulting was finding these personalities. However, a second dimension, news content, began to emerge when it was learned that viewers' perceptions of "good" and "bad" newscasters were intertwined with the news that each newscaster presented. Attention drew to two findings: first, that viewers were averse to newscasters' excessive talk of government and civic affairs, and second, that upon hearing from a newscaster that the world was safe, their remaining viewing motive often was only to hear what the weathercaster had to say.

Ideas had led from Rainwater's study for WBBM in Chicago, SRI's home city and one it thought was a "hard" news locale. This appeared an upper-middle class perception. Lower-middle and upper-lower subjects had said their attention had waned the more newscasters talked about meetings and decisions at city hall. They volunteered that if they were the newscasters, they would talk about crime and decay, dropout problems, and personal issues such as birth control (WBBM–McHugh & Hoffman, 1963, p. 125). These viewers' interest in weather was shown in their inordinate liking of weathercasters and in their accounts of how they had used a weathercaster's information in planning daily events. Even in Los Angeles, where changing weather was

rare, weather was a viewing motivation. In Glick's study for KNXT (KNXT-McHugh & Hoffman, 1963, pp. 84-90), lower-middle and upper-lower viewers said they were more familiar with the city's weathercasters than with any of its regular newscasters.

No sooner had these data been presented than had concerns about ratings intensified. In September 1963, local and network newscasts expanded from 15 to 30 min. Fearing that viewers would not watch half-hour newscasts, the clients had asked for content direction. Overloaded with corporate projects, SRI declined McHugh & Hoffman's request for immediate studies of half-hour news viewing. McHugh & Hoffman stepped forward. Until then a sales service for SRI, the consultants for the first time assumed a consulting role. McHugh (1963) devised a "business plan" that was innovative in its calls for news videographers and news directors without on-air duties. The consultants then crisscrossed the country to bring clients information on different cities' new half-hour shows. Finally, McHugh went back to SRI. He persuaded SRI to add some TV news items to corporate projects that had been scheduled for that November.

A small study generated by this work in November 1963, as Allen (2001, pp. 63-65) has described, would catalyze many of the TV news revisions later seen in "Eyewitness News." SRI had been in the field during television's coverage of the Kennedy assassination (McHugh & Hoffman, 1964, pp. 77-87). Viewers had related a "different" television news in two ways. They had been captivated by the human interest content, and they had been drawn into the story by the willingness of newscasters to communicate as "real people."

The sociologists, though, had noticed a third finding: that viewers had keyed the coverage to its visualization. The "Yankee City" series had distinguished less-educated individuals by their preference for pictorial content, presumably to aid comprehension. But the large number of viewers who in 1963 had said "seeing is believing" suggested a journalistic effect. SRI concluded that only through the visuals had viewers been convinced the tragedy had occurred. This idea galvanized content influence by news consultants. Pictures had completed the puzzle of why regular newscasts, with a "medium of record" newspaper structure, had repelled average viewers. Without pictorial content, they did not trust TV news. McHugh & Hoffman soon advised that content without pictures should not be presented. As SRI sociologist Earl Kahn later told news directors: "The bias described was not of a political orientation" but "one of 'not showing all the facts.'" Accordingly, "with film and tape visually supporting the reporters' statements ... the issue of bias is not raised" (McHugh & Hoffman, 1977, pp. 22-23).

Returning to the field in 1964, the sociologists added to their studies an analysis called "Attitudes Toward Newscast Elements." It was the forerunner of quantitative news content preference research, the means by which viewers would "vote" on content agendas. The 1964 Detroit study had noted strong audience interest in weather and local news and less, yet sizable, interest in features, sports, editorials, and entertainment news (WJBK-McHugh & Hoffman, 1964, pp. 3-5). However, the qualitative method then used had limited this analysis to open-ended remarks. Not until the

1970s were viewers presented with lists of content items and asked to voice approval or rejection. An example of what broadcasters later would read appears in Table 3, a topology also from Detroit compiled in the 1990s (WDIV–McHugh & Hoffman, 1996, pp. 125–138). It was selected because it appeared in the McHugh & Hoffman collection with earlier materials from Detroit, which the firm had studied continuously since 1962, and was appropriate for showing class-news differences.

Table 3 summarizes much of what had been discussed when "element" analysis began. From weather and human interest to crime and "news you can use," the later statistics had depicted not merely total audience preference. They illustrated the extent to which the upper-lower class, by virtue of its 40% representation, influenced that which newsrooms were told was the public's most-preferred news. The upper-middle class had favored public affairs and government. Yet, because less approving upper-lower subjects had weighted research samples, public affairs and government were far down the list.

If less exacting, the 1960s findings had been more compelling. This was because through 1967, when McHugh & Hoffman affirmed as much in a TV news "trends" report, viewers had seen few newscast innovations since the half-hour expansions 4 years before. This "reflects an unwillingness or inability to accept the movement of television news programs out of their traditional mold associated with newspapers and magazines," the report stated (McHugh & Hoffman, 1967, p. 46). Viewers said they appreciated weather because, in their words, it was "news you can use." Their

Table 3
Percentage of News Content Preferences by Class in Detroit

	Total	Upper-Middle	Lower-Middle	Upper-Lower	Lower-Lower
Respondents	99	13	33	39	14
Elements					
Weather	59	48	55	66	61
Human interest	49	31	48	61	54
"Good" news	46	48	45	49	44
Crime/breaking news	42	30	35	52	51
Health	40	28	35	45	50
Investigative	39	29	35	46	42
Local news	34	27	34	39	35
Sports	34	29	32	36	38
Live news	32	16	29	43	42
Public affairs/government	30	40	22	29	31
Business	27	34	21	23	28
Problem solving	25	16	23	31	32
Helicopter coverage	21	6	15	26	32

Note: WDIV–McHugh & Hoffman. (1996). *Report of findings* (Reports Section, pp. 125–138). McHugh & Hoffman Collection, Bethesda, MD.

accounts of other news content, which still bore their perception that content and newscasters were the same, reflected discomfort. They related that newscasters often were "above their heads," "conceited," and "act[ing] as if they were doing ... a favor in giving ... the news" (McHugh & Hoffman, 1964, pp. 72–73). The 1967 report had recommended against further news expansions because of a perception of "long, boring, repetitive and trivial" information (pp. 12, 46–56).

Most affected by these findings had been McHugh. He believed that stations agreed that higher ratings depended on "more palatable" working class news (WJBK–McHugh & Hoffman, 1966, p. 2). Yet, he sensed that from fears of what might be said "at the country club," the managers were refusing to act. In July 1965, SRI researchers entered Los Angeles, where, that year, client KNXT did enact recommendations for cameras and visualization. Although upper-middle subjects had approved, and had mentioned extensive film coverage of Mayor Sam Yorty and decision makers at the Civic Center and in color, middle majority subjects who largely did not have color TVs had wanted the cameras out on the streets and in their neighborhoods. This study was conducted 1 month before the Watts riots. The violence had caught government officials but not those in neighborhoods by surprise. Viewers had told SRI of an unmet need not only for exposure of crime they had feared and urban decline they had seen. "The dramatic escalation of the Vietnam conflict [is an] immediate issue. With the concomitant increases in draft quotas and the growing causality list," if not 1965 government officials, "the people are suddenly aware of its portents" (KNXT–McHugh & Hoffman, 1965, p. 56).

Speaking before the International Radio and Television Society (IRTS) 10 years later, McHugh (1975) recalled the aftermath of the KNXT study in 1965 as a personal turning point. After witnessing in newsrooms "the — atrophy the world has ever known," the remainder of his career, which continued until close to his death in 1993, was a behind-the-scenes campaign to eliminate the profession's "golden attitude" that "whatever you do is inherently right" (p. 373).

McHugh had been certain that the riots, which KNXT did cover as breaking news, would waken this station and others, as he told clients in 1969, to a "need for news editors to be highly aware of the public's reaction ... [and] to plan the communication of news with perspective and relevance" (McHugh & Hoffman, 1969, p. 17). McHugh was flabbergasted when, after the riots, KNXT assigned reporters to bureaus it had opened near the Orange County government offices in Santa Ana, the statehouse in Sacramento, and in Washington, DC. Then, after research detected a "sermon-like" tableau of "politicians and government affairs" in Atlanta, McHugh confronted executives and news managers. The public, he said, wants relief from "run of the mill news from the state capitol, the legislature, and city hall," and from "news conferences, meetings, and speeches" (WAGA–McHugh & Hoffman, 1968, p. 15). It was at that point, as he related in his speech to the IRTS, that McHugh (1975) equated broadcast journalism's "lousy job" with the "small group of upper-middle class people" who produced and reported the news (p. 378). Only by "get[ting] down to where the mass of people are," he insisted,

could television "educate the audience" and could the high ratings that broadcasters demanded be achieved (p. 380).

In what proved to be his final attempt to convince the five CBS-owned stations, McHugh had outlined a means for broadening news selection in proposing a concept called "reporter involvement." "The basic force behind the Middle Majority's increasing dependence on TV ... is the medium's ability to literally show the viewer what's happening." However, "the 'rules and regulations' advocated in the name of journalistic integrity have evolved out of the history and character of print journalism." Because "Lower-Middle and Upper-Lower class people ... are simply not equipped to deal with abstract material," television must seek news that viewers are "more able to grasp," that which "will affect their lives." Essential is the "range of news stories [to which] this applies. ... [A] child's death will immediately cause focused attention; whereas a report on Russia's wheat crop is a more difficult story." Ultimately, these "viewers want news to better understand the world in which they live, to more effectively cope with their problems and issues, and to enhance themselves in their own eyes." Therefore, "it is essential that viewers be given ... those news stories which clearly portray the human dimension" (McHugh & Hoffman, 1966, pp. 1-5).

From Class Theory to "Eyewitness News," 1966-1971

In September 1966, McHugh & Hoffman was fired by the CBS local stations group. Speaking for the group, CBS president John Schneider had thanked McHugh (1966b) for a "pleasing association." Coleman (1995) recalled different events. He said that the CBS local station managers in New York and Chicago had "screamed bloody murder" when McHugh had insisted they intervene in newsrooms and, as McHugh soon would advise remaining clients, initiate "the training and development of a new type of news editor" (McHugh & Hoffman, 1969, p. 17).

The strain had escalated in New York, where flagship station WCBS had remained far behind ratings leader WNBC. The research had painted a picture of what McHugh had regarded as WCBS's backward priorities. Although "upper middle class viewers show the greatest increase in [station] viewing," the 1965 WCBS report had stated, the "upper middle audience is the hardest to please, and being relatively small in number, ... is the audience least worth worrying about from the standpoint of building viewer volume" (WCBS-McHugh & Hoffman, 1965, p. 26). The report had urged "new material, not [a] rehash [of] something read in the newspaper" (p. 25). It pled for a weather report, which "Channel 2 does not have [but which] has extreme popularity" and "attracts viewers" (p. 191). Hearing this, CBS decided it no longer needed researchers and consultants (WCBS-McHugh & Hoffman, 1965).

Left with only the five Storer stations, McHugh was unsure his firm could survive. Storer, too, had seen only marginal ratings gains. Auspiciously, as McHugh (1966a) recorded, Storer owner George B. Storer, Sr., impressed "with the knowledge [we

have] gained from research," had ordered a management change and steps toward "rapidly implementing these recommendations." New vice president Terry Lee (1966) warned that station managers and news directors would be replaced if their newscasts continued to look like "1952 television" and "old fashioned." In 1967, Detroit's WJBK introduced a new format that "looked like Detroit" and which had heeded SRI's recommendation, reiterated by McHugh in a March 1967 presentation and reviewed in a letter McHugh send to Lee, that news stories focused on "problem solving" and "working class situations" would wield "a significant impression on the audience" (McHugh, 1967). After two decades of second- and third-place ratings, WJBK was the No. 1 station when November 1967 ratings were released. Reaction to its coverage of the Detroit riots that July was comparable to that elicited during the Kennedy assassination (WJBK-McHugh & Hoffman, 1968, pp. 21-27, 74-113).

It was in March 1968 that McHugh & Hoffman obtained the contract with ABC that led to the events described in Powers's book *The Newscasters* and in many other works on "Eyewitness News." Although authors have recognized Al Primo's role in innovations that made "Eyewitness News" a ratings sensation, Primo related that soon after joining New York's WABC that September that McHugh had given him the research reports that CBS had ignored. As he recalled: "We were 'TV generation' rebels who wanted to change TV by giving news ... to average people, the real viewers of TV. What we got from McHugh-Hoffman was proof that social classes did exist." This instilled confidence, Primo said, as "we pushed ahead against some of the worst elitist criticism you could imagine" (personal communication, February 17, 2002).

WABC's "Eyewitness News" premiered in November 1968 with 9% of the audience. Primo told SRI he wanted a direct numerical analysis of news content. Further, he had SRI determine not only viewers' preferred news content but whether they felt WABC was providing it. In the March 1969 research, the still-new "Eyewitness News" was rated "relatively weak" in responding to crime (52% preference), schools (49%), slums (42%), race (41%), health (36%), pollution (35%), jobs (35%), taxes (26%), traffic (20%), government (16%), parks (16%), transportation (14%), and prisons (13%; WABC-McHugh & Hoffman, 1969, pp. 8, 156).

In the February 1970 research, "Eyewitness News" was rated "outstanding" in covering narcotics and vice (31.2% preference), schools (28.7%), violent crime (26.4%), housing (25.0%), health (21.5%), welfare (18.1%), race (16.0%), pollution (13.9%), transportation (9.0%), taxes (6.2%), and parks (2.0%; WABC-McHugh & Hoffman, 1970, pp. 9-10, 136). "Part of the success of 'Eyewitness News'" Primo stated, was that "we decided we were not beholden to politicians" and would "not cover government for the sake of covering government," choices validated by the obscurity of those subjects in the research. At 9% percent 2 years earlier, WABC's share of the audience was 35% in the ratings of November 1970.

During 1970, McHugh & Hoffman expanded its clientele to 40 newsrooms. The rival Magid firm, which began news consulting that January, had 30 newsrooms by the end of the year. Magid founder Frank N. Magid, a Ph.D. candidate in sociology at the University of Iowa, had trained under David Gold. Gold had been yet another student

of Lloyd Warner, and a classmate of Glick, Levy, Rainwater, and Coleman, while at the University of Chicago. Warner's death that May was reported in a *New York Times* article that credited his "significant contributions to the understanding of current American culture" and his "study of class structure" that "gave rise to a large program of concrete research on American life ("Prof. W. Lloyd Warner," 1970). McHugh paid tribute in 1983 when interviewed by the *Washington Post*. Commenting on broadcast journalism's shift to "live remotes, personalized reporting, visual excitement, and people stories," McHugh said that, indirectly, all this "was invented in 1941 by sociologist Lloyd Warner" (Grove, 1983, p. 19).

After the ratings triumph at WABC, McHugh & Hoffman had acted rapidly in formalizing not only Primo's innovations but the theories for them set forth by the sociologists. The blueprint suspected by Powers and others did exist. It was contained in a 1971 manual entitled *The Elements of a Television Newscast* that was marked "Confidential" and circulated each time McHugh & Hoffman joined a new newsroom. So that competing newsrooms would not acquire the information, clients were told to hide or destroy the manual once its provisions had been implemented. The literature had been partially correct in conveying the plan. Yet, by not having seen the report, authors were unaware that its contents were as much a treatise on class stratification as an instrument that changed TV news (McHugh & Hoffman, 1971).

Implicit in *Elements* was the problem that impeded effective television news: that those in newsrooms, because of their professional associations and colleges degrees, did not instinctively recognize the "average viewer." This person, "who is, at best, high school educated," approaches a newscast "with two diametrically opposed emotional frames, (1.) a tremendous need or desire to know what's happening and (2.) a tremendous fear of finding out." Thus, a successful newscast must broaden its reporting beyond the "most important story of the day" with a "method of presentation which is both completely informative and bearable." Lower-middle and upper-lower class viewers "do not want a laundry list of facts." Hence, "every item of news, no matter how insignificant, [must be] invested with some meaning—if it has no meaning it is not news" (McHugh & Hoffman, 1971, pp. 5–6). Editors must concentrate on items they may consider irrelevant but in which, to average viewers, meaning might be self-evident, such as "low income housing, alcoholism, welfare, crime, bussing and unemployment." Moreover, "almost without exception, the most popular newscast in any market is the one which presents the most and clearest visual effects." Imperative was "tightly edit[ed]" footage of "press conferences, city council sessions, public meetings, and principal speakers." Cameras should seek "footage depicting rat infestation, low quality housing materials, access to retail fire arms, lines of welfare recipients, etc." (McHugh & Hoffman, 1971, pp. 8, 24). Further, "if an extremely important story happens to be related to weather, ... it should be presented [as] news." "In short, every news event meets the needs of the average viewer—a person who, in all probability, is at best a high school graduate" (McHugh & Hoffman, 1971, p. 12).

McHugh (1983) never stopped scorning what he termed the "fat, dumb and happy" attitude of professionals and critics who "refuse to see or accept the fact" that media

were controlled by "the mass of Americans" (p. 5). However, secured by the fortunes of broadcasters who had followed his plan, McHugh shifted from confrontation to sport in disparaging, in his view, the folly of elitism in TV news. Speaking before artists and intellectuals in 1980, McHugh mocked those in TV news who were not "excited" about informing "ordinary people" with "hard news, health and medical information, weather news, consumer news and reports about crime in the streets" (pp. 9–10). Interviewed on the TV program *Entertainment Tonight*, McHugh said that newsrooms who dismiss "the mass majority of Americans" are "preaching to an empty tent" (Mann, 1983). Close to a pastime was his harpooning of journalism schools. McHugh (1985) told the National Association of Broadcasters that "unfortunately [knowledge] does not come with every journalism degree. The majority of journalism school graduates are still often too close to print and copy with little or no understanding of the visual aspects of news" (p. 4).

Yet, rarely was McHugh seen, heard from, or quoted in public. He and his staff hammered their ideas inside newsrooms, where reward came not from rhetoric but results. One of many examples fortified by experiences in the 1960s occurred in 1976 at Boston's WBZ. At issue had been the station's "Upper-middle classness." The consultants had insisted that because of an "Upper-Middle class personality," the "whole newscast needs to be 'smoothed out.'" It "projects so strongly an Upper-Middle class image that the situation is very unfortunate" and "one that cannot be ignored" (Bowen, 1976). One year later, McHugh & Hoffman complimented WBZ. It was praised for changes which finally had made WBZ's "Eyewitness News" "intimate, interesting and entertaining," which had stimulated a perception that reporting "was down-to-earth [and for] 'ordinary people,'" and in which "viewer satisfaction with Channel 4 newscasts" had been honored in a 41 share (WBZ–McHugh & Hoffman, 1977, pp. 24, 260–262).

Conclusion

Little seen here diminishes the bulwark of study that has proven that audience ratings exist in television news. Explored here is a different question: Why did newscasts decline as "media of record" and come to predictably portray police, children and pets, celebrities, and "team" coverage of fleeting events. With focus groups and field surveys, a new channel for news communication was created. This channel broke into a prism of American society. The largest strata were the lower-middle and lower classes. These viewers achieved—through more focus groups and field surveys—the power to direct the content they preferred.

Beyond the melodrama that had accompanied Phil McHugh and others, the history adds two dimensions to that which is known about the development of television news. The first concerns the context in which audience research was established in newsrooms. Identified was SRI, an entity that although scarcely known in media literature is distinguished elsewhere in scholarship for contributing to an "organizational

revolution" in American enterprise around the time of World War II. That TV news became part of this event is acknowledged by today's scholars who refer to newsrooms as modern organizations. Yet, not often are newsrooms studied that way.

The organizational era had commanded two principles: first, that an organization's first concern is survival; and second, that organizations exist at the pleasure of their constituents. The science of SRI had fulfilled these commands from its ability to learn about constituents and then to instill, through the layers of organization, a final result in the image of constituents. Nothing that news consultants had brought to newsrooms had departed from what these same entities had brought to General Motors and dozens of major corporations. They made clear that a news organization's first concern is dissuading viewers from changing channels, an effect that cancels journalism and voids newswork factors scholars may study. They exhorted that the fate of the Edsel awaited a news organization that gathered only news. More important was the gathering of audience research, from which constituents were learned and from which an organization's survival had depended.

The second and more provocative dimension is that given by the sociologists and their methods for class stratification. Although modern sociologists have advanced more complex ethnic, lifestyle, and occupational class arrangements, Warner's prestige system had been standard at the time it entered television news. As was illustrated, recent estimates of class composition based on Warner's model have shown little change. Still observed is a minority "upper" society roughly equal to the 30% of adult Americans with 4-year college degrees, and a majority "middle-lower" society roughly equal to the 60% who have attained high school diplomas. In examining the work of these sociologists, there was little to suggest that they had engaged in what Powers (1977) pronounced as "sophistry" (p. 132), or what Diamond (1975) surmised was "mumbo jumbo" (p. 107). Unseen was the "plot" to "join the lowest common denominator" that Barrett (1975, p. 89) had reported. Nor was there evidence to support Barrett's conjecture that the sociologists had pressured a "Machiavellian climate" of "ratings points and profit motives" (p. 110). Profit-making and market factors had barely weighed in their determinations. From their perspective, profits were transparent in broadcasting's commercial scheme.

The sociologists got through to broadcasters by laying before them a simple truth, that no public service program could serve one American public because one American public did not exist. Realizing they could choose from among many publics, broadcasters were unburdened of the idea that public service meant small, unprofitable audiences. There is no such thing as "a great audience or *the* television audience," Glick and Levy (1962) had assured them, but rather "people of different social classes" all of whom are legitimate (p. 17). The sociologists had repeated that "civic responsibility" first applies to "the audiences selected out of the mass" (p. 21). In addition, they had reiterated that television neither could ameliorate "mass audiences" nor "exhort them to a [higher] position" (p. 17). As Warner (1962) had stated: "The mass media must break through the private meanings of small groups" (p. 9). When this occurs, "the mass media are successful not only as

profit-making organizations but also as conveyors of common meaning to most of the people in America" (p. 9).

Future studies of television news should consider the sociological perspective that is told in its record of events. This perspective is intriguing because it can provide an explanation for television news that does not require discussion of profit motives, market factors, and ratings points. Required instead is a shift in thinking from newsrooms to viewers, as well as toward the concept that majorities rule. Invented by sociologists, the focus group did become the organizing instrument of television news. Once this occurred, viewers became participants in the news process. If this process is important, so is knowing more about who these viewers are.

Note

¹Access to the McHugh & Hoffman materials is arranged through requests to McHugh & Hoffman collection, John E. Bowen III, 5203 Abingdon Road, Bethesda, MD 20816, JEBowen3@aol.com.

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Path Not Taken: Wired Wireless and Broadcasting in the 1920s

Randall Patnode

In 1922, a U.S. Army engineer demonstrated a system for distributing radio signals over telephone and electric power lines. Called wired wireless, it solved 3 of radio's most challenging problems, including how to collect payments directly from the listener instead of indirectly through program sponsorship. Although both American Telephone & Telegraph (AT&T) and the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) believed they had rights to wired wireless, neither exploited its potential. This article argues that preexisting business models, defensive business practices, and squabbling over patent rights precluded either company from adequately testing the possibilities of a technology that could have challenged over-the-air broadcasting.

As fanatical as Americans were about radio broadcasting in the first half of the 1920s, they had welcomed into their homes a less than perfect system. Chances were good that the radio faithful listening in on their favorite stations would have heard loud hisses and crackles from static electricity, especially in the summer. It was equally likely that at some point their entertainment would be interrupted by unwanted cross talk from one or more stations using the same frequency or by the ear-piercing howl of a regenerating receiver being mishandled by a neighbor. In addition, if they paid the least bit of attention to news about radio, they would have been hard-pressed to avoid the vexing question on the lips of almost everyone in the business: Who will pay for broadcasting?

By the end of the decade, with regulation, technical advances, and much debate, all of these challenges were being resolved. But surprisingly there was by 1922 a broadcast delivery system that appeared on its face to solve all three problems. Even more puzzling, two of the communication titans at the time—Radio Corporation of America (RCA) and American Telephone & Telegraph (AT&T)—were aware of the technology but never realized its potential.¹ The system, called wired wireless, was based on the principle of carrier current transmission, a technique patented in 1911 by Major George O. Squier, an electrical engineer with the U.S. Army. From 1922 to the end of the decade, Squier and his associates tried to demonstrate that wired wire-

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less could be a viable alternative to over-the-air broadcasting. Although Squier failed to seriously challenge broadcasting, his technique for providing mass wired entertainment lives on (mostly in offices and restaurants) in the form of the commercial service known as *Muzak*.²

The history of communication technology is littered with failures, but only recently have scholars made an earnest attempt to understand how these failures inform how we think about surviving technologies (Case, 1991; Cowan, 1987; Lipartito, 2003; Pinch & Bijker, 1987; Reich, 1977). Some scholars now argue that failures, because they are more common, may be more important than technological successes (Lipartito, 2003) and that failures reveal the weaknesses of histories told only by those who backed a surviving technology (Braun, 1992). Why wired wireless failed to become more of a factor in broadcasting, especially when it appeared to solve many of the problems that confounded the radio business, is the subject of this article. The answer, in large measure, lies in how social groups relevant to the development of broadcasting—engineers, business managers, writers, and even the American public—socially constructed radio, and the alternative service (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Bijker, Hughes, & Pinch, 1987; Douglas, 1987; Pinch, 1996; Volek, 1992). When tested against the normative assumptions of broadcasting as a free, over-the-air service, wired wireless was found wanting, despite some of its technical advantages. This article examines primary evidence of how wired wireless was socially constructed in contemporaneous newspaper and magazine reports, oral histories, government documents, patent records, and letters of key individuals.

The idea of broadcasting news, music, and information over wires was not new in the 1920s. As early as the 1880s, entrepreneurs in Europe and the United States had experimented with subscription and on-demand entertainment services delivered over telephone wires. Probably the most successful of these was Telefon Hirmondo, which began service in 1893 in Budapest, Hungary, and continued for 14 years, eventually reaching 160,000 subscribers (Marvin, 1988; White, 2004). Two American businessmen tried to duplicate the service in New Jersey in 1911, but it quickly failed due to lack of financing (Marvin, 1988). In rural America in the 1920s and 1930s, residents strung networks of wires to share a single radio with often hundreds of homes (Gilliams, 1925; Kirk, 1923; Opt, 1992). In Great Britain, these systems were known as relay exchanges, and they remained a popular alternative to wireless reception through the 1930s (Welch, 1979).

These early wired systems were limited because they required a dedicated wire to receive the service. The genius behind Squier's system was the idea of multiplexing: enabling a single electrical wire to perform more than one function. Unlike the early experiments in wired broadcasting, in which the radio signal moved *through* the copper wire, the carrier current signal moved through the electromagnetic field *surrounding* the electric wire. Signals could be sent over existing telephone and power lines—essentially any wire carrying a current—without interfering with the wire's original use. This meant, in part, that broadcasters could transmit over the existing electrical and telephone grid rather than having to create a costly new infrastructure.

The fate of wired wireless rests in part on the business models of the two dominant players. AT&T, through its national telephone network, was the premier provider of wired communication services. As a common carrier, it provided transmission facilities to all, and charged for service based on the amount of time used. General Electric, with the endorsement of the U.S. Navy, created RCA in 1919 to offer primarily international telephone service without wires. Within 3 years, however, RCA's mission had changed. Broadcasting proved to be an amazing way to sell radio receivers (initially a secondary business for RCA). RCA shifted its strategy to provide radio listeners with something worth listening to, and its radio receiver sales took off. The broadcasting model, in many respects, was the antithesis of the common carrier model. First, it effectively limited access to relatively few senders and permitted no reply from the receiving party. Second, it provided no mechanism for the broadcaster to recover costs from the customer, unless the broadcaster (like RCA) was also in the business of selling receivers. Third, while the common carrier had no responsibility for communication content, the broadcaster was the sole content provider. Wired wireless featured aspects of both models: It placed responsibility for content on the sender but also provided a physical link to the customer, enabling the broadcaster to charge for its services.

Patents were also important to the fate of wired wireless. Not only did they protect ideas, they constrained a company's business strategies and provided a legal basis for attacking competitors. Between 1919 and 1922, AT&T, RCA, and other interested parties agreed to pool their patents in order to further radio development. Companies missing one element or another in manufacturing radio-related equipment—for instance, Lee de Forest's audion tube—could license the missing pieces from other members of the pool. The patent agreements, most of them signed before anyone understood what broadcasting would become, also divided up the radio territory among the major players according to their business strengths and prohibited others from infringing on these exclusive domains. For instance, AT&T was granted rights to manufacture radio transmitters but excluded from making money from the manufacture of receivers. RCA won the right to sell radio receivers but was restrained from making money directly from broadcasting. In time, both companies came to covet the benefits of the other's patent position, but precluded from doing anything about it by a legal agreement, they both pursued anticompetitive strategies in order to defend their respective territories. When it came to wired wireless, the cross-licensing agreements were less than clear. As a result, both companies laid claim to the technology, yet neither clearly understood what to do with it.

Early Challenges to Broadcasting

In the first half of the 1920s, three primary challenges for broadcasting surfaced, one technical, one regulatory, and one economic. The first problem had to do with static electricity. Early radio reception was fraught with interference. Sunspot activity,

thunderstorms, and even a passing electric trolley could produce a cacophony in listeners' earphones. During the summer, when interference was at its worst, many radio listeners abandoned their headphones.

The second challenge was interference of a different sort. This came from the fact that, initially, most radio broadcasts came over the same frequency, 360 meters (833 MHz). No one had foreseen the need for more than one frequency. However, the boom in the number of transmitting stations—from 67 in March 1922 to more than 500 a year later—led to what became commonly referred to as "chaos in the air" ("List of Stations Broadcasting," 1922; "Stations Broadcasting Market or Weather," 1923; Sterling & Kittross, 1990). Simply put, there were too many stations vying for too few frequencies. Secretary Herbert Hoover and his Department of Commerce mustered enormous amounts of effort to deal with the situation, including calling four national radio conferences. A primary thrust of the Radio Act of 1927 was to solve, once and for all, the debate over frequency allocation (Benjamin, 1990, 1998; Sarno, 1969).

The third and perhaps most contentious challenge came over paying for content (Smulyan, 1994). This challenge arose from the very nature of radio itself. Because broadcast transmissions radiated indiscriminately in all directions, it was possible for anyone with a properly tuned instrument to receive the signal. As hundreds of thousands of consumers quickly discovered, anyone who invested in a radio gained free access to entertainment. Singers, musicians, and other performers who were initially satisfied to stand before the microphone for the sheer publicity value soon began clamoring for something more tangible—money. In 1923, the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP) began asserting its copyright claims to the music being broadcast. The organization sent out letters to the 600-odd radio stations broadcasting at the time, demanding that they purchase licenses to broadcast copyrighted material. Radio stations resisted at first, but within a year ASCAP had issued licenses—ranging from \$200 to \$5,000 a year—to most of the commercial broadcast stations in the country ("Wants Broadcasters," 1923).

Radio stations in the early 1920s operated at a loss, and the burden of paying for a music license only added to broadcasters' problems. Clearly, a new way of paying for broadcasting was needed. One of the most vocal advocates of a new system was RCA's David Sarnoff. He lobbied for a tax on the radio manufacturers, enough to pay for a national music fund that could be distributed to composers and performers. Another proposal was borrowed from the British, collecting license fees from radio owners. Several schemes for taxing receiver sales or radio tubes were proposed, as well as calls for wealthy philanthropists to come to the rescue and even voluntary contributions from the listening audience. Among the technical solutions, Sarnoff proposed blanketing the entire country with a single signal broadcast by perhaps five different "superpower" stations and then taking advantage of the economies of scale.

None of these solutions gained sufficient support to supplant the model that broadcasters were slowly adopting across the country—advertising. Although decried by much of the public and many government officials, including Commerce Secretary

Hoover, the practice of selling airtime and program sponsorship had already become an effective way for many radio stations to pay their bills. AT&T, which claimed exclusive rights to selling airtime, based on its patent agreements, provided a model for the rest of the industry. Beginning with its first advertisement in 1922, WEAJ, AT&T's experimental station in New York City, demonstrated that so-called indirect advertising, in which a business paid to have its name mentioned on the air or incorporated into program content, was a viable option. For a time, AT&T tried to enforce its proprietary rights to doing business this way (Doerksen, 1999). However, in the end the phone company could withstand neither the onslaught of patent infringements nor the public sentiment that labeled AT&T's protection of its patent rights yet another case of monopolistic practices ("Hoover Condemns," 1924). By 1926, the debate over how to finance radio was effectively over. The answer was advertising.

A Solution?

Wired wireless provided solutions to all three of these challenges. Instead of sending signals through the air, as with conventional broadcasting, a wired wireless system sent signals from the broadcast originator along existing copper wires that were being used for either telephone or electrical power transmission into the listener's receiver. Instead of radiating in all directions from a central antenna, the signals were guided along the copper wire's electromagnetic field. The signal flowed not through the wire, but around it, meaning that the telephone or electrical transmissions were unaffected by the carrier signal. Most important to those interested in making money from broadcasting, the physical connection by wire meant the program originator could control who received the signal and who did not.

The idea stemmed from Squier's research on multiplex telephony, which he patented in 1911. Squier's multiplexing technique allowed for up to four two-way conversations over a single telephone line. In the midst of his research on telephone wire multiplexing, it occurred to Squier that perhaps the principles would hold for any copper wire carrying electrical current. On a Sunday evening in October 1910, a month after he successfully demonstrated multiplex telephony, he jotted the following note to himself:

Try superimposing wireless telegraphic and telephonic messages upon the ordinary electric light wires in a building or throughout a city.

I see no reason why this same wiring, which is now utilized to carry power, should not service also for telephony by electric waves. This would simplify house wiring for hotels and office buildings, etc. (as cited in Hoover, 1926, p. 15)

It would be another dozen years before Squier would apply his idea to an electric wire. In the meantime, AT&T began experimenting with multiplexing and found the results encouraging. The apparent compatibilities of telephony and radio led AT&T

engineers to explore radio as a natural extension of the telephone services they were already providing. One of the engineers wrote in 1920:

We observe that radio and wire telephony are one and the same thing in respect to overall results, that of the delivery of sound messages. Where one or the other is to be used will be a matter of the natural adaptability of the medium of transmission and of the economics of the situation ... with the main emphasis upon integration rather than differentiation. (Espenschied, 1937, p. 1121)

By the early 1920s, radio broadcasting had burst onto the scene. With hundreds of broadcasters trying to crowd onto the same broadcast frequencies, the public began to demand a solution to the "chaos" in the air. In March 1922 Squier (since promoted to the rank of general) tested his invention, sending radio signals over electrical wires with no static interference and no interference from other broadcast signals. The *New York Times* described the demonstration at the Washington, DC, headquarters of the U.S. Signal Service this way:

General Squier removed a lamp from a socket on his desk and inserted a plug, connected with his receiving apparatus. Two lamps were burning in other sockets of the lamp, showing that the electric light current was unimpaired. The sender of the message had his apparatus plugged in on the circuit in another part of the city. All antennae, whether outdoor or indoor, were done away with. ("Transmits Music," 1922, p. 21)

News of Squier's invention quickly spread among radio amateurs, many of whom tried duplicating his technique and succeeded only in blowing their household fuses ("Amateurs Burn Fuses," 1922).

Surely, wired wireless, as Squier had started calling the technique, was a viable alternative to "space" broadcasting, sending signals through the ether. But it was not as simple as that. For one, Squier's patent claim for multiplex telephony, it turned out, was highly questionable. In applying for his patent in 1911, Squier had used a little-known provision of patent law, dating back to 1883, whereby government employees could patent an invention free of any fees if they made the invention available at no charge to the government or its employees ("Patent Suit Hinges," 1922). Although there are some doubts about what Squier's motivation was for doing this, at the time Squier insisted he was being a generous, public-minded citizen (Lindsay, 1998).

In addition to his weak patent position—and probably because of it—Squier was not alone in seeking a way to broadcast over wires. Like many engineers of the time, AT&T's Lloyd Espenschied wondered how radio might be developed into a self-supporting business. He later recalled: "I naturally resorted to wires, in my own mind, since the control they afford would enable a subscription type of service to be given, whereas in radio there was no control of the receiving end" (Espenschied, 1962, p. 34). This lack of control had become the bane of engineers and legislators alike. Espenschied offered his solution in a patent entitled "Distribution of Intelligence."

Filed in January 1922, less than 3 months before Squier's demonstration in the nation's capital, it describes a system for delivering news and entertainment using carrier current over either telephone lines or power lines (U.S. Patent No. 1,633,082; Espenschied, 1927). Espenschied was aware that he had competition for the idea. He recalled: "I was told by General Squier at the time of the issuance of the patent that it just beat him to the draw in his own application of wired wireless broadcasting" (Espenschied, 1962, p. 37).

It is unclear whether Squier was responding directly to Espenschied's claim to priority, but nonetheless in March 1922, a few weeks after his initial demonstration, he filed suit against AT&T, claiming that the telephone company had infringed on the patent that he had dedicated to the public in 1911. Squier argued that AT&T was using his patent for commercial purposes, something he claimed he had never intended. AT&T countered that Squier's patent was invalid because (a) others had already demonstrated the technique before his patent was filed, (b) since Squier was offering it to the public anyway, the patent office likely gave only cursory examination to Squier's claim, and (c) AT&T's work was based not on Squier's patent but the work of others before him ("Patent Suit Hinges," 1922). A district court judge held in favor of AT&T (*Squier v. American Telephone & Telegraph*, 1924). Squier appealed.

Throughout the court fight with AT&T, Squier continued to promote his idea of connecting radios by wire. The electric power industry was especially intrigued. In an April 1922 editorial, *Electrical World*, a trade publication for the power industry, extolled the possibilities of wired wireless. The editor observed that what the public wanted was not so much radio technology as radio content. Regardless of whether it came through the air or over a wire, all the public wanted was its news, music, and entertainment, which prompted the editor to ask his readers: "Why not enter this new field ... and develop broadcasting as an additional source of profit for the public utility?" Such a service, he argued, would cultivate the goodwill of the public, and those not connected to the utility grid could still get their radio by wireless ("Broadcasting Over the Wires!," 1922, p. 894).

In addressing an electrical equipment convention a month later, Squier echoed the editor by declaring that power companies were a logical choice for delivering broadcasting over wires. Curiously, it appears that both Squier and the power industry had yet given little thought to the direct revenue-producing potential from wired wireless, preferring instead to capitalize on the "goodwill" potential that over-the-air broadcasters were also seeking by offering the public free information and entertainment ("Squier on 'Wired Wireless,'" 1922).

Squier followed his demonstration in Washington, DC, with another test in Cleveland in May 1922. For this test, he gained permission to use the power lines of the North American Company, a utility based in New York City. The results demonstrated that wired-wireless broadcasting over electric power wires was feasible (Duncan, 1922a, 1922b).³

In less than 6 months, wired wireless had achieved notoriety. Writing for *Popular Science Monthly* in August 1922, radio pioneer Jack Binns assayed the wired wireless

concept in his regular column, "On the Crest of a Radio Wave."⁴ He concluded that although Squier's developments had thrown "the electric light people into paroxysms of joy" and provided some hope of solving the "who will pay" issue, a wired system would kill the romance of radio. Among the issues was choice. He wrote:

I have yet to meet a radio fan who is content to sit back and just enjoy the music scheduled by one particular broadcasting station. He wants to monkey around with the controls, and get a sample of everything that is going in the ether that night. He wants to try for the far-distant stations. When he gets one, he is tickled pink. Wired wireless, because it would restrict us to the program from some one local station—an electric light generation station at that!—would take half of the joy out of our evenings of radio adventure. (Binns, 1922, p. 24)

Binns also argued that wired wireless would be of limited value in rural communities, many of which had limited access to electric power lines.⁵

Binns's assessment notwithstanding, Squier continued his efforts, and by the beginning of 1923 he had granted an exclusive license to North American Company's newly formed Wired Radio, Inc., subsidiary. Although the potential market for wired wireless over electric lines would never match that for broadcasting, Wired Radio staked its hopes on the 44% of U.S. homes (most of them in urban areas) that were wired into the electric grid (*Historical Statistics*, 1975, p. 827).⁶ The company announced plans to begin offering its services to subscribers on Staten Island, which had a population of about 136,000 and some 25,000 electric light customers (Duncan, 1924). In a series of reports, the entertainment trade weekly *Variety* praised the new venture as a savior. Wired Radio's plan would require listeners to lease a slightly modified radio receiver from the company, plug it directly into the electrical socket, and pay a fee—about \$2 a month (about \$20 in 2005 dollars)—for programming.⁷ The collection of a fee was most appealing from the entertainment industry's viewpoint. It meant that money would be available to pay composers and entertainers, perhaps as much as \$5,700 a week ("Wired Wireless Considering," 1923). *Variety* lauded the plan as

the most gigantic radio undertaking yet. ... It is the first official cognizance by the radio people that the talent must be paid for, and is to be considered as a very important factor in popularizing radio. The plans are so far-sweeping and ambitious that were it not for the fact that a corporation which has since provided its success in supplying heat and power to various cities and townships is behind it, it would sound like the colloquial "pipe dream." ("Giant Radio Idea Lauded," 1923, p. 1)

Wired Radio president C. W. Hough proposed paying artists in two ways: first, directly for their performance on the air; and second, indirectly by providing free advertising for their shows at local theaters. Every minute of programming on his station was for sale, from the department stores mentioned in "Shopping With Sally" to the plays and movies mentioned in reviews ("Radio 'Circuit,'" 1923, p. 3). Hough was so

certain that the additional publicity generated by radio for theatrical productions would result in more box office sales that he was willing to be paid a percentage of the additional box office revenue ("Broadcast on Percentage," 1923).

By the time of the Staten Island experiment, it was clear that no one, not even Squier, believed that wired wireless would completely replace over-the-air broadcasting; rather, its future was as a supplement to broadcasting, particularly in providing a clear signal in urban areas where static interference was a problem. Squier's former assistant R. D. Duncan wrote:

By this means, on a "pay-for-what-you-receive" basis, it is believed that a broadcasting service may be developed which will be self-sustaining and entirely satisfactory to the recipient. This plan will permit wired radio to perform a function quite different from that of space radio and to make a place for itself without hindering the advancement of broadcasting through the air. (Duncan, 1924, p. 158)

Wired Radio began delivering a signal to its customers in September 1923. The operation began with 550 customers. The service offered the usual array of music, lectures, and even news from United Press. They also experimented with retransmitting on-air broadcasts. Wired wireless had definite advantages over space broadcasting. It required none of the "three-handed" tuning artistry of the broadcast receiver, it could be plugged into any light socket in any room, it required no antenna or storage batteries for a loud-speaker receiver, there was no interference from static or other transmitting or receiving stations, and the leasing company serviced the equipment.⁸ The main drawback was that the system provided only a single channel. Engineers also observed that the signal weakened in the evenings when customers turned on their lights and began to draw more current over the power lines. The company suspended broadcasting in February 1924 to solve some of the technical problems, and by July of that year it was sending signals over three channels, each with different programming (Duncan, 1924).

By January 1925, Duncan declared the technical battle all but over. "There is no engineering reason why homes everywhere in the United States cannot regularly enjoy the finest music or lectures that the big centres like New York, Boston or Chicago or San Francisco have to offer" ("Improves Wired Radio," 1925, p. 16). Hough began talking about a broadcasting network, with central stations in New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles that would deliver their signals over long-distance telephone and telegraph wires ("Improves Wired Radio," 1925, p. 16).

Although wired wireless technology was improving, Squier was losing on the legal front. In May 1925, a federal appeals court concurred with the 1924 U.S. District court ruling that AT&T had not infringed on Squier's patent, and in October 1925, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear Squier's final appeal (*Squier v. American Telephone & Telegraph*, 1925a, 1925b). In the meantime, AT&T president Harry B. Thayer turned the tables on Squier. In a 1924 meeting Thayer told stockholders that the company was taking legal action against Squier, claiming that Squier had infringed on

AT&T's patent for wired wireless ("The Radio Broadcasting Situation," 1924).⁹ One final legal blow came in 1926, when Congress asked Commerce Secretary Hoover to investigate the Squier/AT&T dispute. Hoover concluded he had insufficient information or ability to make a judgment. Squier's only compensation was one last chance to reassert his claim that AT&T had unfairly hampered the development of wired wireless. In his letter to Congress he wrote: "If it had not been for the opposition of the American Telephone & Telegraph Co. [wired wireless] would now be available to the American public, vastly relieving the present congested conditions of the broadcasting service" (as cited in Hoover, 1926, p. 16). AT&T let the prior court rulings speak for themselves.

By 1927, *Radio Retailing* declared that wired wireless was no longer a competitor to broadcasting. The publication wrote that wired wireless would prove too expensive for power companies and provide too little choice for listeners. The magazine added:

Only in the most populous areas is it likely to be possible to obtain sufficient revenue to meet the cost of wire presentation ... Such areas are already served by well-established broadcasting, with considerably greater program choice than any prospective system of wire program service can offer. Consequently, although wire service may be an excellent adjunct to increase the standard of programs available through the radio receiver, it cannot, on account of its limited program choice, displace it. ("Sees No Signs," 1927, p. 14)

Squier and Wired Radio pushed ahead, but they had lost momentum. Based on a patent he filed in 1926, Squier began experimenting with delivering radio by telephone wires. He began calling the wired wireless receiving device a "monophone," possibly an ironic jab at his old nemesis, the telephone company, arguing that it was "just as reliable as the telephone." For those skeptical of getting their radio over wires, Squier also reminded the public that a great deal of radio was being delivered over wires, specifically NBC's network, which was connected by AT&T's telephone wires. He advocated using the telephone wires to deliver radio signals because wired wireless did not disrupt the telephone signal anyway. The monophone, he declared, would "put radio on a revenue-producing basis for the first time. We have always paid for everything out of an electric light socket or over a telephone wire and why should we not do so for finer radio programs?" Squier also identified another weakness of space broadcasting: lack of information about the listener. Because users of the monophone would be identifiable subscribers, it would be possible to collect information on their listening habits, something over-the-air broadcasting could not do ("Squier Foresees," 1927, p. 19).

Squier's hope for a telephone-based system was reality by the end of 1927. In suburban Detroit, the Kellogg Switchboard and Supply Co. began sending signals to 500 subscribers. The system had enough flexibility such that if there was nothing sufficiently interesting coming by way of the broadcast networks such as NBC and CBS, the local phone company could put on a phonograph recording ("Wired Radio Is Under Test," 1927).

In January 1928, Wired Radio and its parent North American Company announced a plan for its own network. It would originate programming in New York and then relay those programs by shortwave to studios in Cleveland, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and other cities with wired wireless installations ("Electric Light Wires," 1928). The usual three channels would be offered over radio sets to be manufactured by General Electric. The company expected to produce 2,000 radio sets daily ("For Radio on Light Wires," 1928). The Federal Radio Commission granted Wired Radio nine relay frequencies in early 1929, but it was too late carry out the plan ("Relay Broadcasting Stations," 1929). The stock market crash and ensuing Depression further hampered the company's slow progress, and by 1935, Wired Radio's 13-year-old "experiment" in Cleveland had shown remarkably little growth owing to what officials called "unfavorable business conditions" ("Wired Radio System," 1935, p. 11). In 1936, Wired Radio was reborn as *Muzak*—a name coined by Squier shortly before he died in 1934—with a plan geared toward providing businesses rather than individuals with commercial-free background music. Wired Radio's challenge to broadcasting was effectively over.

Why It Went Nowhere

Both AT&T and RCA had the technical expertise to develop wired wireless, and the 1920 patent agreement between them was vague enough to give both companies room to at least argue their rights to the technology. Yet, neither company fully embraced the idea. Patent positions, business strategies, and notions of what the radio experience should be all clouded the picture.

From early on, AT&T saw potential in radio for expanding its point-to-point communications, and in 1913, it purchased partial rights to Lee de Forest's triode patent to use it in amplifying signals along long distance phone lines (Barnouw, 1966). The company had also begun experimenting with using radio for telephone communication where wires were impractical (such as Catalina Island off the California coast). However, AT&T's role in radio was limited by the patent pool agreement of 1920, which gave the phone company the right to manufacture radio transmitters (through its Western Electric subsidiary) but not receivers.

AT&T management must have envied RCA's surprising success in the first few years of broadcasting: \$11 million in receiver sales in 1922 and double that in the following year (Archer, 1926). By comparison, sales potential for transmitters was minuscule. Without access to receiver patents, AT&T viewed radio as a threat to its business and often took a defensive stance (Aitken, 1985; Archer, 1926; Douglas, 1987). AT&T's frustration with the situation peaked in April 1922, when it sold its shares in RCA. From then until 1925, the two companies waged a contentious legal battle over disputed territory in the cross-licensing agreements, ending in an arbitration agreement and the sale of WEAf to RCA in 1926.

AT&T's most overt defensive maneuver was to prohibit broadcasters from using its telephone lines to pick up remote broadcast transmissions on speeches, sporting

events, and other events outside the studio. Although AT&T gave in to a few requests, it generally held to the policy for the next few years, including when, in 1924, Wired Radio asked to use a telephone line between its New York studio and its transmission facility on Staten Island (Archer, 1926).

AT&T also used its patents to fend off competition. In 1924, AT&T filed suit against New York station WHN because it was infringing on AT&T's exclusive right to sell airtime. It also threatened legal action against Wired Radio, charging that the company was using patents that belonged to the phone company. Ironically, these patents represented the same ideas—governing how radio signals could be sent by wire—that had led Squier to sue AT&T 2 years earlier ("The Radio Broadcasting Situation," 1924).

On the offensive side, AT&T's engineers had been thinking about how they might apply radio to their wired telephone network. Lloyd Espenschied began suggesting wired radio ideas to his superiors, including one in a memo dated December 18, 1919, which discussed carrier current over power lines. "By using channels of different frequencies," he wrote, "different classes of aural amusement would be simultaneously transmitted, permitting the subscriber to select at will his own type of amusement merely by pressing the proper button which controls the selective circuit employed" (Espenschied, 1962, p. 35). On May 7, 1920, he submitted another memo suggesting the use of carrier current on telephone circuits (Espenschied, 1962). These wired proposals became the basis of Espenschied's patent filed January 25, 1922, and issued in 1927 (U.S. Patent No. 1,633,082; Espenschied, 1927).

The reaction of Espenschied's superiors at AT&T, however, was mixed and often perplexing. Company officials understood that radio was an important development, yet they were uncertain how radio might fit into their business plans. A July 1921 memo from the company's development and research department revealed it was either unaware of Espenschied's ideas on radio or it was uncertain what to do with them: "The question uppermost from a business standpoint is: How shall collection be made for broadcast service rendered? It seems impracticable to collect regularly on a service basis" (Banning, 1946, p. 59). This is a baffling conclusion, given that the phone company had built its business around collecting for wired telephone service. We are left wondering if the existing model of receiver sales supported by wireless broadcasting so influenced the company's thinking that it could not make the leap to a wired "pay-to-listen" broadcasting model. Furthermore, given the company's limited rights to produce radio receivers, AT&T may have seen its future in radio restricted to providing only a wired network. In other words, AT&T recognized its role in helping to collect information but not in distributing it.

On January 12, 1922, AT&T officials met to discuss how they might enter the broadcasting field. Chief engineer John J. Carty reminded his bosses that, in addition to wireless transmission, the company had the technology to send radio signals either by direct wires or by carrier current on telephone or electric wires. They decided to keep their options open and try both wired and wireless approaches (Espenschied, 1962).

AT&T signed on the air with its experimental station WEAF a few months later, in August. The broadcasting station allowed the parent company to keep abreast of technological developments and remain competitive with Westinghouse, General Electric, and RCA, all of which operated their own radio stations. AT&T launched WEAF with the idea that it would not have to provide content, as rivals RCA and Westinghouse were doing. Rather, it would use the same common carrier model from its telephone business: The radio station would sell access to its transmission facilities, and buyers would supply their own content. The "toll" broadcasting model was slow to develop, so WEAF management was forced to put something on the air just to fill time. In doing so, and partly because of its superior engineering, WEAF became one of the best suppliers of broadcast content.

According to WEAF's William Harkness, the legal battle between AT&T and RCA led the phone company to also push ahead on wired wireless development. "In many ways the distribution of programs by wire could be furnished by the telephone companies much easier than by any other group, as they had an existing wire plant," he recalled in an interview (Harkness, 1951, p. 70). The company installed a wired system in Harkness's office for demonstrations, and he asked visitors for their impressions. "They invariably commented on the quality and the freedom from atmospheric disturbances," he recalled. Asked if they would be willing to pay as much as \$10 a month for such a service, they usually agreed they would (Harkness, 1951, p. 71). Surprisingly, a favorable view of wired wireless was not shared at AT&T's highest level. In December 1922, AT&T's president Harry B. Thayer offered to cede the disputed rights to manufacturing receivers for carrier current, telling RCA president Owen D. Young, "I doubt very much whether it is likely to prove a considerable business" (Archer, 1926, p. 62).

In 1925 in New York, AT&T succeeded in superimposing multiple channels on phone and power lines. However, according to Espenschied, by this time the company had already determined that a wired wireless service would be too costly for customers and, therefore, "the future lay in favor of free radio broadcasting" (Espenschied, 1962, p. 40). Harkness also observed that the company realized that if it wanted to compete with radio in providing entertainment using a wired service, it would require a considerable and immediate investment in plant, equipment, and program talent. The company, said Harkness, concluded that it was not in the entertainment business (Harkness, 1951). The following year AT&T sold WEAF to RCA, citing the same rationale.

The Role of RCA

Like AT&T, David Sarnoff thought that wired wireless had potential, enough that he tried to assert RCA's rights to the technology even though he suspected the telephone company had a stronger claim. He was also well aware that both AT&T and North American Company were experimenting with wired wireless. And like AT&T, it is

likely that Sarnoff's interest in wired wireless was primarily defensive. In part, Sarnoff feared that should the telephone company manufacture devices to pick up carrier current signals (a gray area under the cross-licensing agreement), the public might start to use those same receivers to pick up ordinary broadcast signals as well, which might compromise RCA's radio receiver sales (Archer, 1926).

Just as significant for the fate of wired wireless, however, was Sarnoff's economic model for the radio industry. By 1922, radio receivers (built by General Electric and Westinghouse) accounted for \$11 million of the company's \$14.8 million in revenue (Sobel, 1986). As such, RCA was interested in broadcast content primarily to the degree that it helped to sell radios; its role as a common carrier, charging the sender of a message by the word or the minute, was secondary.

Given this emphasis on broadcasting, Sarnoff had little interest in the ability of wired wireless to secure direct payment from the radio listener. Instead, he viewed radio as a national service, one that would be large enough to return handsome profits to the companies that controlled it. In a 1922 letter to Elmer Rice, then honorary chairman of General Electric, Sarnoff wrote: "The cost of broadcasting must be borne by those who derive profits directly or indirectly from the business resulting from radio broadcasting" (Sarnoff, 1968, p. 41). Although he used the plural when talking of who might manage the national radio business, he meant RCA, which he regarded as far better positioned than lesser radio manufacturers to understand the public's taste.

Instead of collecting from the listener, Sarnoff advocated paying for radio content with a 2% tax on the gross sales of receivers, to be paid by radio equipment manufacturers. To keep receiver sales up, he proposed blanketing the country with as many as five superpower radio stations that would reach every nook and cranny, giving everyone a reason to own a radio. Sarnoff was convinced that this would solve the "who will pay" question "almost to the point where the Radio Corporation alone might be in a position to do the whole job and pay for it out of returns from sales" (as cited in Archer, 1926, p. 51). If these superpower stations replaced the hundreds of shoestring radio operations around the country, it might also solve the interference problem, Sarnoff predicted (as cited in Archer, 1926).

Superpower was also likely a preemptive challenge to AT&T. In 1923 AT&T succeeded in networking multiple radio stations, a development that infuriated Sarnoff. He first tried to duplicate AT&T's success by networking some RCA stations, but AT&T characteristically refused to lease the necessary phone lines. Sarnoff secured wired connections from Western Union in time to provide eager listeners with coverage of the 1924 elections, but the telegraph lines provided poor sound transmission. Looking for a way to compete with—if not eliminate—AT&T, Sarnoff turned to superpower broadcasting (Bilby, 1986). For many of those who attended the Third National Radio Conference in 1924 and heard Sarnoff speak about superpower, the idea smacked of an RCA monopoly. For another year or so, Sarnoff continued selling the idea in speeches around the country but without much support.

By 1926, following the arbitration agreement between AT&T and RCA, an even better idea surfaced: RCA would buy AT&T's radio stations in exchange for granting

AT&T exclusive rights to network them with its telephone lines. With the creation of NBC, Sarnoff would finally get his wish for a national radio system that did not charge the listener a dime.

Conclusion

Stories such as that of wired wireless challenge the idea of the inevitability of broadcasting. Wired wireless offered a number of advantages over conventional broadcasting in the early 1920s: no static, no interference from overlapping broadcasts, no need for an antenna, and no batteries to power a loudspeaker. It offered a potential solution to the “who will pay” question and the “chaos in the air” situation. The charge, \$2 a month, was reasonable considering it included a leased receiver and service on the equipment. Wired wireless also suffered from some persistent shortcomings, primarily a limited number of channels and signal radiation from transmission wires. The limitations might have been dealt with quickly had wired wireless shared the enormous research and development funding that over-the-air broadcasting enjoyed. However, even a technologically mature wired wireless system would have had a more limited market than broadcasting because not every home had access to telephone or electricity. Squier saw its potential limited mainly to the cities.

The main reasons that wired wireless failed to challenge broadcasting, however, have less to do with the technology. As Lipartito (2003) concluded in his study of AT&T’s failed Picturephone, “failures are not inherent in hardware but constructed by contingent social conditions” (p. 52). Conditions such as timing, business models, and patent agreements all contributed to an inhospitable environment for wired wireless. Historians of technology often speak of the period of “interpretive flexibility” for new technologies, a time in which the social meanings of the innovation are open to debate. This period proved to be remarkably short for radio. In just 2 years of broadcasting, radio listeners, engineers, and managers had come to think of radio service in terms of two key issues: free content and choice. The public’s desire for free content held up throughout the decade, but ironically, as the 1920s came to a close, radio listeners were less interested in choice, preferring to listen to a few local stations rather than fishing for distant ones. At the same time, the network of radio stations pioneered by AT&T and continued with NBC after 1926 further eroded choice by sending the same programs to dozens of stations, creating a more national audience. RCA’s David Sarnoff realized his vision for a national service using the telephone wires of his one-time nemesis.

Existing business models constrained the debate over what broadcasting could and should be. The broadcasting model that spoke to the vast unknown audience was so powerful that even AT&T, which had the technology and probably the patents for a wired radio system, could not see (or perhaps did not want to see) an opportunity beyond networking existing radio stations. Even though the company’s telephone wires reached into almost half of America’s homes, AT&T never felt entirely comfortable

providing its customers with content. Similarly, RCA's David Sarnoff was so fixated on keeping radio free and keeping AT&T out of the radio business that he never came to grips with wired radio's possibilities. The wrangling over patents through the first half of the decade surely distracted the two giants and likely stifled the ideas of corporate engineers. Patents became an obstacle rather than an incentive. A company could solve problems using only those paths that were suggested by their patents. The patent became a lens with which to view the business world.

In a 1983 interview, AT&T's Lloyd Espenschied provided an ironic epilogue to this story, one that suggests the lasting power of patent-based thinking. "I feel ashamed of the part [AT&T] played in originating commercial radio in this country," he said. "I don't know how we could have done it otherwise, but it is a shame. Radio broadcasting degenerated into a regular signboard affair" (Espenschied, 1983, p. 11). Wired wireless technology may not have been up to the challenge in the 1920s, but that may have been because an alternate business model—advertising instead of subscription—had already taken hold, and the technical expertise had been put to work to solve problems with wireless transmission, not wired wireless. Coaxial cable, invented in 1929 to prevent signal radiation from transmission wires, would eventually give rise to the subscription-based wired system known as cable television. And the inventor of coaxial cable? None other than Espenschied himself.

Notes

¹Wired wireless technology receives no mention in the standard histories of broadcasting or radio technology, such as Sterling and Kittross (1990), Barnouw (1966), and Aitken (1985). Lanza (1995) devoted a cursory chapter to the origins of the system but offered little detail or analysis. Archer (1939) sporadically touched on wired wireless as it became an issue in the patent pool negotiations between RCA and AT&T. The only other extended treatment of wired wireless is Lindsay (1998), which focused on Squier. General Electric also conducted some experiments with wired wireless but was less influential than either AT&T or RCA.

²George O. Squier graduated from West Point in 1887 and took a Ph.D. from Johns Hopkins in 1893 with a thesis on the chemical effects of magnetism. In 1908, he became Orville Wright's first airplane passenger. During World War I, he conducted research on radio transmission and reception, demonstrating, for instance, how an ordinary tree could function as an antenna. In 1917, he became Chief Signal Officer of the U.S. Army and achieved some notoriety as the Army's foremost expert on communications. As radio developed in the 1920s, he was sought out for his opinion and advice. He retired from the Army in 1923 as major general. In 1933, he published *Telling the World*, one of the earlier histories of electrical communication. He died in 1934.

³As a holding company for a number of regional electric power providers, North American Company had annual revenues of \$75 million, more than that of RCA (\$26 million) although considerably less than AT&T (\$139 million, \$633 million for the Bell System companies combined; *Moody's Analysis of Investments*, 1924).

⁴Jack Binns achieved his fame as the wireless operator aboard the steamship *Republic*, which collided with another ship in the Atlantic in 1909. Binns, who remained at his radio post on the sinking ship to communicate with rescue vessels, was credited with saving 1,000 passengers. In the ensuing months he was praised as a hero, and he went on to edit the radio magazine of the New York *Tribune*.

⁵Binns's point was well taken. Only about 7% of U.S. farms had electric power, some of it supplied by local generators, not the power grid (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1924). However, that fact did not stop the farm journal *Iowa Homestead* from reporting enthusiastically on Wired Radio's experiments ("Radio Over Lightning Wires," 1924).

⁶In 1923, more than 37% of U.S. homes had wired telephone service (*Historical Statistics*, 1975, p. 783).

⁷Given that the average cost of a radio set was about \$50 (about \$500 in 2005 dollars)—and some cost upwards of \$500 (\$5,000 in 2005 dollars)—the subscriber fees must have been attractive to many potential customers (Sterling & Kittross, 1990, p. 656).

⁸Batteries were heavy, messy, and needed recharging. They remained the primary power source up to 1927, when tube rectifiers, which converted household current, came into common use. Adapters known as "battery eliminators" came into use about 1924 as an intermediate step before the AC radio.

⁹Harry B. Thayer also discussed the company's actions against WHN, which AT&T claimed was infringing on its exclusive right to sell airtime. The WHN suit was settled out of court, and there is no record that AT&T's suit against Wired Radio was ever filed.

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Late-Night Learning: Do Entertainment Programs Increase Political Campaign Knowledge for Young Viewers?

Barry A. Hollander

The fragmenting media landscape has led many, particularly younger citizens, to identify entertainment-based programs as key sources of political information. This research used national survey data to examine whether exposure to comedy and late-night programs actually informs viewers, focusing on two kinds of political knowledge thought to differ depending on the media used: recall and recognition. Some support was found for the prediction that the consumption of such programs is more associated with recognition of campaign information than with actual recall. Age, however, demonstrated modest interaction effects with viewing.

The fragmenting mass media environment has created a host of new ways people say they learn about public affairs. In the early 1990s, researchers explored the role of the "new news" in U.S. politics, particularly the influence of talk radio (Hollander, 1994, 1995). An emerging body of scholarly work has expanded this analysis to entertainment-based television and how it affects political perceptions and knowledge. The scope ranges widely to include television talk shows (Prior, 2003), dramas such as *The West Wing* (Holbert, Pillion, et al., 2003; Parry-Giles & Parry-Giles, 2002; Rollins & O'Connor, 2003), situation comedies (Holbert, Shah, & Kwak, 2003), police dramas (Holbert, Shah, & Kwak, 2004), and the political content of late-night comedy shows (Moy, Xenos, & Hess, 2004; Niven, Lichter, & Amundson, 2003; Parkin, Bos, & van Doorn, 2003).

Among the concerns is whether entertainment programs actually inform viewers, specifically younger people who may get their news from late-night television hosts such as Jay Leno or comedy programs like *The Daily Show*. Anecdotal evidence and surveys suggest that for many young people, such programs and their hosts are perceived as vital sources of political information and news (Pew Research Center, 2000, 2002, 2004). Not everyone is convinced, especially Stewart, the host of *The Daily Show*. "I still think that's a fallacy that they get most of their news from us," Stewart told television critics (McFarland, 2004, ¶ 14).

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Not all knowledge is the same. Whether viewers of entertainment-based programs learn about public affairs is reminiscent of earlier concerns about the informative power of television news as compared to print sources, most often newspapers. Shoemaker, Schooler, and Danielson (1989) argued that medium differences and their subsequent effects were best addressed through understanding the differences between recall versus recognition of political information. This position is echoed by those who examined the differential effects of intentional and incidental exposure to information (Eagle & Leiter, 1964; Stapel, 1998). In brief, what viewers glean from such programs may be a function of many factors: the cognitive effort expended, political interest and sophistication, and exactly what kind of knowledge is tapped in surveys or questionnaires. This study presents two tests of knowledge—recall and recognition—and argues that entertainment-based programs are better suited for the latter in terms of understanding what they contribute to a viewer's public affairs knowledge, particularly for younger viewers.

Political Knowledge

An enlightened citizenry remains one of the foundations of a successful and thriving democracy, and yet the U.S. public is relatively uninformed about their political world (Bennett, 1996). Despite advances in education and an exploding number of available news sources, scholars have discovered no corresponding increase in political knowledge (Neuman, 1986; Smith, 1989). As Delli Carpini and Keeter (1992) noted: "To say that much of the public is uninformed about much of the substance of politics and public policy is to say nothing new" (p. 19).

Measures of newspaper use are often associated with political knowledge (Becker & Dunwoody, 1982; Chaffee & Tims, 1982; Chaffee, Zhao, & Leshner, 1994; Pettey, 1988; but see also Weaver & Drew, 1995). Exposure to or reliance on television news has not fared as well (Becker & Whitney, 1980; Patterson & McClure, 1976), although a few studies have uncovered a positive relationship (e.g., Zhao & Chaffee, 1995). To make sense of these findings, some have suggested that how people orient toward a medium (McLeod & McDonald, 1985), attend to a medium (Chaffee & Schleuder, 1986), or involve themselves with a medium (Shoemaker et al., 1989) can mask the existence of positive effects on knowledge. These approaches are similar to that of Salomon's (1983) position that people assess the amount of cognitive effort necessary for a particular medium and expend only that amount, with television perceived as requiring the least amount of effort and therefore leading to reduced learning as compared to print, which is perceived to require greater mental effort. The result is a self-fulfilling prophecy, with print information generating superior learning as compared to television or video presentations.

Taken together, these studies suggest that measures of recall alone may not be sensitive enough to uncover the effects of televised entertainment-based programming. Intention to learn or attention to a message is often associated with superior recall,

whereas incidental exposure to a message leads to greater recognition of information (Beals, Mazis, Salop, & Staelin, 1981; Eagle & Leiter, 1964; Stapel, 1998). When involvement is high, measures of recall perform best, but in situations in which only marginal interest exists, recognition is often the best measurement strategy (Singh & Rothschild, 1983). Thus, television is ill suited for measures of recall as compared to print. Some argue the differences lie in left-brain versus right-brain processing, in which print learning is best tapped by asking recall questions and television learning is best tapped by recognition questions (Krugman, 1977, but see du Plessis, 1994, for an alternate view).

Entertainment Media and Politics

This discussion is particularly apt when considering the emergence of entertainment-based media as a form of political communication. Indeed, interpersonal conversations now rely on the fictional television content in addition to news as people make sense of their social and political world (Delli Carpini & Williams, 1996). Popular late-night and comedy programs have taken an increasingly political bent, with the number of political jokes on late-night TV steadily rising from 1989 to 2000 (Parkin et al., 2003). Thus, the audience is exposed to campaign politics and public affairs as part of the entertainment whole, but the quality of the information remains in doubt. Late-night humor's focus on the presidency and presidential candidates, for example, rarely includes issue content and instead highlights the miscues of political actors (Niven et al., 2003). The audience of such entertainment-oriented talk shows and comedy programs is often less educated and interested in politics than the mainstream news audience (Davis & Owen, 1998; Hamilton, 2003), suggesting viewers less capable of making sense of the political content. Indeed, in an examination of talk radio, Hollander (1995) found that among less educated listeners, exposure to such programs led to a sense of feeling informed but was unrelated to actual campaign knowledge. Among listeners of greater education, talk radio exposure was related to both the feeling of being informed and campaign information holding, suggesting that greater cognitive ability and motivation brought about by education increases the ability to glean useful information from such programs.

Most studies find no relationship between entertainment-based or "soft" news and political knowledge (Chaffee et al., 1994; Hollander, 1995; McLeod et al., 1996; Pfau, Cho, & Chong, 2001; Prior, 2003), and an analysis by Parkin et al. (2003) reports a negative relationship. This is not to say watching entertainment programs is unrelated to how people make sense of the political world. Such programs can influence perceptions of political actors or how people process political information (Moy et al., 2004; Pfau et al., 2001).

The question of how much is actually learned from entertainment television remains open to debate, and some argue that passive learning or awareness of issues does occur from casual television viewing (see Baum, 2003, for a discussion). As

Shoemaker et al. (1989) noted in their examination of differences among newspaper-reliant and television-news-reliant respondents, the kind of knowledge one measures can help explain many of the confusing and contradictory findings from previous studies. In addition, the gratifications sought from such viewing can also play a role (Becker & Whitney, 1980), and thus, we need to consider more than mere exposure to a medium in order to understand how it may influence the ways in which people process public affairs information. Therefore, the following hypothesis was posited:

- H₁: Viewing comedy and late-night programs for political information will be associated with recognition of campaign knowledge but not with recall of campaign knowledge.

A number of other factors can also influence processing strategies and information processing, such as political sophistication, cognitive ability, and motivation. The self-reported reliance of younger viewers on entertainment-based fare has drawn both popular and academic attention, making age a normative factor of interest and one often associated with political sophistication and motivation. Shoemaker et al. (1989) found age to be a significant factor in their recall and recognition study in terms of reliance on either newspapers or television news. Younger respondents recalled more election facts only if they relied on newspapers for their campaign information, suggesting that their peers who relied on television news were either unable or unmotivated to process information from that medium. In a similar vein, Young (2004) found people with greater political knowledge to be largely unaffected by late-night programming, but those with less knowledge were more volatile in their candidate evaluations depending on how much they watched such programming. Baum (2005) also found that politically unengaged voters who watch entertainment TV were more influenced by such heuristics in their perceptions of candidates. Given that age and political knowledge are often negatively correlated (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996) and that younger persons might be expected to rely on television-based fare for information, this suggests that younger respondents may be less successful at tests of recall as compared to recognition. Therefore, the following hypotheses were posited:

- H₂: Younger viewers of entertainment programs will be more likely than older viewers to identify such programs as a method of learning about political campaigns.
- H₃: Watching such programs for campaign information will be associated with recognition of campaign events for younger viewers but not with recall of campaign events.

Method

Data were drawn from the January 2004 Political Communications Study conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press. This national tele-

phone survey of 3,188 adults includes a battery of questions tapping the use of various media sources, from print to television, and a small set of items asking for recall and recognition of events in the campaign for the Democratic Party nomination. In addition, the availability of a large number of demographic and political variables allows for stringent multivariate controls in subsequent analyses.

Entertainment Media Measures

Rather than focus on mere exposure to a medium or category of programs, the analysis here examines those who say they use various programs specifically for the purpose of keeping up with the election campaign. Survey respondents were asked a battery of possible sources of such information and whether they use them to "learn something about the presidential campaign or the candidates."¹ Responses could range from 1 (*never*) to 4 (*regularly*), creating a 4-point scale for each category of programming or specific program. The 15 possible sources include 2 of most interest here: late-night TV shows such as *Letterman* and *Leno* and comedy shows such as *Saturday Night Live* and *The Daily Show*. In addition, respondents answered questions about religious radio shows, talk radio, the Internet, local TV news, national network broadcast news, cable news networks, C-SPAN, TV magazine shows, NPR, public broadcasting news, morning TV news shows, political talk shows such as CNN's *Crossfire* and CNBC's *Hardball*, and Sunday morning network talk shows.

Political Knowledge

The survey provides a small set of questions that tap both recall and recognition of events tied to the Democratic Party as candidates vied for its nomination to face incumbent President George W. Bush. Recall is measured by two questions: one asking if a respondent can correctly identify which Democratic presidential candidate served as an Army general (Wesley Clark) and which served as majority leader in the House of Representatives (Richard Gephardt). Correct responses were coded as 1, and all other responses were coded as 0, with the responses summed to create an index that ranged from 0 (*none of the questions answered correctly*) to 2 (*both items answered correctly*). There is a strong relationship between answering these two questions correctly ($\chi^2 = 921.3$, $p < .001$, Kendall's τ_b ordinal-by-ordinal correlation = .54, $p < .001$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .70$). Recognition is measured by asking respondents if they had heard of Al Gore's endorsement of Howard Dean and of Dean's comment about wanting to win the votes of "guys with Confederate flags in their pickup trucks." Respondents were presented a 3-point scale ranging from 1 (*never heard of it*) to 3 (*heard a lot*). These responses were summed into an index with a range from 0 (*never heard of either incident*) to 6 (*heard a lot about both incidents*). The two items are highly correlated ($r = .46$, $p < .001$, Cronbach's $\alpha = .63$).

Analytic Strategy

The first step is to establish who uses the various media to learn about political campaigns through bivariate analysis in tandem with demographic and political variables, specifically whether younger respondents are more likely to identify late-night and comedy programs as sources of information. The true test of these relationships will follow with multivariate analysis in which the “usual suspects” of political knowledge research are used as either statistical controls or as interaction terms to address the three hypotheses. These controls are age, education, gender, income, race, campaign interest, newspaper exposure, political participation, strength of ideology, and strength of partisanship.² Newspaper exposure was included because among all media variables, it is the one that in the literature consistently predicts political knowledge. Interaction terms with age are also included to test the third hypothesis.

Results

Patterns of Media Use

Respondents who said they used late-night and comedy television programs to learn about the political campaign also tended to use other media for the same information.³ Age was significantly associated with these two kinds of programming (see Table 1), with the younger the respondent, the more likely he or she was to name late-night and comedy programs as an information source, supporting the hypothesized relationships.⁴ The audience of these two types of programming—at least those who identify it as an important source of campaign news—tended to be younger rather than older, minority, more male than female, leaning toward the Democratic Party, politically liberal rather than conservative, and somewhat more interested in political campaigns. Indeed, few significant differences exist between the audience of these two kinds of programming, although age has a greater association with comedy viewing ($r = -.32, p < .01$) than with late-night television viewing ($r = -.19, p < .01$).⁵

Overall, most respondents did not score well on the test of recall, with 62% unable to answer either of the two questions in the survey. The index created from these two items had a mean of 0.6 ($SD = 0.8$), whereas the recognition index had a mean of 3.6 ($SD = 1.3$). The two knowledge measures covaried ($r = .58, p < .001$). Recall knowledge was negatively correlated with watching late-night programs ($r = -.09, ns$) and comedy programs ($r = -.05, p < .01$), whereas recognition was unrelated to either media variable ($r = .02, ns$, and $r = -.00, ns$, respectively). The lack of a relationship with recognition is at odds with other studies, which suggest that such a measure might be the best method for tapping the kinds of knowledge gleaned from such programs. It is also important to note that using the other media for campaign news was often positively associated with both recall and recognition. Given the high correlation between late-night and comedy viewing and the correlation patterns with the key

Table 1
Intercorrelations Between Viewing of Late-Night and Comedy TV
to Learn About Campaign Information and Selected Variables

	Do You Learn From Late-Night TV?	Do You Learn From Comedy TV?
Age	-.19**	-.32**
Education	.01	.06**
Campaign interest	.06**	.08**
Income	-.05**	.01
Party identification	.05**	.08**
Strength party ID	.04*	-.02
Ideology	.08**	.12**
Strength ideology	-.02	.01
Watch cable news	.10**	.17**
Listen talk radio	.14**	.16**
Use Internet	.14**	.21**
Late-night TV	—	.50**
Comedy TV	.50**	—
Recall	-.09**	-.05**
Recognition	.02	-.00

Note: Entries are zero-order Pearson coefficients.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

dependent variables among the various media, these two sources appear to have more in common with each other than with other communication channels.

Multivariate Analyses

A more stringent test is provided by hierarchical ordinary least squares regression, which statistically controls for the effects of demographic and political factors. Tables 2 and 3 report the findings of regressing the key variables on recall and recognition. The predictive power demonstrated by the demographic factors is particularly revealing, with all five achieving statistical significance. The political factors perform less well, although campaign interest and reading newspapers do contribute significantly to the model. The final steps force entry of the two entertainment-based media into separate models because the two exposure items are highly intercorrelated. Despite the large number of statistical controls, watching late-night programming to learn about the news was significantly associated with recall and recognition, but in opposite directions as predicted by Hypothesis 1. Watching late-night programs was negatively associated with recall ($\beta = -.06$, $p < .01$) and positively associated with recognition ($\beta = .05$, $p < .01$). The results for comedy television use do not support the

hypothesis, with use of these programs for campaign information being unrelated to both recall ($\beta = -.03$, *ns*) and recognition ($\beta = .01$, *ns*).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that age would be significantly associated with program viewing. By regressing the demographic and political factors listed previously on use of both programs, age was the most powerful predictor, far outstripping the predictive power of other variables.⁶ This hypothesis was supported.

To answer Hypothesis 3 on whether age and viewing act together to explain campaign knowledge, interaction terms were created (see Tables 2 and 3). The interaction of age and watching late-night programs for campaign news was negatively related to recall ($\beta = -.04$, $p < .05$) but not significantly associated with recognition ($\beta = -.02$, *ns*). In the significant interaction, for older respondents, the viewing of late-night programs was negatively associated with recall, whereas for younger respondents, the linear relationship is relatively flat. Although a curvilinear analysis is beyond the scope of this study, an examination of the results reveals that for the younger respondents, an inverted-U appears in the relationship between recall and watching late-night television news, a finding masked by the linear analysis. That is, for young

Table 2
Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Late-Night TV
Predicting Recall and Recognition

	Recall			Recognition		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Age	.01	.00	.22**	.02	.00	.21**
Education	.12	.01	.25**	.18	.01	.22**
Income	.06	.01	.15**	.07	.01	.11**
Sex	-.34	.03	-.22**	-.42	.04	-.16**
Race	.18	.03	.09**	.20	.05	.06**
<i>R</i> ² change			.26**			.21**
Campaign interest	.20	.01	.23**	.44	.02	.31**
Strength ideology	.01	.02	.01	-.03	.03	-.02
Strength party ID	-.00	.02	-.00	-.03	.03	-.02
Newspaper reading	.10	.03	.06**	.22	.04	.08**
<i>R</i> ² change			.06**			.10**
Late-night TV	-.04	.01	-.06**	.05	.02	.05**
<i>R</i> ² change			.00**			.00**
Age \times Late-Night TV	-.03	.01	-.04*	-.02	.02	-.02
<i>R</i> ² change			.00*			.00
Total adjusted <i>R</i> ²			.32**			.31**

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

Table 3
Summary of Hierarchical Regression Analysis of Comedy TV
Predicting Recall and Recognition

	Recall			Recognition		
	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β	<i>B</i>	<i>SE B</i>	β
Age	.01	.00	.23**	.02	.00	.21**
Education	.12	.01	.25**	.19	.01	.23**
Income	.05	.01	.15**	.07	.01	.11**
Sex	-.34	.03	-.21**	-.42	.04	-.16**
Race	.18	.03	.09**	.20	.05	.06**
<i>R</i> ² change			.26**			.21**
Campaign interest	.19	.01	.23**	.44	.02	.31**
Strength ideology	.09	.02	.01	-.04	.03	-.02
Strength party ID	.07	.02	-.01	-.02	.03	-.01
Newspaper reading	.11	.03	.06**	.21	.04	.08**
<i>R</i> ² change			.06**			.10**
Comedy TV	-.02	.01	-.03 ⁺	.01	.02	.01
<i>R</i> ² change			.00			.00
Age x Comedy TV	-.04	.01	-.05**	-.05	.02	-.04*
<i>R</i> ² change			.00**			.00*
Total adjusted <i>R</i> ²			.32**			.31**

* $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$.

people at the lowest and highest levels of viewing late-night programs, the recall of campaign information is relatively low as compared to more moderate viewing of such programs. Older respondents demonstrate more of a linear relationship. This suggests a function of diminishing returns for younger viewers in how much they actually learn from late-night programs. The interaction term of age with comedy television viewing created a similar result on recall ($\beta = -.05$, $p < .01$) but also achieved statistical significance on recognition as well ($\beta = -.04$, $p < .05$). Although comedy viewing alone was not associated with either knowledge measure, when combined with age the results suggest that young people do receive a modest benefit from viewing comedy programs in terms of both recall and recognition.

Summary

As predicted in the hypothesis, younger viewers identified comedy and late-night television programs as a source of political campaign news. In addition, there was

some support for the prediction that the consumption of such programming, particularly late-night television shows, was more associated with recognition than recall. Little support was found, however, for the hypothesized interaction between age and media use in predicting recognition but not recall. For example, watching comedy programs for news improved both recognition and recall for younger viewers, but age made no difference in the relationship between watching late-night programs and recognition of political information. However, age did interact with late-night viewing and recall but not in the expected direction, with younger respondents contradicting the general tendency of a negative relationship between viewing such programs and recall of campaign information.

Conclusion

This study began with a basic question: Do young people learn about a political campaign from such entertainment fare as late-night and comedy television programs? That a younger audience is drawn to such content is without doubt, and in surveys and anecdotal accounts, they often identify *The Daily Show* and similar programs as the source of their political information. The research here supports the idea that younger people seek out entertainment-based programs to keep up with a political campaign and that watching such programs is more likely to be associated with recognition of campaign information than it is with recall of actual information. This is an important difference. Previous research has identified two key methods of measuring political knowledge—recall and recognition. Successful recall of factual information is often associated with use of the print media, particularly newspapers, and scholars suggest that lower motivation and differences in how information is processed makes tests of recognition the preferred method of measuring the effects of television news—and by extension such entertainment-based programming as comedy and late-night shows. In addition, some have found that age can play an important role in the ability to answer public affairs questions.

Overall, younger viewers do appear to get more out of such programs as compared to older viewers, although in some cases it is a matter of diminishing returns. Beyond moderate levels of viewing late-night programs, the improvement in recall disappears while the improvement in recognition increases. Or to put it another way, late-night television viewing increases what young people think they know about a political campaign but provides at best modest improvements to actual recall of events associated with the campaign.

Does political knowledge truly matter? As Rousseau (1762/1968) wrote: “The very right to vote imposes on me the duty to instruct myself in public affairs, however little influence my voice may have in them” (p. 49). Democratic theory rests on the assumption of an informed electorate, and there is some fear that viewers face a diet of empty calories and may “fill up” on programming that does little to actually improve their knowledge about public affairs and political campaigns, a finding reminiscent of

Hollander's (1995) results concerning education and listening to talk radio and the effects on actual versus perceived knowledge.

Some 20 years ago, Postman (1985) warned that a reliance on perpetual entertainment and trivia will harm public conversation, placing the nation and its culture at risk. A demand that all content be entertaining, even the most serious questions of politics and public affairs, appears a trend that has captured the attention of the youngest in society. As the political content of comedy and late-night television programs continues to rise, as does an audience turned off by mainstream news sources, then the significance of this exposure increases to the point where, for many, they become the lone source of news. Such a possibility seems to stun host Jon Stewart, who says the possibility either "says something terrible about news organizations, or something terrible about the comedy we're doing, or terrible about teenagers" (McFarland, 2004, ¶ 9). There is some good news here, that young people are capable of gleaning at least modest amounts of campaign information from such content, but how competent it leaves them to participate in a meaningful manner remains an open question.

Notes

¹The items were randomized to control for the influence of question order. For some items, a split-method was used, meaning half of the respondents were randomly assigned to receive one of two program questions. The split variables are religious radio shows such as *Focus on The Family*, talk radio shows, local TV news about your viewing area, TV news magazine shows such as *60 Minutes*, *20/20*, and *Dateline*, and morning television shows such as *The Today Show* and *Good Morning America*. In these cases, half of the 3,188 respondents received these items, and half did not.

²The strength of partisanship and ideology measures are the typical folded scales in which extremes on party identification and political ideology are scored as high, and scores in the middle of both measures are scored as low. These measures then set aside the direction of a respondent's ideological or partisan leanings and instead focus on how strongly they feel about either political factor.

³Indeed there is some suggestion here of a response bias, given the positive correlations found between late-night and comedy viewing and all of the other media save one, a hardly surprising nonsignificant relationship between watching comedy programs and listening to religious radio programming. The most powerful correlation in the analysis, however, is between both late-night and comedy TV for information ($r = .50, p < .001$), suggesting a significant overlap in the viewing of these two genres to learn about campaign information.

⁴However, age also is associated with using other channels for campaign information. Younger users are more likely to also report getting information from the Internet, C-SPAN, talk radio, NPR, and cable news channels such as CNN. Older respondents favor TV news magazines, religious radio, public broadcasting, Sunday morning political talk shows, local television news, and national television news broadcasts.

⁵Minor differences can be found, although most are of little substantive difference. Newspaper exposure, for example, is negatively correlated with late-night viewing ($r = -.06, p < .01$) but is unrelated to watching comedy shows ($r = -.03, ns$). In addition, education is weakly but positively associated with comedy viewing ($r = .07, p < .01$) but not with late-night viewing ($r = .01, ns$). Overall, a weak trend in correlations suggests that late-night viewing, as compared to comedy viewing, is somewhat more tied to less use of regular news and less education. However, no differences can be seen in partisan or ideological strength, ties to a specific party or ideology, or

in campaign interest, making any suggestion of audience differences here more speculative than likely.

⁶No table provided. The top predictors of late-night television viewing were age ($\beta = -.20, p < .01$), income ($\beta = -.07, p < .01$), and campaign interest ($\beta = .07, p < .01$). The top predictors of comedy show viewing were age ($\beta = -.31, p < .01$), campaign interest ($\beta = .09, p < .01$), and race ($\beta = -.08, p < .01$). The only difference other than the relative predictive power of age between the two variables is the role of newspaper reading ($\beta = -.05, p < .01$, for late-night television, and $\beta = -.00, ns$, for comedy shows).

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Television News Viewing, Governmental Scope, and Postmaterialist Spending: Assessing Mediation by Partisanship

R. Lance Holbert

This study uses 2000–2002 American National Election Study (ANES) panel data to assess the influence of national television news viewing on opinions concerning the need for federal involvement in social issues reflective of postmaterialist values. This relationship is analyzed in coordination with the testing of perceptions of the proper role of government in society as a potential mediator. In addition, political party identification (Democrat, Republican, and Independent) is assessed as a potential moderator. This study reveals 3 distinct processes of mediation (or the lack thereof) across the party identification groups, with the perceived role of government serving as a full mediator for Democrats, a simple mediator for Republicans, and not serving as a mediator for Independents.

The relationship between a citizenry and its representative government is embodied within individuals' perceptions of the importance of public institutions to a well-functioning democracy. America's political leaders are constantly extolling the virtues of their party's vision for government, with Democrats believing in government programs aiding the public and Republicans seeking to reduce the need for governmental intervention in people's lives (Democratic National Committee, 2004; Republican National Committee, 2004). Although these distinctions are not absolute, it is clear that the two major American political parties and the candidates they sponsor seek to attract voters by communicating competing visions of the need for federal governmental involvement (Hinich & Pollard, 1981).

Citizens come into contact with competing visions of government through news, and public affairs outlets also provide journalistic assessments of the ability of public institutions to perform various duties (Paletz, 1998). Individual-level perceptions of the need for federal governmental involvement is of particular importance to mass communication scholarship with the rise in popularity of media outlets like FOX News, which espouses a small government model (Auletta, 2003). Indeed, many

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news organizations incorporate a skeptical tone toward federal governmental institutions (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 1998). The watchdog role of news media is well established and is argued to serve as a valuable check against potential leviathans (McQuail, 1992). This study assesses whether citizens' use of traditional television news influences perceptions of whether the federal government should be taking part in social programs that are reflective of a postmaterialist value orientation.

Inglehart (1977, 1990) envisioned the materialist–postmaterialist value shift in Western publics as a change in priorities. He argued that as more people free themselves from day-to-day concerns over basic issues of physiological sustenance, there will come a rise in the perceived importance of issues that reflect increased “esteem, self-expression, and aesthetic satisfaction” (Inglehart, 1990, p. 68). Mass communication is theorized to play a significant role in the rise of a postmaterialist value orientation, along with economic development, education, and distinct cohort experiences (e.g., war). Inglehart argued that continued expansion of mass media is seen as providing a broader segment of society with the tools and information it needs to make judgments about an ever wider range of political issues. This study seeks to clarify the exact nature of television news viewing influence on individual-level postmaterialist values as reflected in citizens' support for federal governmental spending on a host of social issues that are reflective of these values.

In addition to analyzing the relationship between television news viewing and opinions concerning postmaterialist federal spending, this study also seeks to assess the role of a potential mediator, perceptions of the proper role of government in society. People's beliefs about what role government should play in their lives can be influenced by media, and these perceptions can most certainly influence whether someone would desire the government to become involved in postmaterialist programs (Muller, 1970). There is also little reason to believe that the relationships that exist between television news viewing, perceptions of the proper scope of government, and postmaterialist spending will be consistent across all types of citizens. With the well-documented negative depictions of government found on television news and the rise of partisan outlets like FOX News comes the possibility for distinct processes of TV news influence across Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. This study explores in greater detail the relationship between political partisanship and television news viewing and seeks to better understand the former as a potential moderator of the latter relative to perceptions of the proper scope of government and opinions concerning postmaterialist federal spending.

Literature Review

TV News Viewing and Postmaterialist Spending

A rise in postmaterialism is seen as ushering in an age of “quality-of-life politics” (Inglehart, 1997), where citizens begin to focus on a broader range of “noneconomic”

issues. Postmaterialists give importance to more than just how to improve their own personal economic standing in life and gravitate toward issues that speak to the creation of greater equality among all citizens (e.g., human rights), aiding those who are less fortunate, and ecological concerns. Thus, a postmaterialist value orientation should be reflected in opinions concerning the need for federal spending on a range of noneconomic social issues such as AIDS research, the environment, and welfare. Inglehart (1977, 1990, 2003) and other researchers have shown through vast amounts of national survey data collected across many Western nations that there has been a steady rise in the concentration of pure postmaterialists in these countries, whereas the number of pure materialists has been in steady decline since the 1970s. Carmines and Layman (1997) found a similar pattern of results using 1972 to 1992 American National Election Study (ANES) data representative of the U.S. population. These researchers find the number of pure materialists in the United States dropped by more than half during this time period, whereas the number of pure postmaterialists more than doubled (see Layman & Carmines, 1997).

Inglehart (1977) has long argued that the rise of mass media, and the dispersing of public affairs information through news in particular, is a primary factor in the rise of postmaterialism in Western societies. Although this argument for potential media influence has been in the literature for a quarter century, there has been no formal empirical research devoted to properly assessing this direct effect. Instead, mass communication research has focused on the influence of core postmaterialist values on various types of media use (e.g., J. M. McLeod, Sotirovic, & Holbert, 1998). This study wishes to focus its attention on the influence of traditional television news viewing on a tangible by-product of postmaterialist values, opinions concerning federal spending on social issues that mirror this value orientation.

There is little question that television news covers issues reflective of postmaterialist values. Indeed, past research has devoted significant attention to analyzing the relationship between news and such postmaterialist issues as welfare (Sotirovic, 2000), AIDS (e.g., Cook, 1997), the environment (e.g., Atwater, Salwen, & Anderson, 1985), and racial relations (e.g., Watkins, 2001). The fact that television news raises these types of issues speaks to Inglehart's basic argument that public affairs media can play an important role in leading to the materialist-postmaterialist value shift. Indeed, past scholarship has studied the influence of media on values (e.g., Ball-Rokeach, Rokeach, & Grube, 1984), and extant research has analyzed the role of values as communicated by news media and their influence on political outcomes (e.g., Shah, Domke, & Wackman, 1996).

Although Inglehart's basic theoretical argument and the subsequent empirical research highlighted previously would suggest the potential for a direct positive influence of television news consumption in generating a stronger desire for postmaterialist federal spending, it is important to recognize that this relationship may not be consistent across all subpopulations. In particular, the individual-difference variable of party identification may serve as a moderator.

Many political scientists approach the study of politics from one of the earliest and now classic works from the Michigan School, *The American Voter* (Campbell, Con-

verse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960). University of Michigan scholars promoted the importance of partisanship early in their research program, as is evidenced by the following quotation: "We are convinced that the relationships in our data reflect primarily the role of enduring partisan commitments in shaping attitudes toward political objects" (Campbell et al., 1960, p. 120). The Michigan School is grounded in a psychological approach to political attitudes and behavior (see Gelman & King, 1993, for a comparative discussion of the Michigan, Columbia, and Rochester Schools). As Chaffee and Hochheimer (1985) pointed out, the Campbell et al. conceptualization of party identification stems directly from Freud's concept of "identification," and the psychoanalyst's understanding of this concept as a deep, long-term, affective connection between an individual and his or her ideal. When a voter brings this type of psychological baggage to a mediated political communication experience like television news viewing, political party identification has the potential to influence *when* a media effect takes place or can alter the direction of the effect across different groups of individuals. This is the classic description of a potential moderator variable (Baron & Kenny, 1986).

Indeed, political party identification acting as a moderator should be all the more evident when dealing with an outcome variable that is potentially grounded in political party differences (e.g., opinions concerning the need for postmaterialist spending). The issues that best represent postmaterialism are viewed as priorities for Democrats. Thus, the influence of television news consumption on opinions concerning postmaterialist spending priorities may be especially strong for those individuals who define themselves as Democrats. When Democrats come into contact with television news that continues to provide coverage of postmaterialist issues, their resolve to make postmaterialist public policies governmental funding priorities should be all the more strengthened given their inherent proclivity for these issues (relative to Republicans or Independents). McCombs (2004, Box 8.1, p. 121) discussed a similar process whereby traditional agenda setting or priming effects of news can produce not just adjustments in issue salience but also a strengthening of opinion formation. The ability of news media to strengthen existing political attitudes has also been found in recent empirical agenda-setting research (e.g., Kioussis & McCombs, 2004). Thus, the following hypothesis is offered:

- H₁: National television news viewing positively affects the desire for postmaterialist governmental spending, with this influence being especially pronounced for Democrats relative to Republicans or Independents.

Perceptions of Proper Scope of Government as Mediator

The American citizenry retains decidedly mixed feelings regarding what role government should play in people's lives. Former President Clinton (2004) recently commented on this point in his memoirs by stating that "the electorate may be operationally progressive, but philosophically it is moderately conservative and deeply skeptical of government" (p. 632). Although viewers of national network television

news may already have concerns over potential governmental expansion, decidedly negative coverage of public institutions should lead to an even greater questioning of the role of government in daily life (Cappella & Jamieson, 1997).

Television news organizations have long focused their attention on critically analyzing public expenditures and the ability of government to perform various functions, and this has been especially true since the well-documented American policy failures of the 1960s (e.g., Vietnam and Watergate; Patterson, 1998). Past content analysis work by Robinson and Appel (1979) revealed national television news to be particularly harsh in its depictions of government. Indeed, Moy and Pfau (2000) concluded that national network television news is decidedly negative relative to other traditional public affairs media outlets in its presentation of the federal branches of government (pp. 79–80).

All of the major evening network television newscasts air stories depicting the inefficiencies of the federal government, whether the stories are about the postal service (Chen, 2003), the distribution of federal bailout funds (Bowers, 2002), defense expenditures (Serafin, 2003), or basic infrastructure (Reynolds, 2003). Indeed, *NBC Nightly News* even offers a regular segment entitled the “Fleecing of America,” which commonly, but not exclusively, displays an ineffectual federal government (e.g., Francis, 2003; Johns, 2003). These segments rightfully note various governmental shortfalls, but they also have the potential cumulative effect of altering citizens’ perceptions of governmental performance.

This type of coverage from the traditional three networks is coupled with the rise of FOX News, a television outlet defined as more conservative than the traditional three network newscasts (Auletta, 2003). Farhi (2003) noted that the FOX News discussion–opinion model that espouses a small government framework offers the American viewing audience a public affairs outlet that is distinct from the journalistic ethos provided by the more traditional television networks.

When analyzing whether television news viewing leads to support for governmental spending on postmaterialist issues, there must be recognition of the fact that it is a combination of the issues being raised in nightly newscasts and general depictions of government that will play a role in determining whether citizens will support various funding initiatives. Television news may raise awareness about postmaterialist issues but present a dysfunctional government that is unable to deal effectively with social concerns. Although extant empirical research would point to national television news consumption having a direct negative effect on opinions concerning the liberal expansion of government, there is a need to once again address the issue of political party identification as a potential moderator variable. In particular, the generally negative coverage of government emanating from national television news may speak to the antigovernmental tendencies of Republicans, more so than Democrats and Independents. Once again, this point speaks to the ability of television news to strengthen opinions for a specific subpopulation of the American electorate relative to other citizens. Thus, the following hypothesis is offered:

H₂: National television news viewing negatively affects liberal perceptions concerning the proper scope of government, with this influence being especially pronounced for Republicans relative to Democrats or Independents.

Perceptions of the proper scope of government deal squarely with what citizens feel are the legitimate functions of public institutions in a democratic society (Muller, 1970). Jacoby (1994) found evidence for general attitudes toward government spending to be largely symbolic. In particular, Jacoby provided empirical evidence that individual-level liberal-conservative distinctions have the strongest effect on general opinions concerning federal governmental spending. Thus, more liberal perceptions of the proper scope of government in society (i.e., a more expansive, proactive government) should generate a desire for increased governmental spending. However, this general relationship may be especially strong for Democrats when focus is given to postmaterialist funding priorities, issues that fall to the liberal-Democratic end of the political spectrum. To back up this point further, Jacoby found political party identification to also play a role in determining general perceptions of the need for governmental spending. Thus, the following hypothesis is offered:

H₃: Liberal perceptions concerning the proper scope of government positively affects the desire for postmaterialist governmental spending, with this influence being especially pronounced for Democrats relative to Republicans or Independents.

The processes of influence outlined in Hypotheses 1 through 3 are reflective of a classic test of mediation (e.g., Kenny, Kashy, & Bolger, 1998). First, a direct relationship between television news viewing and opinions concerning postmaterialist funding priorities is offered. Then, the second and third hypotheses introduce perceptions of the proper scope of government as a potential mediator. In addition, party identification is introduced as a potential moderator in each hypothesis. J. M. McLeod and Reeves (1980) argued for the need to systematically test these types of conditional media effects. Thus, a single research question is offered for a direct assessment of mediation across three different voter types:

RQ₁: Do perceptions concerning the proper scope of government serve as a mediator in the relationship between television news viewing and the desire for postmaterialist governmental spending across Democrats, Republicans, and Independents?

Method

Data

The national survey data used for this study were collected by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan—Ann Arbor. The 2000 ANES employed a preelection interview, postelection reinterview design. A total of 1,807 citizens were interviewed during the 9 weeks prior to November

7, 2000, and a total of 1,555 of the preelection day respondents were reinterviewed after the election (2000 ANES pre–post retention rate = 86%). The 2002 ANES study also used a preelection interview, postelection reinterview design. The preelection portion began September 18 and was completed on November 4, 2002. The postelection phase began November 6 and ceased on December 6, 2002. A total of 1,187 respondents from the 2000 study were reinterviewed in the preelection phase of the 2002 study, with 1,070 of these individuals being contacted for the final postelection survey (2002 ANES pre–post retention rate = 90%).

Measures

Four exogenous variables from the 2000 ANES data are included in the study (zero-order correlation matrixes and descriptive statistics available from the author upon request). The national television news viewing items were collected in the preelection portion of the 2000 ANES, whereas the governmental scope items were obtained in the postelection phase of the same study. The items used to create the postmaterialist federal spending dependent variable were collected in 2002.

Exogenous Variables. Four demographic characteristics were utilized as exogenous variables: age, sex (female coded high), education, and income. Age is measured in years. Education is a single 7-point measure, with possible responses ranging from 1 (*8 grades or less*) to 7 (*post-BA advanced degree, including LLB*). Income is a single 22-point measure, with possible responses ranging from 1 (*none or less than \$4,999*) to 22 (*\$200,000 or over*).¹

Television News Viewing. A two-item measure of TV news use was created to reflect the basic conceptual and empirical arguments offered by Chaffee and Schleuder (1986), who stated that the best measure of the latent construct of media use is one that takes into account the unique dimensions of exposure and attention. Extant political communication research has employed similar attention-exposure indexes for media use to study a variety of mass communication outcomes (e.g., Brians & Wattenberg, 1996; Holbert, Benoit, Hansen, & Wen, 2002; J. M. McLeod et al., 1998). Respondents were asked how many days a week (0–7) they watched a national television news broadcast and how much attention they paid to television public affairs stories. Possible responses for the ordinal attention query were as follows: “a great deal,” “quite a bit,” “some,” “very little,” and “none.” Both responses were standardized and then added together to form a single two-item index. The index proved reliable ($\alpha = .84$).

Governmental Scope. This variable is a three-item additive index consisting of dichotomous items. Respondents were first provided with the following directive: “I am going to ask you to choose which of two statements I read comes closer to your own

opinion. You might agree to some extent with both, but we want to know which one is closer to your own views." Respondents were then provided with a set of three paired statements: (a) "One, the less government, the better, or two, there are more things that government should be doing"; (b) "One, we need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems, or two, the free market can handle these problems without government being involved" (reverse coded); and (c) "One, the main reason government has become bigger over the years is because it has gotten involved in things that people should do for themselves, or two, government has become bigger because the problems we face have become bigger." The three-item index was found to be reliable (Kuder-Richardson = .74).

Postmaterialist Federal Governmental Spending. Participants were provided with the opening prompt, "If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, should federal spending on ..." Respondents were then asked to respond to a series of public policy areas with the following responses: "cut out entirely," "decreased," "about the same," or "increased." Responses to the following five areas were found to create a single factor and form a reliable index ($\alpha = .66$; average interitem $r = .30$): child care, aid to Blacks, AIDS, welfare, and environmental protection.²

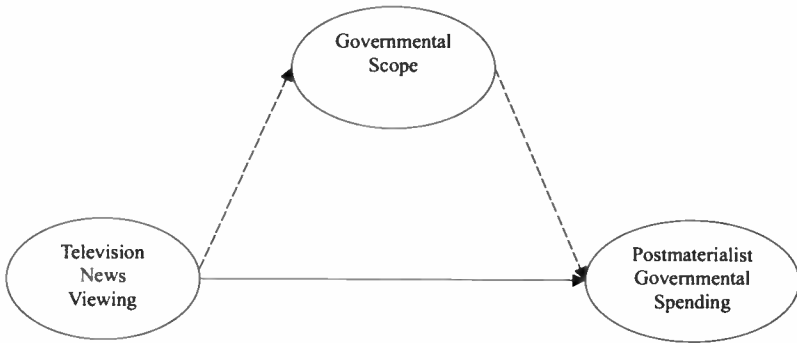
Party Identification. Respondents were initially placed on a 7-point scale by the ANES relative to their political party identification. Possible classifications are as follows: "strong Democrat," "weak Democrat," "Independent, but leans Democrat," "pure Independent," "Independent, but leans Republican," "weak Republican," and "strong Republican." For the purposes of testing party identification as a potential moderator, these seven categories were collapsed to form three groups: Democrats (strong and weak; 2000 preelection $n = 620$); Republicans (strong and weak; 2000 preelection $n = 451$); and Independents (pure and both types of leaners; 2000 preelection $n = 731$).³

Analysis

The covariance-based multivariate technique of full-information maximum likelihood (FIML) structural equation modeling (SEM) is used to test the hypotheses and research question that drive this study. Holbert and Stephenson (2002) defined the model type used for this study as a latent-composite model.⁴ Two sets of three structural equation models each are tested in this study. The first set of three models addresses the first hypothesis. The four demographic variables are treated as exogenous to the model, with television news viewing leading to postmaterialist spending in the endogenous portion of the model (see Figure 1). This hypothesized model was constructed and tested separately for Democrats, Republicans, and Independents.

This first set of models needs to be tested to assess the independent-variable–outcome-variable relationship prior to the introduction of a potential mediator. Kenny et

Figure 1
Hypothesized Endogenous Structural Model



Note: Solid line indicates path tested in first model set. Dashed lines indicate additional paths tested in second model set.

al. (1998) specified three different types of mediation: full, partial, and simple mediation. They outlined four criteria regarding the establishment of a mediator between a pair of independent and outcome variables. These criteria are as follows: (a) There is an initial statistically significant relationship between the independent and outcome variables, (b) the independent variable has a statistically significant influence on the mediating variable, (c) the mediating variable has a statistically significant influence on the outcome variable, and (d) the initially significant relationship between the independent and outcome variables becomes insignificant once the mediator is introduced to the model. If all four criteria are met, then there is full mediation. If only steps 1 through 3 are met, then there is partial mediation. Finally, if only steps 2 and 3 are evident, then there is simple mediation (see Kenny et al., 1998, pp. 258–261).

Cohen and Cohen's (1983) equation for comparing path coefficients obtained from separate samples was used to assess political party identification as a potential moderator variable (p. 111). A z score of 1.96 or greater signals a statistically significant difference in a given path estimate across groups at the $p < .05$ alpha level (i.e., party identification serving as a moderator in the relationship).⁵

The second set of models focuses on the final two hypotheses and the single research question. The only change in the latter models is the addition of governmental scope as a potential mediator in the relationship between television news viewing and postmaterialist spending (see Figure 1). Once again, the three groups for this model are Democrats, Republicans, and Independents; Cohen and Cohen's z -score comparison was used to identify statistically significant differences in endogenous-to-endogenous path estimates across groups.

In all models, a set of exogenous–endogenous paths was created based on an assessment of the respective variance–covariance matrixes, and then several of these paths were fixed or freed by the LaGrange multiplier (LM) method after initially testing the models. Jöreskog (1993) recommended the use of the LM procedure, and this pro-

cedure is commonly employed in the communication sciences (e.g., Holbert & Stephenson, 2002).

Results

TV News Viewing and Postmaterialist Spending

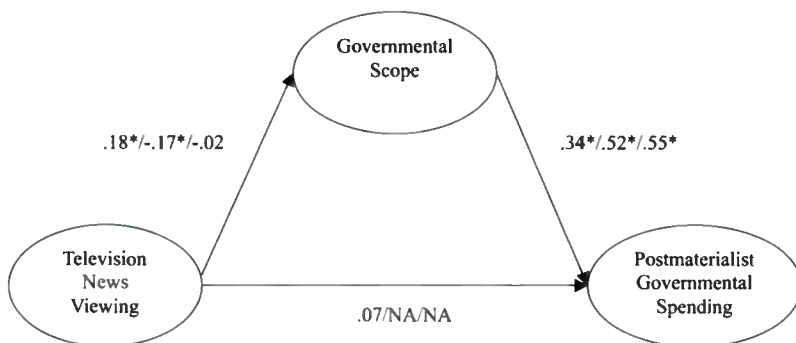
Once again, the first set of structural equation models included the four exogenous demographic variables and had television news viewing leading to postmaterialist spending in the endogenous portion of the model. All three models in the first group were found to achieve solid model fits as indicated by the following recommended indexes (e.g., Holbert & Stephenson, 2002): (a) Democrats—root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA) = .04 (90% confidence interval [CI] = .00–.09), standardized root mean square residual (SRMR) = .03, comparative fit index (CFI) = .98; (b) Republicans—RMSEA = .03 (90% CI = .00–.09), SRMR = .03, CFI = .99; and (c) Independents—RMSEA = .02 (90% CI = .00–.08), SRMR = .02, CFI = 1.00. For purposes of model comparison, the chi-square-distributed test statistics are as follows: Democrats, $\chi^2(5, N = 340) = 8.16, p = .15$; Republicans, $\chi^2(5, N = 284) = 5.92, p = .31$; and Independents, $\chi^2(4, N = 381) = 4.38, p = .36$.⁶

The basic argument put forward by Inglehart is that the rise of television news as a source of public affairs information has led to an increase in postmaterialist values. However, this study is putting forth a question as to whether this is the case across three types of political party identifiers. The three models reveal television news viewing to retain a positive association with opinions concerning the need for postmaterialist spending. However, this path estimate was found to be statistically significant for only the Democrats ($\beta = .16, p < .05$); it did not achieve this same status in either the Republican ($\beta = .06, ns$) or Independent ($\beta = .04, ns$) models. With this stated, the Cohen and Cohen z-score comparison estimates reveal there is no difference in effects size across the three groups (Democrats–Republicans, $z = 0.97$; Democrats–Independents, $z = 1.02$; Republicans–Independents, $z = 0.65$). In short, the general effects pattern outlined in the first hypothesis is found in the data. However, the initial claim of a statistically significant positive relationship between television news viewing and postmaterialist spending holds only for Democrats, and the effects sizes for this relationship do not differ across party identification groups. Nevertheless, the first criterion for establishing two of the three types of mediation (i.e., full and partial) requires there to be a statistically significant relationship between the independent variable and outcome variable prior to examining the mediator. This criterion has been met for Democrats.

Proper Role of Government as Mediator

Given the lack of a statistically significant relationship between TV news viewing and postmaterialist spending for the Republican and Independent groups, the direct

Figure 2
Final Mediation-Based Endogenous Model Results



Note: Standardized path coefficients reported as Democrats/Republicans/Independents. NA = not applicable. This path was not tested in the final Republican and Independent models given the nonsignificant results obtained from the first set of models. * $p < .05$.

path from the former to the latter was not included in either of these group models. However, this direct path was tested for the Democrats in order to identify the existence of full versus partial mediation. The second set of models achieves solid model fit statistics: (a) Democrats—RMSEA = .02 (90% CI = .00–.07), SRMR = .04, CFI = .99; (b) Republicans—RMSEA = .00 (90% CI = .00–.07), SRMR = .02, CFI = 1.00; and (c) Independents—RMSEA = .02 (90% CI = .00–.07), SRMR = .02, CFI = 1.00. For purposes of model comparison, the chi-square-distributed test statistics are as follows: Democrats, $\chi^2(10, N = 293) = 11.20, p = .34$; Republicans, $\chi^2(8, N = 256) = 6.94, p = .54$; and Independents, $\chi^2(7, N = 344) = 7.86, p = .35$.⁷

These three models reveal rather dramatic discrepancies across the three groups in terms of the influence of TV news viewing on the potential mediator, governmental scope (see Figure 2). Television news use is found to significantly influence perceptions of the proper scope of government for both Democrats and Republicans, but in opposite directions. The direct effect of TV news viewing on governmental scope for Democrats is positive ($\beta = .18, p < .05$), whereas this type of news use has a negative influence on the perceptual mediator for Republicans ($\beta = -.17, p < .05$). The more television news consumed by Democrats makes this group of citizens feel that government should be more active in people's lives, whereas consuming this same public affairs information source for Republicans makes them feel that government needs to be less active. The effect size difference for these groups is also statistically significant ($z = 3.42, p < .01$). In short, the Republicans function as expected, but the Democrats' perceptions of government as a result of TV news consumption run counter to what has been hypothesized. The influence of TV news viewing on governmental scope for Independents falls between the two path estimates obtained in the partisan group models ($\beta = -.02, ns$), and this path estimate was not found to be significantly different

in terms of effects size for either Democrats ($z = 1.79, p > .07$) or Republicans ($z = 1.38, p > .15$). The overall findings point to party identification serving as a significant moderator in the relationship between TV news viewing and perceptions of the proper scope of government. More specifically, there is a significant difference in this relationship across the two partisan groups (Democrats and Republicans). Independents' use of television for national news does not have an effect on their perceptions of what role government should play in society. In conclusion, there is partial support for Hypothesis 2. Republicans stand out from their partisan counterparts, and the relationship between TV news use and governmental scope functions as hypothesized for this group. This latter point is not true for Democrats, and the relationship is not significant for Independents.

Perceptions of the proper role of government in society are found to have a statistically significant and positive direct effect on opinions concerning postmaterialist governmental spending for all three groups: Democrats, $\beta = .34, p < .001$; Republicans, $\beta = .52, p < .001$; and Independents, $\beta = .55, p < .001$ (see Figure 2). The effect sizes across the three groups are found to be consistent as evidenced by the following nonsignificant z -score comparisons: Democrats–Republicans, $z = 1.10$; Democrats–Independents, $z = 0.88$; and Republicans–Independents, $z = 0.45$. More liberal perceptions of the proper scope of government in general are a consistent positive predictor of individual-level opinions concerning postmaterialist spending for all types of party identification groups. Party identification does not serve as a moderator variable for this portion of the model. Thus, there is support for the first claim offered in Hypothesis 3 (i.e., a positive effect of liberal perceptions of the proper scope of government on postmaterialist spending priorities), but the latter portion of the hypothesis has not been met given that there is no difference in effect sizes across the three party identification groups.

To address this study's single research question, Holbert and Stephenson (2003) recommended the use of the MacKinnon, Lockwood, and Hoffman (1998) distribution of products test for directly assessing mediation-based indirect effects in media effects research.⁸ The most basic criteria for mediation have been met only in the Democrat and Republican models, that is (a) a statistically significant relationship between the independent variable and mediator variable, and (b) a statistically significant relationship between the mediator variable and the outcome variable. Indeed, governmental scope is found via the MacKinnon et al. mediation test to be a significant mediator for both groups: Democrats, $P = 9.80, p < .001$, standardized specific indirect effect = .06; and Republicans, $P = 14.59, p < .001$, standardized specific indirect effect = -.09. Thus, television news viewing indirectly influences opinions concerning postmaterial governmental spending for Democrats and Republicans, with this effect leading to greater support for these funding priorities in Democrats and a weakening of Republican support for these initiatives.

Of particular importance for the Democrat group is the initially statistically significant relationship between national TV news viewing and opinions concerning postmaterialist spending found in the first set of model results. This path is found to

become statistically insignificant when the mediator of governmental scope is introduced into the model ($\beta = .07, ns$). This finding reveals governmental scope to serve as a *full* mediator for Democrats in the relationship between TV news viewing and postmaterialist spending (see Figure 2). By contrast, the MacKinnon et al. (1998) test for Republicans, coupled with the earlier finding of a nonsignificant relationship between TV news viewing and postmaterialist spending for this subpopulation, reveals governmental scope to be a *simple* mediator for this partisan type. Finally, governmental scope does *not* serve as a mediator between TV news use and postmaterialist spending for Independents given that there is no statistically significant relationship between TV news and governmental scope for this subpopulation group.

Discussion

This study serves to advance political communication research on postmaterialist values in three ways. First, this study offers the first empirical test linking a form of public affairs media use (i.e., national television news viewing) to opinions concerning postmaterialist governmental spending, a tangible by-product of postmaterialist values. Inglehart (1977) has long argued for a link between the rise of mass media and the shift from materialist to postmaterialist values, but this relationship has not been formally tested in extant research. Second, individual-level perceptions of the proper scope of government are shown to be an important mediator in the relationship between TV news viewing and this study's criterion variable. Third, this study reveals party identification to be a moderator in the hypothesized relationships between TV news viewing, governmental scope, and postmaterialist spending (see also Holbert, 2005a, for additional empirical evidence concerning partisanship and political media consumption). In short, the cumulative findings obtained in this study reveal three different processes of influence encompassing the relationships between national TV news viewing, perceptions of the proper scope of government, and opinions concerning postmaterialist governmental spending across the political party identification groups.

The divergent processes of influence found across the two partisan groups reveal how television news consumption fosters greater separation of Democratic versus Republican public opinion on postmaterialist spending initiatives. Working through the mediator of governmental scope, Democrats' television news consumption increases their desire for postmaterialist spending initiatives while this same process of influence leads to less support from Republicans for federal funding for these public policies. Where the two partisan groups become truly distinct is in the influence of television news consumption on perceptions of the proper scope of government. The role of party identification as moderator cannot be understated for this portion of the model. The zero-order correlation between TV news viewing of perceptions of the proper scope of government for the entire population is nonsignificant ($r = -.02, p > .45$). However, this population-wide relationship hides the true influence of this form

of media use on this important perceptual variable. Television news has an important influence on governmental scope and, as a result, produces distinct indirect influences on public opinion on postmaterialist spending for Democrats and Republicans. However, these indirect effects only become evident when all three party identification groups are analyzed separately. The study also brings to light the limited influence television news has on those citizens who represent the most difficult to engage politically, Independents. Independents consume much less television news than either partisan group (see endnote 3), and the influence of this form of public affairs media consumption is relatively weak for this particular subpopulation.

This study embraces the Orientation₁–Stimulus–Orientation₂–Response (O–S–O–R) model that is central to the ever-expanding mass communication subfield of political communication (e.g., D. M. McLeod, Kosicki, & McLeod, 2002). The O–S–O–R model steps beyond the study of simple stimulus-response relationships to incorporate analyses of orientation variables that exist prior to a mediated communication experience (i.e., exogenous demographic variables) or that can play an important role as mediator (i.e., governmental scope) in the relationship between a stimulus variable (i.e., TV news viewing) and a criterion variable (i.e., postmaterialist spending). The O–S–O–R model reflects the conditional approach to the study of media influence (J. M. McLeod & Reeves, 1980), whereby scholars wish to better understand the processes by which various media effects take shape or refining predictions concerning the conditions under which an effect becomes evident. This study shows that an important condition determining the nature of the relationship between TV news viewing, governmental scope, and postmaterialist spending is political party identification.

This study should serve as a basis from which to conduct further research in this area. Additional work can seek to better identify the unique influences of various national television public affairs outlets (e.g., FOX News, CNN, ABC, NBC, and CBS). It will be important to better understand whether all of these potential information sources function in similar or distinct ways relative to the outcome variables of perceptions of the proper scope of government and opinions concerning postmaterialist spending. In addition to studying what can be defined as more traditional public affairs outlets, there also needs to be a concerted effort to expand this research into the study of entertainment television (e.g., *The Daily Show With Jon Stewart*).

With this stated, it is important that various media outlets not be studied simply as being in competition with one another (Chaffee, 1986). Instead, various news media outlets also have the potential to serve complementary roles (Holbert, 2005b). No one news program functions in a vacuum relative to other news programs offered through the same medium or other public affairs information sources made available through other forms of communication (e.g., World Wide Web, radio).

It will be important for the discipline to also better understand potentially unique cognitive processes incorporated by various political party groups when coming into contact with television news. It is quite possible that distinct elements of a news story (e.g., actual issue details versus presentation of government in general) may become salient for different types of partisan identifiers. Recent work by Eveland (2001) re-

veals the importance of unique cognitive processing strategies incorporated by different individuals when consuming news media, and this type of research could advance the findings obtained in the present study.

Finally, it is important to outline the limitations inherent to this secondary analysis of 2000 to 2002 ANES data. First, the postmaterialist spending criterion variable is reliable, but there is most certainly room for improvement with this measure. The use of a latent-variable SEM procedure in this study allowed for this error to be accounted for, but an improved operationalization will serve future research well. Second, party identification had to be broken down into three groups (Democrats, Republicans, and Independents) in order to retain a large enough sample size for each group to allow for the series of structural models to be tested. Future research should seek to identify if there are potential differences within each of these groups (e.g., strong vs. weak party identifiers, pure Independents vs. leaners; Dennis, 1988). Third, this work is a single secondary analysis that needs to be replicated by other researchers who (a) have distinct research agendas and (b) employ data sets other than those collected by the Center for Political Studies of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan—Ann Arbor (Rosenthal, 1991). As Lamal (1991) stated: Replication is at the very heart of the scientific method and “necessary because our knowledge is corrigible” (p. 31). The present study should be seen as a first step in better understanding the role of television news in the materialist–postmaterialist value shift.

Notes

¹A sizable percentage (11.7%) of the 2000 preelection respondents did not answer the household income question. As a result, a decision was made to replace all missing values for household income with the mean response.

²The exploratory factor analysis (principal axis, direct OBLIMIN) revealed a single articulated factor that accounted for 42.3% of the variance (eigenvalue = 2.12). An initial EFA on a larger set of spending items revealed a two-factor solution, the first factor consisting of the five postmaterialist items and the second containing what can best be defined as materialist public policy issues (defense, crime, and border control). The latter set of items failed to create a reliable index. Jacoby (1994) found a similar distinction in opinions concerning governmental spending to what is found in this study. The possible effects from September 11, 2001, were addressed to determine whether there is a problem using the postmaterialist index within a theoretical model that spans a 2000 to 2002 timeframe. The 2002 preelection survey asked respondents “How likely do you think it is that the United States will suffer an attack as serious as the one in New York and Washington some time in the next 12 months?” with possible responses ranging on a 4-point scale from 1 (*very likely*) to 4 (*very unlikely*). This variable does not retain a statistically significant zero-order correlation with postmaterialist spending ($r = -.02, p > .25$).

³The relationship between the 7-point party identification independent variable and the television news viewing dependent variable is found to retain a statistically significant linear relationship, $F(1, 1797) = 8.03, p < .01, R^2 = 0.4\%$. However, it is clear that the relationship between these two variables is best accounted for through a curvilinear quadratic model, $F(2, 1796) = 44.89, p < .001, R^2 = 4.8\%$. A one-way analysis of variance test with the three-category (Democrat, Republican, or Independent) party identification item serving as an independent variable and TV news viewing acting as a dependent variable reveals party identification to have a signifi-

cant main effect on television news viewing, $F(2, 1796) = 22.40, p < .001$. Scheffé post hoc comparisons reveal that both partisan groups (Democrats and Republicans) use more television news than Independents (both mean comparisons, $p < .001$).

⁴A latent-composite model takes into account measurement error by setting the error term of each endogenous additive index to 1 minus the index's reliability and then multiplying that term by the index's variance (Bollen, 1989). This model type is less common than the observable-only structural equation models that dominate the study of political communication (e.g., J. M. McLeod et al., 1998), but a recent Monte Carlo simulation found latent-composite models to outperform observable-variable models on several fronts (Stephenson & Holbert, 2003). Most notably, the path estimates in the observable-variable models were attenuated relative to those in the latent-composite models due to the former not properly accounting for measurement error.

⁵Two conceptual points led to the decision to use the Cohen and Cohen z-score comparison relative to the creating of equality constraints for a pair of three-group structural equation models (see Bollen, 1989) to test for party identification as a potential moderator. First, each of the three party identification models could differ in terms of exogenous-to-endogenous relationships. Second, the direct path leading from television news viewing to postmaterialist spending may not be included in all three of the latter models used to assess governmental scope as a potential mediator. The use of a three-group model with the introduction of various equality constraints requires the exact same model to be tested across Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. These two conceptual points became empirical realities during the analysis portion of the study. Thus, the Cohen and Cohen z-score comparison proved to be superior to the use of equality constraints for the purposes of this particular study.

⁶The chi-square-distributed test statistic is a poor measure of fit for structure equation models (Bollen, 1989), but Hoyle and Panter (1995) suggested that it be reported to allow for a comparison of competing models. The following exogenous–endogenous main effects were included in the respective models (standardized γ in parentheses): (a) Democrats: sex–television public affairs (TVPA) (–.12), age–TVPA (.45), education–spending (.14); (b) Republicans: age–TVPA (.20), education–spending (–.18), income–TVPA (.15); and (c) Independents: age–TVPA (.38), age–spending (–.17), education–TVPA (.16), income–spending (–.20). The variance accounted for (R^2) in postmaterialist spending in each model is as follows: Democrats, 4.3%; Republicans, 3.4%; and Independents, 7.1%.

⁷The following exogenous–endogenous main effects were included in the respective models (standardized γ in parentheses): (a) Democrats: age–TVPA (.45), sex–spending (–.16); (b) Republicans: sex–scope (.25), age–TVPA (.22), age–spending (.16), education–scope (–.31), income–TVPA (.17); and (c) Independents: sex–scope (.33), sex–spending (–.15), age–TVPA (.39), age–scope (–.13), education–TVPA (.18), income–spending (–.20). The variance accounted for (R^2) in postmaterialist spending in each model is as follows: Democrats, 15.5%; Republicans, 29.4%; and Independents, 31.6%.

⁸The MacKinnon et al. (1998) mediation test involves the conversion of each parameter estimate that makes up a potential mediating relationship into a z score by dividing each unstandardized parameter estimate by its respective standard error and then obtaining the product of the two z scores (z-score product [P]) that make up the specific indirect effect. Researchers can then reference a product of two random, normal variables table to establish statistical significance (e.g., Meeker, Cornwell, & Aroian, 1981).

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Effects of Affective Orientation and Video Game Play on Aggressive Thoughts and Behaviors

Vincent Cicchirillo and Rebecca M. Chory-Assad

This study examined the effects of playing a violent video game on aggressive thoughts and behaviors and the moderating role of affective orientation in the violent video game–aggression relationship. Approximately 2 weeks after having their affective orientation measured, 59 participants (plus 5 additional participants) played a violent or nonviolent video game for 10 minutes. Participants then performed a word completion task and judged the researcher’s competence, courtesy, and deservedness of financial support. Results show that participants who played the violent video game rated the researcher as less courteous and less deserving of financial support than did participants who played the nonviolent video game, and affective orientation and video game condition interacted to predict evaluations of courtesy and deservedness of financial support.

Although numerous studies have shown that playing violent video games can elicit aggressive behavior (C. A. Anderson, 2003a, 2004; C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2001; C. A. Anderson et al., 2004; C. A. Anderson & Dill, 2000; C. A. Anderson & Murphy, 2003; Ballard & Lineberger, 1999; Bartholow & Anderson, 2002; Bushman & Anderson, 2002; Sherry, 2001) and cognition (C. A. Anderson, 2003a; C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2001; C. A. Anderson et al., 2004; K. B. Anderson, Anderson, Dill, & Deuser, 1998; Bushman & Anderson, 2002), very few studies have taken into account the extent to which game players’ personality traits may moderate these effects. Media scholars, however, recommend examining the roles played by personality traits in the media effects process. For example, Oliver (2002) suggested that

individual differences can play an important role in moderating the direction and nature of media influence ... The existence of certain individual characteristics may

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heighten or intensify media influences or may even provide a necessary condition for media influences to occur. (p. 518)

Regarding media violence, Sparks and Sparks (2002) suggested that the role played by individual differences in the media violence–aggressive behavior link and effects of video games on aggressive behavior will be the foci of future research. With regard to effects of violent video games in particular, C. A. Anderson (2003a, 2003b) pointed out that although there are valid theoretical reasons to believe that different types of people may be more or less susceptible to video games' effects, researchers have not really addressed this issue. Given this paucity of research, C. A. Anderson (2003a) issued a call for research on this issue. The present study responds to this call by examining the extent to which individuals' affective orientation moderates the effects of video game play on aggressive thoughts and behaviors. The hypotheses for this study are based on a rationale formulated from the priming and cognitive neo-associationistic theoretical perspectives.

Media Priming

Priming refers to the process in which certain stimuli activate ideas related to the stimuli within persons' minds. "It maintains that the presentation of a certain stimulus having a particular meaning 'primes' other semantically related concepts, thus heightening the likelihood that thoughts with much the same meaning as the presentation stimulus will come to mind" (Jo & Berkowitz, 1994, p. 46). Priming is based on the cognitive neoassociationistic perspective (J. Anderson & Bower, 1973; Landman & Manis, 1983), which conceives of human memory as a network of nodes that correspond to an individual's emotions, behavioral tendencies, and thoughts, and that are connected through associative pathways. The strength of these pathways is affected by contiguity, similarity, and semantic relatedness. Spreading activation occurs when a node is activated, causing related nodes to be activated and to spread to other thoughts, feelings, and behavioral tendencies throughout the network (Jo & Berkowitz, 1994).

Exposure to media messages is one way these memory nodes can be activated. For instance, exposure to verbally aggressive television sitcoms might call to mind certain aggressive thoughts related to aggressive ideas within one's mind (Chory-Assad, 2004). Related specifically to video games, C. A. Anderson and Dill (2000) believed that "playing a violent video game also can increase the accessibility of aggressive cognitions by semantic priming processes" (p. 773). Likewise, in the present study, it is expected that playing a violent video game will prime aggressive thoughts, which will spread to behavior tendencies marked by aggression.

Violent Video Games and Aggression

Violent Video Game Content

According to Gentile and Anderson (2003), researchers define *violent* video games as those games in which the player can harm other characters in the game. They go on

to state that in many of today's most popular games, harming other characters is the main activity and that killing occurs at a high rate. Research by Children Now (2001) found that 89% of video games contain some violent content and that about half include violence toward other characters that would result in serious injuries or death.

Also consistent with Gentile and Anderson's (2003) observations and Children Now's (2001) results are additional content analyses that demonstrate video games' violent content. For example, Dietz (1998) found that nearly 80% of 1995's most popular Nintendo and Sega Genesis video games included some type of aggression, ranging from sports aggression (48% of violence) to criminal victimization (52% of violence). Dietz found that in most cases, the violence was directed at another human-like character and was often quite graphic. Dietz also noted that many of the games included violence as the key used to accomplish goals. Furthermore, socially acceptable aggression was shown in 27% of the video games.

A more recent content analysis conducted by Smith, Lachlan, and Tamborini (2003) examined 1999's 20 most popular Sony PlayStation, Nintendo (N64), and Sega DreamCast games for acts of violence. Smith et al. found that even games receiving an Entertainment Software Rating Board rating of E/K-A (for everyone 6 years and older) featured, on average, at least one violent interaction per minute. Games rated T (for teen audiences 13 years and older) and M (for mature or adult audiences 17 years and older) contained, on average, 4.59 violent interactions per minute. Furthermore, about half of the time the violence in E/K-A rated games was justified and rewarded, resulted in unrealistically low harm to targets, and appeared in a humorous context. Never was the violence punished. In comparison to the E/K-A rated games, the violence in games rated T and M was even more likely to be shown as justified and was more likely to be repeated. The T and M rated games also contained more depictions of blood and gore and included the use of guns and unconventional weapons, such as baseball bats and chairs, to execute the violence.

Violent Video Game Effects

Aggressive Cognition. Not only do video games contain violent material, but higher levels of aggressive thoughts and behaviors have been observed among individuals who play these types of games. Experimental research conducted by C. A. Anderson and colleagues has shown that participants who play violent versus nonviolent video games tend to experience more aggressive thoughts following play. For instance, Bushman and Anderson (2002) found that participants who played a violent video game tended to expect others to react to potential conflicts with aggression to a greater extent than did participants who played a nonviolent video game. Likewise, C. A. Anderson et al.'s (2004) results indicated that participants who played a violent video game produced a higher rate of aggressive word completions than did those who played a nonviolent game. Finally, meta-analyses have consistently shown violent video game play to be linked with higher levels of aggressive thoughts. C. A. Anderson and Bushman's (2001) meta-analysis indicated that playing violent video

games was associated with increased aggressive cognition ($r = .27$) and that player sex, player age, or study type (e.g., experiment vs. nonexperimental) did not impact this effect. More recent meta-analyses conducted by C. A. Anderson and colleagues yielded similar results. C. A. Anderson's (2003a, 2004) and C. A. Anderson et al.'s (2004) meta-analyses, which included studies with adults and children as participants, demonstrated that playing violent video games significantly increased aggressive cognition. C. A. Anderson (2003a) observed similar results when examining only studies that included children as participants.

Aggressive Behavior. In addition to increasing users' aggressive thoughts after play, violent video game play has also been associated with higher levels of aggressive behavior after play. Experimental studies conducted by C. A. Anderson and colleagues showed that participants who played a violent video game punished confederates with higher levels of white noise blasts than did participants who played a nonviolent video game (C. A. Anderson et al., 2004; C. A. Anderson & Murphy, 2003; Bartholow & Anderson, 2002). Similarly, participants who played a violent video game punished confederates more aggressively by holding their hands in ice water for longer periods of time than did participants who played a nonviolent video game (Ballard & Lineberger, 1999). Meta-analyses have also shown violent video game play to be associated with increased aggressive behavior. Sherry's (2001) meta-analysis indicated that video game use was associated with higher levels of aggressive behavior (e.g., aggression during free play, reward or punishment), with a mean effect size of $r = .09$. Compared to Sherry's results, C. A. Anderson and Bushman's (2001) meta-analysis indicated that playing violent video games was even more strongly associated with aggressive behavior ($r = .19$) and that player sex, player age, or study type did not moderate this effect. Likewise, C. A. Anderson's (2003a) and C. A. Anderson et al.'s (2004) meta-analyses demonstrated that playing violent video games significantly increased aggressive behavior in children and adults. Finally, C. A. Anderson's (2004) meta-analysis suggested that the best estimate of the effect size for violent video game play on aggressive behavior was approximately .26.

Given the research on the effects of playing violent video games on aggressive thoughts and behavior, and considering priming theory and research, the first hypothesis was proposed.

- H₁: Individuals who play the violent video game will report more aggressive thoughts and will engage in more aggressive behavior immediately after play than will individuals who play the nonviolent video game.

Affective Orientation

Affective orientation is conceptualized as "the degree to which individuals are aware of and use affect cues to guide communication" (Booth-Butterfield & Booth-Butterfield, 1990, p. 451). Not only are individuals with high affective orien-

tation (high AOs) highly sensitive to emotional cues but they also use their emotions to guide behavior and to aid in decision making. High AOs view their emotions as valuable information when interacting with others and making judgments (Booth-Butterfield & Booth-Butterfield, 1990). In contrast, individuals with low affective orientation (low AOs) view emotions as unimportant and rely more on factual and data-related information in interactions and decision making.

The research on affective orientation has focused primarily on topics related to interpersonal communication. One study pertinent to the present research is by Yelsma (1995), who examined levels of affective orientation, expression of negative emotion, and the levels of reported verbal abuse within relationships. Yelsma's results showed that affective orientation and expressions of negative emotions were positively correlated; however, expressions of negative emotions were negatively correlated with verbal abuse. Another pertinent study examined affective orientation and verbal aggression in order to determine each trait's relationship with open family communication (Booth-Butterfield & Sidelinger, 1997). Results showed that affective orientation was positively correlated with open family communication, and verbal aggression was negatively correlated with open family communication. The results of these two studies suggest that high AOs may express negative emotions but not necessarily express these emotions in a verbally abusive or aggressive manner.

Perhaps most applicable to the current study is research by Dillard, Plotnick, Godbold, Freimuth, and Edgar (1996). Dillard et al. examined affective responses to and acceptance of a public service announcement's (PSA) message and the role played by message recipients' affective orientation in this process. They found that high AOs responded with more affect to the PSA and accepted the message more often than did low AOs. These results suggest that high AOs may cognitively process information based on their emotions. In another study, Booth-Butterfield and Booth-Butterfield (1994) found affective orientation to be positively correlated with affect intensity, suggesting high AOs are likely to "feel their emotions more strongly and to be aware of even subtle changes in how they view themselves and the interactions around them" (Booth-Butterfield & Booth-Butterfield, 1998, p. 174).

Although a very emotional event or a nonemotional event will cause most high AOs and low AOs to respond in similar ways, a situation low in emotional intensity is expected to bring about reactions based on a person's affective orientation. Playing a video game is one such situation that is likely low in emotional intensity, thus setting the stage for differences in behavior caused by affective orientation to be observed. As previously cited, even minor emotional responses within a person are easily recognized by a high AO. In contrast, low AOs may not realize the emotional response until it is higher in intensity, or they may notice their emotions but not see them as valuable in decision making (Booth-Butterfield & Booth-Butterfield, 1998).

Because events must elicit some degree of emotion for affective orientation to be activated and for affective-orientation-based behavioral differences to be observed (Booth-Butterfield & Booth-Butterfield, 1998), research examining affective orientation must create a condition in which a low intensity emotional response is elic-

ited. Although playing a video game is not likely to produce emotions so intense that high AOs and low AOs will respond similarly, research has shown that playing video games primes emotional responses (e.g., C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2001; C. A. Anderson et al., 2004). Based on past research, it is expected that playing a violent video game will prime aggressive affect and playing a nonviolent video game will prime nonaggressive affect in game players. Because high AOs are sensitive to their emotional states and the "focus of their thinking and cognitive processing is emotion-based" (Booth-Butterfield & Booth-Butterfield, 1998, p. 173), high AOs are expected to report thoughts corresponding to the primed emotion (be it aggressive or nonaggressive) to a greater extent than are low AOs, who tend to be less aware of their emotions, and even when aware of them tend to disregard them. Likewise, because high AOs "weigh emotions positively when making behavioral decisions" (Booth-Butterfield & Booth-Butterfield, 1998, p. 172), they are expected to use their primed affective state, again, be it aggressive or nonaggressive, to guide their behaviors.

Of central concern in the present study is how video game players' affective orientation affects their aggressive cognitive and behavioral responses following violent video game play. Based on prior research demonstrating that playing a violent video game primes aggressive affect (e.g., C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2001; C. A. Anderson et al., 2004), both high and low AOs who play a violent video game are expected to experience aggressive emotions; however, high AOs are expected to focus their thinking on the aggressive emotion and to use that aggressive emotion in determining how they behave following play to a greater extent than are low AOs. This reasoning led to the second hypothesis.

- H₂: Affective orientation and the video game condition will interact to predict aggressive thoughts and behavior such that individuals who are higher in affective orientation and play the violent video game will report more aggressive thoughts and engage in more aggressive behavior immediately after play than will individuals who are lower in affective orientation and play the violent video game and individuals who play the nonviolent video game.

Method

Procedure

Eighty undergraduates in communication courses at a mid-Atlantic university during the spring 2004 semester completed a measure of affective orientation at the beginning of their regular class times. Also included with this measure were items concerning participants' age and sex. Approximately 2 weeks after this data collection, participants for the lab phase of the study were recruited from the same courses. Participants for this phase signed up for a 30-minute time slot that was convenient for them. Of the 80 individuals who participated in the initial data col-

lection, 59 participated in the lab phase of the study. In addition, 5 individuals who did not participate in the first data collection participated in the lab portion (thus, there were 64 participants in the lab phase of the study). Approximately 88.1% of the respondents reported their race as White, 10.2% were African American, and 2% were Latino/Hispanic. Approximately 19% of the respondents were 18 to 20 years old, 78% were 21 to 23 years old, and 3% were 24 and older. Students received minimal course credit for participation.

On arrival at the lab, participants read and signed a consent form and were randomly assigned to one of two conditions: the violent video game (17 men, 14 women, 1 no sex reported) or the nonviolent video game (19 men, 9 women, 4 no sex reported). Next, the researcher (a 24-year-old male graduate student) showed the participant how to play the given video game and gave him or her a chart describing the functions of each button on the video game controller. The researcher then started the game and left the participant alone in the lab to play the game for 10 minutes. Each game was played on a Sony PlayStation 2 gaming system and was viewed on a 32-inch flat-screen TV.

Violent Video Game. The violent video game, *Grand Theft Auto: Vice City*, is set in the late 1980s and is a crime drama. The premise of the game is that the player's character is a small-time crook fresh out of jail looking to make a name for himself in Vice City. The player's character's objective is to take over for the Mafia and run operations. The game requires the player's character to kill, steal, and beat individuals who stand in his way. The difficulty of the game increases as the player's character completes each mission. Therefore, the first-level mission was chosen so as to not make the game too difficult for participants. The game is rated M (for mature audiences) for explicit violence and language.

Nonviolent Video Game. The nonviolent video game, *Tetris Worlds*, is a puzzle game involving falling blocks of different shapes and sizes that must be put into a straight line as they descend toward the bottom of the screen. If the blocks are not put into a straight line with spaces showing, then the blocks will pile up until they reach the top of the screen and end the board. Any empty space between the blocks will result in more blocks piling up to the top of the screen. The objective of this game is to not let the blocks pile up and to score as many points as possible. The game's speed and difficulty increase as the levels advance. A medium-level board was chosen so as not to make it too difficult or too easy for the participants. The game is rated E (for everyone) and has been coded as nonaggressive (Dietz, 1998).

After the participants played the game for 10 minutes, the researcher and an assistant entered the room. The researcher told participants they would have 3 minutes to perform a word completion task and then exited the room. Participants then completed the word completion task while the assistant timed them. The assistant then gave the participants a researcher evaluation form and told them that it was a part of a work-study grant that the researcher was applying for and that their evaluations would

be taken into consideration when deciding whether to grant financial support to the researcher. The participants were also given an envelope addressed to the work-study contact person at the university and were told to insert the completed evaluation into the envelope and to seal it. Participants were instructed to drop the sealed envelope into a box located near the door as they left the lab. After participants dropped their envelopes into the box, the researcher debriefed them, answered their questions, asked them not to talk with other participants about the study, and asked them whether they knew the study's purpose (none did). The researcher then thanked participants and dismissed them.

Measures

Affective orientation was measured using Booth-Butterfield and Booth-Butterfield's (1998) Affective Orientation 15 scale. This 15-item scale assesses the degree to which one uses his or her emotions to guide communication and behavior. Participants responded to items using a 5-point Likert scale with responses ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*). The alpha reliability of the scale was .87. Scores ranged from 2.07 to 4.67 ($M = 3.52$, $SD = 0.47$).

The word completion task (C. A. Anderson, Carnagey, & Eubanks, 2003; C. A. Anderson et al., 2004) assessed aggressive thoughts. The task contains a list of 98 words missing some of the letters, although only 50 words were used in the present study to decrease potential frustration effects. Of the 50 words, 23 could be completed to form aggressive words. Participants were asked to fill in the blanks to form a word. The words were then coded as aggressive or not using a scheme developed by C. A. Anderson (1999). The number of aggressive words formed by participants ranged from 1 to 13 ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 2.43$).

The evaluation form was adapted from previous research (Skalski, Tamborini, Westerman, & Smith, 2003; Tamborini et al., 2004; Zillmann & Weaver, 1997, 1999). Consistent with its use in previous research (e.g., Skalski et al., 2003; Tamborini et al., 2004) and with most modern definitions of aggression that consider aggression as behavior intended to harm another person (e.g., C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2002), this measure was used to assess aggressive behavior. It is framed as a work-study employment recommendation form for the researcher. Participants' responses to the items on the form are said to be used in deciding whether the researcher should be granted a work-study position and its accompanying financial support. The evaluation form asks participants to rate the researcher's courtesy, competence, and deservedness of financial support on 11-point semantic differential scales, with anchors ranging from 1 (*not at all [courteous, etc.]*) to 11 (*extremely [courteous, etc.]*).

Because the correlations among these three items were rather low ($r_s = .34-.54$) and the alpha reliability of the three items when considered as one scale was unacceptable ($\alpha = .66$), each item served as a separate indicator of the researcher's performance. Par-

participants' ratings of the researcher's courtesy ranged from 6 to 11 ($M = 10.06$, $SD = 1.17$), ratings of competence ranged from 1 to 11 ($M = 9.75$, $SD = 1.81$), and ratings of deservedness of financial support ranged from 5 to 11 ($M = 10.19$, $SD = 1.23$).

The number of aggressive thoughts reported by the participants after playing the video game was not related to their ratings of the researcher's courtesy ($r = .01$, $p = .93$), competence ($r = .01$, $p = .93$), or deservedness of financial support ($r = .04$, $p = .78$).

Results

Hypotheses

The first hypothesis predicted that participants who played the violent video game would report more aggressive thoughts and would engage in more aggressive behavior than would participants who played the nonviolent video game. One-tailed independent sample t tests comparing the two groups were conducted. Results indicate that the groups differed in their evaluations of the researcher's courtesy, $t(62) = -1.74$, $p = .09$, Cohen's $d = .44$, and how deserving the researcher was of financial support, $t(62) = -2.08$, $p = .04$, Cohen's $d = .53$. Consistent with the hypothesis, participants in the violent video game condition rated the researcher as less courteous ($M = 9.81$, $SD = 1.30$) and less deserving of financial support ($M = 9.88$, $SD = 1.43$) than did participants in the nonviolent video game condition ($M = 10.31$, $SD = 0.97$; $M = 10.50$, $SD = 0.92$, respectively). The violent video game and nonviolent video game groups did not differ in aggressive thoughts, $t(62) = 0.15$, $p = .88$ (violent: $M = 5.31$, $SD = 2.60$; nonviolent: $M = 5.22$, $SD = 2.30$) or evaluations of the researcher's competence, $t(62) = -0.69$, $p = .49$ (violent: $M = 9.59$, $SD = 1.50$; nonviolent: $M = 9.91$, $SD = 2.10$). Hypothesis 1 was partially supported.

The second hypothesis predicted that affective orientation and the video game condition would interact to predict aggressive thoughts and aggressive behavior such that individuals who are higher in affective orientation and play the violent video game will report more aggressive thoughts and engage in more aggressive behavior than will individuals who are lower in affective orientation and play the violent video game and individuals who play the nonviolent video game. The results of the regression analyses showed that affective orientation and the video game condition interacted to predict evaluations of the researcher's courtesy, $F(1, 53) = 2.96$, $p = .09$, $R^2 = .05$, and deservedness of financial support, $F(1, 53) = 4.41$, $p = .04$, $R^2 = .08$. Examination of the patterns of means suggests that consistent with the hypothesis, individuals who scored high in affective orientation and played the violent video game rated the researcher as less courteous and less deserving of financial support than did other players. Affective orientation and the video game condition did not interact to predict aggressive thoughts, $F(1, 53) = 0.21$, $p = .65$, or evaluations of the researcher's competence, $F(54) = 1.78$, $p = .19$. The second hypothesis was partially supported.

Post Hoc Analyses

Although no hypotheses were posited concerning the relationships between affective orientation and aggression, the correlations between these constructs were examined. Participants' affective orientation was negatively correlated with the number of aggressive thoughts they reported ($r = -.29, p = .03$), but was not related to ratings of the researcher's courtesy ($r = .18, p = .19$), competence ($r = .08, p = .57$), or deservedness ($r = -.06, p = .67$).

Discussion

It was hypothesized that individuals who played a violent versus a nonviolent video game would produce more aggressive thoughts and behaviors and that video game play and player affective orientation level would interact to predict aggressive thoughts and behaviors. The results partially supported the study's predictions. Participants who played the violent video game rated the researcher as less courteous and less deserving of financial support than did participants who played the nonviolent video game, and affective orientation and the video game condition interacted to predict evaluations of the researcher's courtesy and deservedness of financial support. As hypothesized, individuals who were higher in affective orientation and played the violent video game rated the researcher as less courteous and less deserving than did other players. Contrary to hypotheses, no effect of violent video game play on aggressive thoughts or evaluations of the researcher's competence was observed. These results are discussed in terms of media priming.

Consistent with priming and spreading activation (Jo & Berkowitz, 1994), playing the violent video game was expected to prime mental nodes associated with aggressive cognition, which would then spread to activate mental nodes related to aggressive behavioral tendencies. Although not directly tested here, the theoretical process underlying the hypotheses was that violent video game play would first and foremost prime aggressive thoughts and that the primed aggressive thoughts would lead to aggressive behavior (i.e., aggressive thoughts would mediate the relationship between video game play and aggressive behavior). C. A. Anderson and Dill's (2000) findings that violent video game play increased aggressive thoughts and behavior, but not aggressive affect, led them to propose that violent video game play's effect on aggressive behavior is mediated by aggressive thoughts. The analysis of their data supported this contention. Results of the present study, however, did not support this reasoning; results suggest that violent video game play did not prime aggressive thoughts but did prime aggressive behaviors. Furthermore, participants' aggressive thoughts were not related to the aggressive behaviors they engaged in after play. These findings suggest that playing violent video games may directly prime behavioral tendencies or that some construct or process other than aggressive thoughts mediates the relationship between violent game play and aggressive behavior.

Although the present study did not assess the affect produced by video game play, the results observed for affective orientation are in line with the position that aggressive affect may mediate the relationship between video game play and subsequent behaviors. Recall that individuals higher in affective orientation who played the violent video game tended to exhibit more aggressive behavior than did other players. Affective orientation involves using one's emotions to guide communicating and decision making. Those players who tend to use their affect, which in this case was likely to be aggressive in nature (C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2001; C. A. Anderson et al., 2004), were most likely to have their behavior impacted by violent video games. Rather than moderating the relationship between video game play and aggressive behavior, affective orientation may moderate the relationship between aggressive affect and aggressive behavior. In short, violent video game play may increase players' aggressive affect, which may increase players' aggressive behavior, the extent of which depends on players' affective orientation. Although C. A. Anderson and Dill (2000) did not find an effect for video game play on aggressive affect, they do not rule out the possibility that violent video game effects on aggressive behavior may, under certain conditions, be mediated by aggressive affect. They cite their general affective aggression model (see C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2002, for a more recent conceptualization of the model), which describes a multistage process by which personological and situational variables lead to aggressive behavior via the three internal states of cognition, affect, and arousal, and the outcomes of automatic and controlled appraisal and decision processes. They note that the three internal states are interconnected and that their individual functions cannot always be separated. To better clarify the processes at work in violent video games' effects, future research should measure game players' cognitions, arousal, affect/mood, and behavior, as described in the general affective aggression model (C. A. Anderson & Bushman, 2002), and assess the relationships among them. Furthermore, the inclusion of a pure control group in this research may allow even more meaningful comparisons and conclusions about the absolute effects of video game play on participants to be made.

Along with the possible theoretical explanations and implications, methodological explanations for the present study's results should also be considered. Aspects of the word completion task used to assess aggressive thoughts or the study's procedures may be to blame for the failure to observe differences in aggressive thoughts between the violent and nonviolent video game conditions. The word completion task is a relatively new measure, having been used in only one other published study involving violent video games (C. A. Anderson et al., 2004) and two studies involving violent song lyrics (C. A. Anderson et al., 2003). Perhaps this measure is not a particularly valid measure of aggressive cognitions.

Differences in the number of participants who played the video games may also explain the observed findings. C. A. Anderson et al. (2004) had approximately 65 participants play one of five violent video games for 20 minutes. The present study had 32 participants play only one violent video game for 10 minutes. Perhaps the present study's sample was too small to detect a difference in aggressive thoughts between the

groups. As Gentile and Anderson (2003) emphasized, sample sizes tend to be too small in many video game studies, and although C. A. Anderson (2003b) recently revealed that methodologically stronger studies have yielded effect sizes larger than prior estimates (which tended to be about .20), the number of participants needed to achieve .80 power is likely to be less than 200, but granted, more than 64.

Another possible explanation as to why differences in aggressive thoughts were not observed may lie in the length of time participants played the game. In addition to the C. A. Anderson et al. (2004) study that employed the word completion task, previous studies (e.g., C. A. Anderson & Murphy, 2003; Bushman & Anderson, 2002) that have observed effects of violent video games on aggressive thoughts have had participants play the games for 20 minutes. Perhaps aggressive thoughts are not primed until violent video games are played for longer periods of time, maybe long enough for players to learn the game and to get comfortable playing it. Finally, given that the present study involved participants playing only one violent video game, it is possible that this particular game, or some characteristic of the game (e.g., third-person vs. first-person), does not prime aggressive thoughts.

Although the results for aggressive behavior are consistent with logic based on priming and the cognitive neoassociationistic perspective, they may also be explained by participants' opinions regarding the appropriateness of the violent content of the video game. Participants in the violent video game condition may have rated the researcher as less courteous and less deserving of financial support not because of the effects of the violent video game, but because they may have felt that instructing people to play a *violent* game was not an appropriate activity for someone who was applying for work-study support. It is also possible that the behavioral effects were due to the violent video game perhaps taking longer to explain to participants than the nonviolent video game, which may have given participants who played the violent game more information on which to evaluate the researcher.

Finally, results of the post hoc analyses revealed that higher levels of affective orientation were associated with fewer aggressive thoughts. Past research on the relationships between affective orientation and aggression-related outcomes indicate that affective orientation was not related to assertiveness (Booth-Butterfield & Andrighetti, 1993) but was positively correlated with neuroticism (Booth-Butterfield & Booth-Butterfield, 2002), which is composed of anxiety, angry hostility, depression, self-consciousness, impulsiveness, and vulnerability (Costa & McCrae, 1998). The relationship between affective orientation and aggression is unclear at this time. The extent to which individuals experience and use aggressive cognition and emotions to guide their communication and how the use of emotion impacts the media effects process is an area ripe for future research.

In addition to research examining affective orientation's role in the media effects process, the present study provides many other avenues for future research. First, future research should incorporate larger sample sizes to allow small effects of violent video games to be observed. Second, as C. A. Anderson (2003a) noted, additional high-quality research is needed to determine the types of people who are more or less

susceptible to the effects of violent video games. As such, future research may wish to examine the interaction between video game play and other personality traits, such as sensation seeking and need for cognition, and the potential effects of these interactions on aggressive thoughts and behaviors. Third, an alternative measure of aggressive cognition, such as a thought listing measure (Cacioppo & Petty, 1981), which has been used by other media effects researchers to assess aggressive thoughts (e.g., Bushman & Geen, 1990; Calvert & Tan, 1994; Chory-Assad, 2004), should be used in future research to measure the nature of participants' thoughts during play. This method may better measure aggressive thoughts and may give respondents more freedom in their responses that would provide more insight into the cognitive effects of violent video game play. Fourth, continued study into the individual and joint roles played by cognition, affect, and arousal in the video game play and aggressive behavior causal process is needed. Finally, researchers should consider capturing the game play of their participants (e.g., recording it to DVD or videotape) and comparing the actual content played or produced by game players to their aggressive responses. These suggestions should help scholars and practitioners to better understand, predict, and prevent or manage the potentially harmful effects of playing violent video games.

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Black Media Images as a Perceived Threat to African American Ethnic Identity: Coping Responses, Perceived Public Perception, and Attitudes Towards Affirmative Action

Yuki Fujioka

A self-administered survey of 202 African American respondents examined the relationship among Black images in the media, perceived public perception of the in-group, and endorsement of affirmative action. Based on the literature on coping and group threats stemming from social identity, the study hypothesized that perceived negative Black images predicted coping responses among Black respondents. Negative evaluation of Black media images predicted perceived lower level of public perceptions of Blacks, which was in turn related to greater endorsement of affirmative action. The possible role of minority media portrayals in our racial environment was also discussed.

Recent research has suggested that minority audiences in the United States may exhibit a pattern of media literacy, including media use and responses to media messages, that is distinct from their White counterparts. In general, minority members are more frequent media users than Whites (e.g., Albarran & Umphrey, 1993; Roberts, Foehr, Rideout, & Brodie, 1999), they are more likely to consider the content of the media as real (Greenberg & Brand, 1994), and they are more critical audiences when evaluating how the media present in-group members (Davis & Gandy, 1999; McAneny, 1994). In comparison to the White majority, these differences may relate to minority audiences' ethnic identity (Allen, 2001; Davis & Gandy, 1999). Davis and Gandy, for example, suggested that African Americans have developed and use strategies in dealing with biased media images of Blacks so that they can protect themselves from possible negative influence.

This poses an interesting question about media effects and public opinion research on racial policies. Recent research has revealed that minority images conveyed via the media contribute to public opinions on racial policies (e.g., Pan & Kosicki, 1996;

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Sniderman, Brody, & Tetlock, 1991; Tan, Fujioka, & Tan, 2000). Tan et al., for example, suggested that negative media portrayals of African Americans (perceived by White viewers) were related to White viewers' negative perceptions of Blacks in general, which in turn led to their opposition to affirmative action. Negative minority images have been prevalent in the mainstream media (e.g., Entman & Rojecki, 2000), yet neither minority responses to these images nor the influence of these images on minority decisions for affirmative action has yet been systematically addressed.

Bobo (1998) stated that public opinion research on affirmative action has heavily focused on Whites' views, yet beliefs of racial minority members should be addressed because both perspectives must play a role in developing racial policies. Similarly, although media effects research on racial policies has largely relied on Caucasian data, responses of ethnic minorities must be examined because both Whites' and minority members' racial opinions are formed in a mediated racial environment. The purpose of this study is to examine the relationship between minority media portrayals and minority respondents' decision making for affirmative action. The study specifically asks (a) how Black respondents perceive media presentation of in-group members, and (b) how these perceived images are related to Blacks' opinions on affirmative action. It gives special attention to Black respondents' ethnic identity and proposes that media presentation of Blacks may trigger African American respondents' ethnic identity, which is related to their perceptions of public attitudes towards Blacks and endorsement of affirmative action. The study utilizes survey data to examine the proposed association among key variables that will be discussed later.

Literature Review

Ethnic Identity and Mediated Information

Ethnic identity is a group-based identity formed and developed through a variety of socialization processes, including both personal experiences (e.g., interaction with family and community) and mediated experiences (Allen, 1993, 2001; Berry & Mitchell-Kernan, 1982; Gecas, 1992). People learn the meanings of the self and salient identities via reflected appraisals—the appraisals and responses of others about the self. In comparison to family and friends who are identified as “significant” others, the media have been referred to as “generalized” others that present societal expectations and views about the members of the society (Gecas, 1992). Similarly, Berry and Mitchell-Kernan pointed out that mainstream television informs us of where each ethnic group stands in the social structure and presents “societal attitudes” toward minority members.

Allen (2001) suggested that, for African Americans, mainstream media as well as the Black-oriented (ethnic) media serve as one of the influential sources of information about in-group through which African American concepts and identity are developed and negotiated. In general, the ethnic, not the mainstream, media foster and em-

brace Black ethnic socialization. Although many have criticized distasteful treatment of Blacks presented in the mainstream media and warned of their possible aversive influence on Black self-concepts and identity formation, recent empirical research has indicated mixed support for this claim (e.g., Allen, 2001; Stroman, 1986; Tan & Tan, 1979). Scholars point out that Blacks' ethnic identity is indeed a product of Black socialization processes, yet it is also a way to cope with aversive racial experiences (Davis & Gandy, 1999). Davis and Gandy, for example, asserted that Black identity becomes salient when Black audience members confront distasteful media presentations of Blacks, which in turn heightens their criticism of Black media images. The importance of Black identity in relation to media presentations of Black images can be understood in a framework of social identity and self-categorization.

Social Identity and Self-Categorization Theories

According to Tajfel and Turner (1986), social identity refers to a group-based identity motivating people to perceive their own group favorably and distinctively from other out-groups. Social identity theory claims that (a) the group memberships people hold contribute to their group-based (collective) esteem, and (b) positive social identity is derived from a favorable view of the in-group (the group to which people belong) relative to other out-groups. Thus, social group members are motivated to obtain and maintain positive social identity by engaging in intergroup comparisons that help create favorable attitudes and evaluation of their in-group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). According to the theory, the mechanism of social identity involves the processes of self-categorization and depersonalization. Social identity will be activated as soon as people categorize self and others into a certain social group (self-categorization) and establish a sense of "us" versus "them." Upon self-categorization, people perceive themselves as members of the in-group rather than as unique individuals (depersonalization), which leads people to perceive in-group similarity (similarity between the self and in-group members), yet feel more distance from out-group members (out-group difference). Self-categorization depends on a given social context, yet some social categories such as race and gender are highly salient and can be activated automatically with a subtle cue because of their pervasiveness and frequency of activation (Banaji & Hardin, 1996; Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Devine, 1989). Moreover, race is one of the most salient social categories for most members of minority groups (e.g., Branscombe & Ellemers, 1998; Phinney & Alipuria, 1990). For example, Phinney and Alipuria examined the ethnic identity held by college students from four different ethnic backgrounds and found that ethnic minority students considered ethnic identity substantially more important than did White students. Recent research also demonstrated that racial cues presented in the media had little influence on Whites' responses due to the lack of significance Whites put on their ethnicity (Coover, 2001; Mastro, 2003).¹

It is then highly likely that media presentations of Black images may activate a Black audience's ethnic identity. Once ethnic identity is activated, Black images in

the media become "self- (in-group) referencing," and a crucial piece of information for a Black respondent's self. People are sensitive and receptive to self-referencing information given by others because it serves as a basis of self-evaluation and self-regard (Gecas, 1992; Rosenberg, 1976; Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As such, Black media images may draw great attention from Black respondents. As suggested by social identity theory, Black respondents' desires to hold positive views of their in-group may lead them to exhibit several forms of coping responses to Black media images, particularly when they are perceived as "aversive" or "threatening" to Black identity.

Coping Responses to Perceived Threats

Motivational implications of ethnic identity may be contextually determined by the existence of perceived threats (Ellemers, Spears, & Doosje, 2002). The threats in an intergroup context can be either realistic (e.g., threats to the physical existence or the economic power of the in-group) or symbolic (e.g., threats to perceived group differences in values and the worldview; Ellemers et al., 2002; Stephan & Stephan, 2000). According to Stephan and Stephan, in-group members feel threatened when (a) perceiving the out-group (Whites) as threatening the *distinct way of life* and *well-being* of the in-group (Blacks), (b) seeing *negative views* and *expectations* posed by out-groups to in-group members, and (c) anticipating unpleasant outcomes (*being prejudiced*) during intergroup interaction. When people face these group threats, they may show coping responses to protect in-group identity from possible aversive influence (see Ellemers et al., 2002, for a complete review).

Some of the coping strategies pertaining to this study include (a) asserting stronger group identity (Doosje, Spears, & Ellemers, 2002), (b) engaging in competitive behavior that contributes to the improvement of the in-group's status (e.g., support for affirmative action), and (c) exhibiting defensive reactions (e.g., degrading the credibility of the unfavorable group information; e.g., Branscombe & Wann, 1994). Those who are highly committed to the group exhibit these coping responses more than do the less committed individuals whose responses to the threats are more passive, including decreasing group identification and distancing self from the group (Ellemers et al., 2002).

In the literature reviewed thus far, it is clear that coping responses are bound to a specific context (e.g., Black media imagery) and a specific audience who perceives the context (e.g., Black audience). It is also important to consider these contextual variables in order to make a case in which media presentation of Blacks could be seen as a source of threats to Black identity.

Black Media Images and Black Audiences

Although Black news anchors and leading characters have been gradually increasing in number, the vast majority of media decision makers are still White (Heider, 2000). That voices of color are not being heard has been a serious concern in the

Black community (Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Heider, 2000) because it affects the nature of media content that penetrates a society and its people. For example, the pervasiveness of negative images of Blacks as criminals in the news media has been controversial (e.g., Dixon & Linz, 2000; Entman, 1992; Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Gilliam & Iyengar, 2000).

Black responses to the news coverage about in-group members are typically very critical—in fact, the most critical compared to other minority groups (Hispanics and Asian Americans; McAneny, 1994). A national survey based on representative samples of ethnic groups revealed that about half of the Black respondents felt they were unfairly treated in televised crime news, and 62% of them felt upset at least once a week with news coverage about Blacks. Black respondents also pointed out that the news media presented Blacks in only two extreme ways, either good, the rare token, or bad, the more common, reflecting the same dichotomy of the house Negro or the field Negro in slavery (Wood, 2003).

African Americans have played different roles and characters, including professional roles in the entertainment media (e.g., Armstrong, Neuendorf, & Brentar, 1992; Mastro & Greenberg, 2000). Scholars and the Black community, however, have expressed ambivalent feelings (e.g., Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Inniss & Feagin, 1995). *The Cosby Show*, for instance, gained a positive evaluation and high popularity among White viewers, yet many Blacks felt dissatisfied and uneasy with the assimilated Black family because it did not reflect perspectives and realities most Black individuals experience in their lives (Gates, 1992; Inniss & Feagin, 1995; Jhally & Lewis, 1992; Lewis, 1991).

Some African American viewers were simply happy to see Black diversity and Black possibility in the media that had been largely neglected in the past (Inniss & Feagin, 1995), hoping that these positive images might neutralize the many negative Black images. Some Black viewers, however, expressed their uneasiness when encountering highly assimilated Blacks by describing the family, the Huxtables, as “being white people in blackface,” which is a “false” image (Inniss & Feagin, 1995, p. 700). Similarly, Oprah Winfrey projects the image of a highly successful African American, yet this image has been described as a “decoy” for African Americans (Wood, 2003). That is, for many Black viewers, media depictions of African Americans bear little resemblance to reality (Jhally & Lewis, 1992).

Some Black viewers have indicated that the consequences of the unrealistic Black images presented in the media goes beyond how Blacks feel about themselves. They have made a clear connection between Black media images and how Whites view and understand Blacks in real life and, thus, have anticipated negative consequences (such as being stereotyped) as a result of their interaction with other people (Jhally & Lewis, 1992).

These audience responses clearly indicate that African American audiences are very aware of the media presentation of in-group members and very critical when evaluating those images. The qualitative data also suggest the following patterns: (a) Black audiences often believe Black media images are “unrealistic” and “false” and

feel uneasy with assimilated Black portrayals, (b) they tend to see Black media images as public expectations about them (assimilation to White culture), and (c) they tend to associate Black media images with public understanding of Blacks. These patterns seem comparable to at least some of the threatening conditions specified by Stephan and Stephan (2000), which suggest the idea of Black media images as a source of threats.

As Black media images may speak to Black audience members' identity, and relate to their perceived public views of Blacks, the Black media imagery may also relate to Black respondents' endorsement of affirmative action. Recent research findings suggest a key role of Black identity in Black decision making for affirmative action (Schmermund, Sellers, Mueller, & Crosby, 2001), which will be discussed below.

Black Identity and Endorsement of Affirmative Action

Although ethnic minorities find affirmative action more beneficial (e.g., providing more opportunities) and support affirmative action more strongly than do Whites (Bobo, 1998; Kinder & Sanders, 1990), Blacks held the most favorable views of affirmative action, followed by Latinos, Asians, and Whites (Bobo, 1998). Moreover, those Blacks who felt Black identity more salient supported the policy more strongly than those who felt it less salient (Schmermund et al., 2001). Scholars attribute Black endorsement of affirmative action to Black ethnic identity (Bobo, 1983, 1998; Schmermund et al., 2001) because it should promote long-term "group" interest. Thus, Black media images could be related to Black endorsement of affirmative action particularly when Black audience members see the Black imagery as a threat to Black identity.

An Integration of Key Variables: Black Responses to Media Images, Perceived Public Perceptions, and Endorsement of Affirmative Action

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between Black media images (perceived by African American audiences) and Black endorsement of affirmative action, with a special attention to African American respondents' coping responses to the media imagery of in-group members. Prior research suggests that Black media images may serve as a source of threats to Black identity. When the negative media portrayals threaten a Black respondent's identity, one of the major coping strategies is to express group loyalty in stronger terms (Ellemers et al., 2002), such as asserting a stronger group membership, discounting the credibility of the negative media images, and supporting affirmative action. In addition, as suggested by the audience research findings, Black media portrayals (as evaluated by Black participants) may be linked to Black respondents' perceptions of how out-group (majority) members view Blacks and expect Blacks to be. That is, negative Black images are

related to perceived negative public perception of Blacks, which may make Black participants think it important to have an affirmative-action policy. Therefore, the study formulates the following hypotheses:

H₁: African American respondents' negative evaluation of Black images in the media will be associated with coping responses.

More specifically:

H_{1a}: The more negative the respondents' affective evaluation of Black images in the news and the entertainment media, the higher the level of respondents' group identity.

H_{1b}: The more negative the respondents' affective evaluation of Black images in the news and the entertainment media, the lower the perceived accuracy of Black images in the news and the entertainment media.

H_{1c}: The more negative the respondents' affective evaluation of Black images in the news and the entertainment media, the stronger the respondents' endorsement of affirmative action.

H₂: The more negative the respondents' affective evaluation of Black images in the news and entertainment media, the lower the perceived public perceptions of Blacks (Blacks were perceived as having lower status by other group members).

H₃: The lower the perceived public perceptions of Blacks, the stronger the respondents' endorsement of affirmative action.

And finally, the study predicts:

H₄: Black respondents who are highly committed to the group exhibit coping responses more strongly than those who are less committed.

Method

Sample

The convenience sample consisted of 202 African American college students (23% men, 77% women) recruited from a large southeastern state university.² The study used a college sample because of (a) the strong relevance of the affirmative-action issue in an academic setting, and (b) the high level of ethnic identity among college students suggested by the literature (Schmermund et al., 2001). In addition, this university is one of the most racially diverse universities in the United States, with a 30% African American undergraduate student population, where the racial policy should be highly relevant. These conditions meet the criteria for the appropriate use of a college sample suggested by Pingree et al. (2001). The mean age was 22.58 years ($SD = 5.8$, $Mdn = 20.12$). The relatively high mean age was due to the nature of the urban-city university, including some nontraditional students (25% freshmen, 38%

sophomore, 26% junior, 11% senior). The respondents participated in this study on a voluntary basis.

Procedure

The participants were recruited from various undergraduate courses and majors, including communication, business, education, and other social science areas. The self-administered survey questionnaires were distributed to students who read an informed consent form and voluntarily agreed to participate in this study for extra credit. An extra credit option was given to those students who did not wish to participate in the study.

Measures

Dependent Variable. Respondents' level of endorsement of affirmative action was measured by the extent to which they agreed with the following statement on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 5 (*strongly agree*): "The United States still needs affirmative action to make sure that racial minorities are not discriminated against."

Independent Variables. Affective evaluation of the media portrayal of African Americans was measured by asking respondents to evaluate how African Americans were depicted in the following five content categories on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*very negatively*) to 5 (*very positively*): (a) TV news, (b) TV drama, (c) TV sitcoms, (d) TV movies, and (e) newspapers. The study used mean scores of each category and created the two separate indexes—*news media evaluation* (a combined variable of TV news and newspaper; $\alpha = .75$) and *entertainment TV evaluation* (a combined variable of TV drama, TV sitcoms, and TV movies; $\alpha = .75$)—for the final analyses. The study analyzed news and entertainment content separately because recent studies suggest possible differences in Black images between the two types of content in that TV news frequently presents poor and criminal images of African Americans, whereas entertainment TV programs typically portray socioeconomically successful Blacks (e.g., Busselle & Crandall, 2002).

Accuracy of the media portrayals of African Americans was measured by asking respondents how accurately African Americans were depicted in the following content categories on a 5-point scale ranging from 1 (*not accurately at all*) to 5 (*very accurately*): (a) TV news, (b) TV drama, (c) TV sitcoms, (d) TV movies, and (e) newspapers. The study took mean scores of each category and created the two separate indexes—*news media accuracy* ($\alpha = .80$) and *TV entertainment accuracy* ($\alpha = .81$)—for the final analyses.

Level of group identity, group salience, and perceived public perception was measured by the subscale of Collective Self-Esteem Scale developed by Crocker and

Luhtanen (1990). The Collective Self-Esteem Scale measures the four dimensions of group-based esteem, including (a) group identity/membership, (b) group influence on self-images (group salience), and (c) public perceptions of in-group (perceived public perception). On a 7-point scale, respondents were asked to indicate to what extent they agree with the statements as to the ethnic group they identified themselves. Some of the statements include the following: "In general, I am a worthy member of the ethnic group I belong to" (an item for group membership); "In general, belonging to an ethnic group is an important part of my self-image" (an item for group salience); and "In general, others respect the ethnic group that I am a member of" (an item for perceived public perception). The responses were coded in a way that higher scores indicated higher group identity or more positive public perception.

The following variables were also included as control factors. Respondents' racial attitudes were measured by the Quick Discrimination Index (QDI) developed by Ponterotto and Burkard (1995). The QDI was designed to tap two dimensions of racial equality and diversity, including general racial attitudes and personal racial attitudes. This variable was included because recent study suggested that besides ethnic identity variables, a Black individual's attitudes toward other racial minorities affect his or her endorsement of affirmative action (Schmermund et al., 2001). The responses were coded in a way that higher scores indicated more positive racial attitudes (Cronbach's $\alpha = .80$).

Evaluation of personal contact with Whites in general was measured by asking respondents to evaluate, on a scale from 1 (*negative*) to 5 (*positive*), how their personal interaction with Whites was in general. This variable was included because the previous research emphasized the quality of interaction, not the frequency of contact that affected interracial attitudes (e.g., Stephan & Stephan, 2000; Tan, Fujioka, & Lucht, 1997).

Two background variables of gender (1 = *male*, 2 = *female*) and political ideology (1 = *liberal*, 5 = *conservative*) were also used as control variables. The gender variable was controlled because more women participated in this study.

Analyses

All the hypotheses were tested via path analyses and hierarchical regression analysis. The study used hierarchical regression analysis to examine the incremental contribution of each predictor to the explained variance in the outcome variable and utilized path analyses to observe the indirect influence of independent variables. For each analysis, respondents' racial attitudes (QDI), level of group salience, evaluation of personal contact, gender, and political ideology were accounted for first as a block, followed by the two evaluation variables (news/entertainment content), followed by the two accuracy judgment variables (accuracy of Black images in the news/entertainment), and followed by the perceived public perception and level of group membership. There was no indication of the existence of a multicollinearity problem based on the two tests, variance of inflation factors and zero-order correlation (Stevens, 1996).³

Results

Results of descriptive analyses are shown in Table 1. Black respondents indicated a relatively strong level of group membership ($M = 6.20$, $SD = 0.86$, 7 = *strongest*) and endorsement of affirmative action ($M = 4.20$, $SD = 0.90$, 5 = *strongest*), as suggested by the existing literature (e.g., Bobo, 1998; Phinny & Alipuria, 1990).

Testing Hypotheses

Results of regression analysis and path analyses are displayed in Figure 1. Hypothesis 1a stated negative evaluation of Black images is associated with a higher level of group identity. The study did not find any influence of affective evaluation on a Black respondent's level of group identity. Hypothesis 1a was not supported.

Hypothesis 1b predicted negative evaluation of Black images results in a lower level of perceived accuracy of Black images in both news and entertainment media. The study supported this hypothesis. The more negative the Black viewers' evaluation of Black images in the media was, the lower their judgment of accuracy of the Black images.

Hypothesis 1c stated that negative evaluation of the Black images is related to greater endorsement of affirmative action. The results did not support this hypothesis.

Hypothesis 2 stated that negative evaluation of Black images would predict a lower public perception of Blacks. This hypothesis was supported in both news and entertainment media content. More negative evaluation of Black images in the media resulted in more negative perceived public perception of Blacks in general (Black respondents think that the Black group is considered to be lower than other groups).

Hypothesis 3 stated that lower level of perceived public perception would predict greater endorsement of affirmative action. The negative sign of coefficient produced by the perceived public perception indicated ($B = -.16$) a negative relationship between endorsement of affirmative action and public perception (higher = *more positive*), which supported the prediction. Hypothesis 3 was supported.

Hypothesis 4 tested interaction between group salience and coping responses in that the highly committed respondents display stronger coping responses than the less committed. The study did not find any interaction effects. Hypothesis 4 was rejected.

Discussion

This study examined the influence of Black images in the news and entertainment media on Black respondents' endorsement of affirmative action. Based on theoretical work on group threats and coping that stem from social identity, the study hypothesized that perceived negative media images of Blacks were associated with coping responses among Black respondents. As Black respondents found Black media images more negative, they judged the images as less accurate. The perceived negative Black images also contributed to African American respondents' assessments of how their

Table 1
Means, Standard Deviations, and Reliabilities of Variables

Variables	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	α
Index: Group salience	202	4.9	1.3	1-7	.65
My ethnic group membership ...					
Important reflection of who I am	202	5.1	1.8		
Unimportant to me ^a	202	4.7	1.9		
Important to my self-image	202	4.9	1.8		
Index: Public perception	202	3.3	1.1	1-7	.68
Others consider my ethnic group ...					
Generally good	202	3.1	1.5		
More ineffective than other group ^a	202	3.2	1.6		
Generally respectful	202	3.3	1.6		
Generally unworthy ^a	202	3.6	1.6		
Index: Membership assertion	202	6.2	0.9	1-7	.62
I am/feel ...					
A worthy member of my group	201	6.3	1.2		
Having little to offer to my group ^a	201	6.5	1.1		
A cooperative participant	201	5.5	1.5		
A useless member of my group	201	6.5	1.2		
Index: Evaluation of Blacks (news)	195	1.8	0.8	1-5	.75
African Americans in					
TV news	195	1.7	0.8		
Newspaper	195	2.0	0.9		
Index: Evaluation of Blacks (entertainment)	194	2.7	0.8	1-5	.73
African Americans in					
TV drama	194	2.6	0.9		
Sitcoms	194	2.9	1.0		
Movies	194	2.6	1.0		
Index: Accuracy (news)	194	2.1	0.8	1-5	.80
African Americans in					
TV news	194	2.0	0.9		
Newspaper	194	2.2	1.0		
Index: Accuracy (entertainment)	196	2.4	0.8	1-5	.81
African Americans in					
TV drama	196	2.4	1.0		
Sitcoms	196	2.5	1.0		
Movies	196	2.4	1.0		
Opinion: U.S. still needs affirmative action	202	4.2	0.9	1-5	

(continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

Variables	<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Range	α
Index: Quick discrimination index	202	3.7	0.4	1–5	.80
Background					
Evaluation of contact with Whites	202	3.2	1.0	1–5	
Political affiliation	202	3.0	0.9	1–5	
Age	202	21.3	5.3		

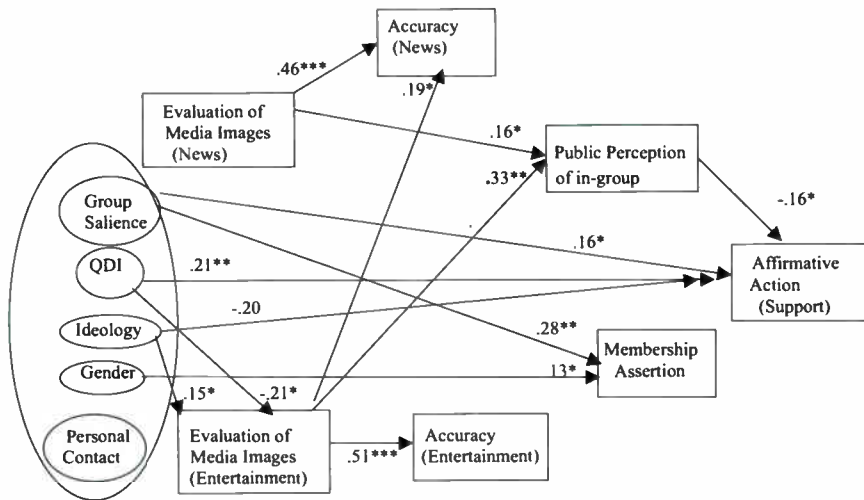
Note: High score indicates more favorable/positive, more accurate, conservative, or greater support with minority position.

^aIndicates reverse items.

in-group was perceived and placed in an American racial hierarchy by other ethnic groups. The negative evaluation of media portrayals of Blacks predicted perceived lower evaluation of Blacks by other ethnic groups, which in turn encouraged Black respondents to endorse affirmative action.

The perceived negative Black images were, however, not directly related to Black respondents' group membership or their endorsement of affirmative action. Facing

Figure 1
Coping Responses to Black Images in the Media (Target's Perspective)



Note: Coding rules are as follows. Higher = more positive/favorable, stronger attitude, or more accurate evaluation. For gender, 1 = male, 2 = female. For ideology, 5 = conservative, 1 = liberal. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

negative images of their in-group might serve as a threat to African American identity, and this threat thus could be related to their stronger group assertion as well as endorsement of affirmative action. Such an inference is tempered, however, by possible methodological constraints, such as an apparent ceiling effect and a lack of variability. That is, Black respondents' scores for the two variables of group identity and endorsement of affirmative action were relatively high with small standard deviations.

Alternatively, that negative media portrayals of Blacks (perceived by Blacks) were not related to respondents' level of Black identity or policy endorsement may be explained by the lack of credibility Black respondents gave to the media portrayals. When respondents evaluated Black media images as more negative, they also considered the images less accurate. African Americans have a rich knowledge about their in-group, and thus they can validate and negate the media presentation of Blacks (Cooks & Orbe, 1993). If this were the case, seeing negative Black images in the media had little influence on their group identity because these images were simply invalid. They were thus discarded.

Other unexpected results involved the absence of group salience effects on Black respondents' coping behavior. The study did not find a significant difference in coping responses between Black respondents who were highly committed to the group and those who were less committed. This may reflect that the moderating role of group salience in coping has been inconclusive to date, particularly when cross-sectional survey data were used (Hewstone, Rubin, & Willis, 2002).

Implications of the Findings and Future Research

Black Media Images and Racial Conflict. When the results of the current study are considered in light of previous research, they suggest the existence of differences between White and Black respondents' reactions to Black images in the media. Previous research documented that negative Black images in the media (perceived by White respondents) predicted negative African American stereotypes, which in turn resulted in White *opposition* to affirmative action (Fujioka & Tan, 2003; Tan et al., 2000).

In contrast, the current study found that negative Black images are related to Black *endorsement* of affirmative action. Both White and Black respondents might find Black media images to be negative. For Whites, negativity is associated with Black characters and their behaviors, which may result in White negative stereotypes of Blacks and in turn contribute to White disagreement with affirmative action. For Blacks, negativity may be related to their perceived public views of in-group members, which is associated with Black endorsement of affirmative action. These results suggest that minority media images may not only affect our racial environment (by providing information about in-group and out-groups) but also foster intergroup conflict by polarizing two positions.

Relevance of Findings to Other Minority Groups. In a similar vein, future research needs to address effects of minority media portrayals on members of other mi-

minority groups. That is, how do non-White Hispanics and Asian Americans, for example, evaluate and respond to media portrayals of African Americans? Does mediated information about other minority members foster intergroup conflict between or among different minority groups?

This study examines Black coping responses to media images of in-group members, but how do other people of color (e.g., Hispanics) respond to media presentation of their group members? Do they use the same coping strategies as Black respondents did in this study to deal with mediated images of in-group? If coping responses are due to identity-protective motives (ethnic identity), as suggested by the literature, we should expect, at least to some extent, similar findings. In practice, however, each group's ethnic identity may be unique due to the distinct immigration history and experiences each group has carried up to the present. In fact, one study ascribed ethnic differences in media criticism—Blacks were most critical followed by Hispanics and Asian Americans—to the difference in the length of each group's American experience: Blacks had the longest experience of all (McAneny, 1994). It is thus possible to see some variation in minority audiences' responses to the media portrayals of own group members. Recent experimental work, for example, reported Mexican American viewers' strong emotional responses to "positive" news stories rather than "negative" news stories featuring Mexican Americans (Fujioka, 2005). This Mexican American response can also be considered "coping" in that it makes Mexican American audiences feel good about themselves (by being excited about positive images). Future research, therefore, needs to explore the role of ethnic identity and coping responses in relation to different media content (negative or positive minority images) and with different segments of minority audiences.

Limitations of the Present Study

Some limitations included the use of a college sample with a greater number of women and possible measurement errors associated with a single-item measure of endorsement of affirmative action. Future research needs to examine a general minority population, including children and adolescents, in order to achieve a better understanding of minority portrayal effects on minority audiences. This study, based on the theoretical assumptions, examined a relationship among affective evaluation of Black media images, perceived public perception, and affirmative-action endorsement, which was correlational, not causal, in nature. It introduced five control variables (alternative explanations) when testing these proposed relationships, but there were other unmeasured variables, such as parent political involvement and peer influence, that could provide a different account of this data. In addition, the current study did not specifically address social cognitive variables (e.g., schema, implicit association) when examining coping responses to the mediated messages. The questions of whether and the extent to which the process involved in coping responses is explicit (conscious or controlled process) or implicit (automatic process), for example, should

be investigated in an experimental setting where both explicit and implicit procedure can be executed.

Conclusion

This study examined the relationships among media portrayal variables, perceived public perception of the in-group, and opinion toward affirmative action from a minority perspective. Theoretically, the study demonstrated that concepts of coping and intergroup threats stemming from social identity might be useful when we examine the effects of minority media portrayals on minority audiences. The results of the study also suggested the important role of the “perceived” public in how minority members respond to mediated information about their in-group. The study found that negative Black images in the media predicted *perceived lower public perception* of Blacks, which was related to Black respondents’ greater endorsement of affirmative action. Regardless of the accuracy and legitimacy of the minority images, the media are indeed an undeniable contributor to our racial environment in which people’s attitudes and decisions for racial policies are based. At the same time, the findings of this study suggest that minority audiences—at least those who feel committed to their ethnic group—are “active” and skillful participants of their mediated environment, exercising coping strategies to protect and maintain their identity from possible harm. Nevertheless, this study’s conclusions should be considered as merely preliminary due to a cross-sectional survey design with a nonrandomly selected sample. More research in this area would bolster confidence in the study’s findings. Race-related issues are complex, and so is the mechanism involved in minority media effects, which calls for future investigation utilizing different research designs and different segments of minority audiences.

Notes

¹Lipsitz (1998) described Whiteness (White identity) as an “unmarked” category (p. 1) that is so dominant in social and cultural relations that Whites may not be aware of it but do benefit from it.

²The entire sample size of this project was 707, including 360 who identified themselves as White, 202 as Black, 61 as Asian, 14 as Hispanic, 24 as Middle Eastern, and 46 as “other.” The current study used the subsample of 202 Blacks. Although college populations often exhibit limited media use, many theorists suggest that it is what an audience draws from the media, not the exposure, that determines media effects (e.g., Bandura, 1986). The primary focus of this study was internal validity, to examine theory-based relationships among Black “perceptions” of African Americans in the media, public views of Blacks, and the affirmative-action endorsement, rather than to produce generalizable results.

³The study found moderate zero-order correlations among evaluation variables (affective evaluation and accuracy) of Black media images with the highest scores of .58 ($p = .001$). These results indicate that the relationships are significant but moderate in magnitude. The study also checked variance inflation factors (VIF). According to Stevens (1996), observing any VIF exceeding 10 in a model should be treated as a multicollinearity case. In this data set, none of the VIFs

exceeded 1.4. Together, neither the results from simple zero-order correlations nor the results from the VIF methods indicate substantial evidence that this study suffers from the problem of multicollinearity.

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Embedded Reporting During the Invasion and Occupation of Iraq: How the Embedding of Journalists Affects Television News Reports

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This study compared embedded and nonembedded (unilateral) television news coverage during the invasion and the occupation of Iraq. Content analysis was conducted of ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN news during the invasion and during the occupation examining whether embedded and nonembedded news reports were different and, if so, how. The results revealed that compared to nonembedded reports, embedded network television news stories were more favorable in overall tone toward the military, more favorable in depictions of military personnel, and featured greater use of episodic frames which, as a result, elicited somewhat more positive relational cues. In addition, the results indicated that compared to network news coverage of the occupation, news stories of the invasion were more positive in tone and employed more episodic framing.

The practice of embedding journalists in military units has a long history, dating to the Civil War. However, the scope of embedding in Operation Iraqi Freedom (OIF) has been

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unprecedented. At the outset of OIF, more than 600 U.S. and foreign journalists reported from aircraft carriers, Special Forces units, infantry, and Marine divisions (McLane, 2004). Before OIF, journalists had never "worked alongside U.S. military units ... in such numbers [or] in such an organized fashion" (Knickmeyer, 2003, p. 2).

The Pentagon's aggressive and ambitious embedding program was directed by Victoria Clark, a senior spokesperson for Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld at the outset of OIF. She defined the process as "living, eating, moving, in combat with the unit that [the journalist is] attached to" (Department of Defense [DoD] News Transcript, 2003). The DoD's motives for adopting a systematic embedding strategy are not clear. Embedding may have been designed to forcefully preempt misinformation flowing from the Iraqi regime or the Arab press (Brightman, 2003; LaFleur, 2003; Miskin, Rayner, & Lalic, 2003; Purdin & Rutenberg, 2003). Embedding might have been motivated by the sincere desire by DoD officials to showcase U.S. military forces or, as Ms. Clark put it, to let the world "see the U.S. military in a very real and compelling way" (Halonen, 2003, p. 18). The DoD may have wanted to provide access to U.S. and international journalists in order to "facilitate maximum, in-depth coverage of U.S. forces in combat and related operations" (Secretary of Defense, 2003). In an interview with Dick Gordon, from NPR's "The Connection," Bryan Whitman, the Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, stated that the DoD was working to close the gap between reporters and the media: "An embedded reporter is going to see the good, the bad, and the ugly" (DoD News Transcript, 2003). Or, embedding may have been intended to influence news coverage. It is likely that DoD officials knew of Britain's experience with embedding during the Falklands War against Argentina. Journalists who served alongside British forces during the Falklands War "were completely reliant on the military, not only for access to the battle zone, but for food, shelter, protection, and transmission of their reports" (Miskin et al., 2003, p. 9). Journalists developed "feelings of camaraderie" that may have been responsible for "the favorable coverage of British forces" during the Falkland's campaign (Miskin et al., 2003, pp. 2, 9).

Whatever the motivation, the question is: Did embedding affect news coverage of OIF and, if so, how? Most of the evidence of the effects of embedding is anecdotal, based on the opinions of military leaders and embedded journalists. There are two exceptions. A content analysis of print coverage of the first 5 days of OIF found that embedded reports were more favorable toward the military and its personnel and featured more episodic framing (Pfau et al., 2004), and a content analysis of coverage by the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) of the invasion phase of OIF, in conjunction with extensive interviews of British journalists, concluded that although "British broadcasters took care to avoid language that compromised their impartiality," the coverage was favorable toward the government's position on the war and "twice as likely to represent the Iraqi people as welcoming the invasion than as suspicious, reserved, or hostile" (Lewis et al., 2004, p. 25).

There is no definitive evidence about the effects of embedding on U.S. television news reports, and no evidence whatsoever that compares the effects of embedding

during the invasion phase of OIF, which most considered a stunning success, versus the occupation/resistance phase of OIF, which has been beset with problems. This investigation examined whether embedding produced television news reports that differed in their tone or structure, and whether the tone or the structure of television news reports varied between the invasion and occupation/resistance phases of OIF or differed across television networks.

Hypotheses

Tone of Coverage

Researchers anticipated that embedded coverage would produce television news reports that are more favorable toward the military in general and, specifically, toward its personnel. This expectation stems from the fact that embedded journalists become a part of the unit they are reporting about. Embedded journalists develop relationships with the troops they are covering and they "become fully integrated into military command structures" (Miller, 2004a, p. 10) and, as a result, develop a commitment to the military organization.

Embedded journalists should develop close, personal relationships with the troops they are embedded with. Social penetration theory describes the process of how human relationships develop (Altman & Taylor, 1973). It explains that as relationships unfold, communication shifts from superficial to more personal topics, slowly penetrating the communicators' public personas. As people experience more contact with each other, increased communication manifests greater relational breadth and depth (Taylor, 1979), which over time facilitates more relational intensity and intimacy (Derlega, Metts, Petronio, & Margolis, 1993).

This process usually requires time, but it can accelerate in "hot conditions," which are typical in combat (Soeters, 2000). In these circumstances, the close contact of the journalist and the personnel in the military unit the journalist is assigned to unleashes a spiraling process of increasing self-disclosure (Taylor, 1979), which, in turn, leads to more relational trust (Wheless & Grotz, 1977), termed "swift trust" in the "hot conditions" of combat (Soeters, 2000). This accelerated bonding is likely whenever uncertainty levels are high and the circumstances are dangerous (Meyerson, Weick, & Kramer, 1995). "Swift trust" can bias people's perceptions (Hensley, 1996) and, in the case of television journalists, who "are part of the professional class, reasonably affluent and well educated," helps them to bridge the "class divide" that would otherwise separate them from enlisted military personnel, who embody a more "working-class" mentality (Cunningham, 2004, p. 2).

The anecdotal evidence supports this expectation. One reporter speculated that "there is a real danger of getting too close to your subject" (Smith, 2003, p. 3). Another journalist warned that journalists may grow "so close to the troops ... that they cannot be impartial" (Overington, 2003, p. 2). Still another journalist commented that em-

bedded reporting of the invasion phase of OIF "seemed like a tape loop of troops and sand that was very sympathetic to the U.S. soldiers and often 'gee-whiz' about military hardware" (Hall, 2004, p. 84). Indeed, there is the possibility that the embedding experience in OIF may have profoundly influenced journalists' values about the military. One journalist who covered both the Vietnam and Iraq wars speculated that "there are now hundreds of journalists in their late 20s who have had a formative and generally positive experience with the U.S. military" (Hall, 2004, p. 83). Hence, this investigation posits that embedded journalists will produce television news reports that are more positive toward the military and its personnel.

H₁: Compared to nonembedded coverage, embedded television news reports of combat operations (a) are more positive about the military as a whole, and (b) convey greater trust toward military personnel.

Another reason why embedded news reports should elicit more positive coverage of the military is that embedded journalists should internalize the values of the military unit they are assigned to. Organizational commitment offers an explanatory mechanism for this expectation. Organizational commitment results in acceptance of an organization's culture, which embodies "a pattern of shared basic assumptions that ... [are] taught to new members as a correct way to perceive, think, and feel" (Schein, 1992, p. 12). Organizational commitment elicits adherence to an organization's values (Beyer, Hannah, & Milton, 2000; Pacanowsky & O'Donnell-Trujillo, 1983).

There are three components of organizational commitment: affective, continuance, and normative (Meyer & Allen, 1997). Two of the three, affective and normative commitment, are relevant to the embedding process. Affective commitment relates to an attitude or orientation toward the organization, which links or attaches the identity of the person to the organization (Meyer & Allen, 1997). Embedded reporters who experience the same stresses in combat as military personnel undergo changes in which the goals of the military and those of the reporter become increasingly integrated or congruent. Normative commitment involves a set of attitudes and behaviors that an individual ought to manifest (Allen, 2003). Although reporters' professional loyalties are undoubtedly strong, the embedding experience over time should elicit commitment to the military unit, which will produce a unique set of attitudinal and behavioral expectations. It is likely that embedded journalists, at least partially, internalize the values of the military units they are assigned to.

As organizational commitment grows, people internalize attitudes and adopt behaviors that tie them to the group (Beyer et al., 2000). They become enculturated. Enculturation occurs in all organizations, but its effects are magnified in the military, especially in combat conditions. In combat, "there is a strong need for a so-called collective mind" (Soeters, 2000, p. 475). The survival of the individual and the unit depends in it. Thus, enculturation is accelerated in "hot conditions" such as combat. During combat, embedded journalists and military personnel "eat and drink together" and, in time, "share the same values" (Miller, 2004b, p. 90).

Embedding should increase organizational commitment, which serves as an independent explanation for why embedded television news reports should produce more favorable depictions of the military and its personnel. This investigation posits:

H₂: Compared to nonembedded coverage, embedded television reports of combat operations depict stronger organizational commitment.

Finally, this investigation anticipates that these differences in television news coverage will intensify over time. If embedding produces reports that are more positive in tone toward the military and its personnel and display stronger organizational commitment, these tendencies should grow the longer journalists are embedded with military personnel. Why? Because time facilitates the processes unleashed via both social penetration and organizational commitment. Hence, this study predicts that:

H₃: The proclivity of embedded journalists to produce television news reports of combat operations that are more positive toward the military and its personnel and that manifest stronger organizational commitment increases over time.

Nature of Coverage

Researchers also anticipated that embedded television news reports would be structurally different. This expectation starts with the assumption that embedded reporters will frame stories differently and, as a result, that embedded television news reports will manifest more positive relational communication.

Framing. Framing involves the way journalists choose to package news stories (Kosicki, 2003), which ultimately affects the way the audience views an issue. Iyengar (1991) defined framing as the “subtle alterations in the statement or presentation of judgment and choice problems” (p. 11). Entman (1991) explained that “frames reside in the specific properties of the news narrative that encourage those perceiving and thinking about events to develop particular understandings of them”; they are “constructed from and embodied in keywords, metaphors, concepts, symbols, and visual images emphasized in a news narrative” (p. 7). Frames, in turn, affect the way that news reports are interpreted by media consumers (Gamson & Modigliani, 1987; Gitlin, 1980; Pan & Kosicki, 1993; Price & Tewksbury, 1997).

Although framing can be approached in different ways, Iyengar (1991) offered a generic approach that is particularly relevant to television news and, hence, to this study. Iyengar posited that all television news stories can be classified as either episodic or thematic based on presentation. The episodic news frame entails a case study or event-oriented news report. These are reported in terms of concrete instances. The thematic news frame uses a general or abstract approach in which a news report is based more on general conditions. Iyengar differentiated between the two approaches: “Episodic framing seeks to personalize issues,” whereas “thematic framing

presents collective or general evidence" about issuers (p. 14). These approaches are not mutually exclusive, but one is usually more predominant. Because television news is more time constrained, episodic reports are usually preferred over thematic, which require greater elaboration. In addition, because television intrinsically privileges visual over verbal content, episodic reports are prized because they are visually compelling. The "dominance" of episodic over thematic framing in television news has been verified in a various studies (Iyengar, 1991, p. 14).

This investigation posits that television's episodic bias will be even more pronounced with embedded versus nonembedded news reports. The underlying reason has to do with the intrinsic nature of embedding. Embedded journalists are attached to specific units in order to provide a close-up and intimate view of war. As such, embedded reporters focus on in-depth coverage of the unit they are assigned to, but they are unable to provide a broad overarching view of military operations. Embedded reporters offer "a very narrow view of what's going on" (Brightman, 2003, p. 2), more of a "snapshot" of combat (Friedman, 2003). What is lost in the process is context, which requires the ability to step back from the micro content and view the war through more expansive lenses. Kaplan (2003) explained that embedded coverage provides "vertical depth but little horizontal scope" (p. 161). What a viewer sees are "portraits of individual soldiers," but at the cost of limited emphasis on "military operations in the context of a grand strategic view" (Kaplan, 2003, p. 161). This was precisely what happened in the Falklands War. Embedded news reports in the Falklands campaign "led to an emphasis on the minutia of the conflict at the expense of the big picture" (Miskin et al., 2003, p. 9).

Iyengar (1991) maintained that television intrinsically prizes episodic over thematic frames, but this study argues that this bias will be further exacerbated with embedded versus nonembedded television news reports. The reason is that embedding places journalists within a particular unit, with the result that their coverage, quite naturally, emphasizes the activities of that unit and not overall military operations. This was the result of reporting during the Falklands War, as noted previously. In addition, two content analyses of the invasion phase of OIF news coverage support this expectation. Compared to nonembedded coverage of OIF and to overall coverage of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF), embedded coverage of OIF "produced news stories that featured more episodic frames" (Pfau et al., 2004, p. 2). In addition, British television coverage of OIF focused much more heavily on specific combat missions as opposed to broader issues (Lewis & Brookes, 2004). Hence, this investigation posits that:

H₄: Compared to nonembedded coverage, embedded television news reports manifest greater use of episodic as opposed to thematic frames.

Relational Communication. Television is a visual medium. Iyengar (1991) argued that compared to newspapers, television news intrinsically conveys more emotion because of its reliance on episodic frames. Such frames place greater emphasis on people

and, therefore, allow viewers to connect to the people covered at a deeper, relational level. As indicated previously, embedded television news reports display more episodic frames. When news reports feature interviews with combat personnel, they should convey more positive relational cues. Relational communication concerns "how two or more people regard each other, regard their relationship, or regard themselves within the context of the relationship" (J. K. Burgoon & Hale, 1984, p. 193).

Relational communication is present in all human communication. However, when the communication form makes possible either real (e.g., interpersonal exchanges) or perceived (e.g., television viewing) contact between communicator and receiver, relational communication is more pronounced (J. K. Burgoon, 1980; J. K. Burgoon & Hale, 1987). Relational cues are stronger when communication stresses the visual channel and allows for close, personal access to the source's facial cues. Relational messages are more often communicated nonverbally (Dillard, Solomon, & Palmer, 1999). Relational communication embodies, in addition to lesser dimensions: (a) similarity/depth, consisting of perceptions of similarity, friendliness, and caring; (b) receptivity/trust, which involves perceptions of sincerity, honesty, interest in communicating, and a willingness to listen; and (c) immediacy/affection, comprising perceptions of warmth, interest, involvement, and enthusiasm (J. K. Burgoon & Hale, 1987).

Embedded reports frequently concentrate on individual service members, including one-on-one interaction with the troops. These reports provide perceptions of intimacy and demonstrate many of the relational message themes just described (e.g., similarity/depth, receptivity/trust, and immediacy/affection). These positive relational themes exert greater influence in television communication compared to other communication forms (e.g., print, radio, etc.; Pfau, 1990), and the relational message dimensions of similarity/depth, receptivity/trust, and immediacy/affection, in particular, exert the greatest influence (Pfau, 1990; Pfau & Kang, 1991, 1993). Therefore, this investigation posits that:

- H₅: Compared to nonembedded coverage, embedded television news reports of combat operations that feature interviews with military personnel convey more positive relational communication (e.g., greater immediacy/affection, receptivity/trust, and similarity/depth).

Differences in Coverage Between Invasion and Occupation Phases

Another question of interest involves differences in the tone or nature of coverage during the invasion phase versus the occupation/resistance phase of OIF. The invasion phase of OIF was viewed as a considerable success, with U.S. troops having seized Baghdad much quicker and with fewer casualties than had been anticipated. However, the occupation/resistance phase of OIF has proven to be more troublesome than military planners had expected, prompting complaints about the tone of news

coverage. President Bush and Defense Secretary Rumsfeld charged that during the occupation, "the American public is getting only the 'bad news' of casualties and bombings in Iraq, at the expense of good-news stories" (Hall, 2004, p. 85). Is this perception accurate? What differences are there in the tone or nature of television news reports of OIF during invasion versus occupation/resistance? There is no research that has systematically compared the tone or framing of television news reports of combat operations in a positive versus negative combat environment. Past studies were conducted in the Falklands War and during the invasion phase of OIF, both positive exemplars in the sense that combat objectives were achieved quickly and with minimal casualties. The theoretical logic posited in this article does not suggest that effects of embedding would be appreciably different under positive or negative combat circumstances. Thus, this study simply posits the question:

RQ₁: Is there a significant difference in the tone or nature of television news reports depending on the nature of the combat environment?

Method

Procedure

A content analysis was conducted of network television newscasts during the first 3 weeks, excluding weekends, of the invasion phase of OIF (March 20 to April 9, 2003) and 3 weeks, excluding weekends, during what has turned into an occupation/resistance phase of OIF (November 1 to November 19, 2004). The analysis focused on the evening newscasts relating to military operations broadcast on ABC, CBS, NBC, and CNN. The news reports were provided by Vanderbilt University. The Television News Archive collection at Vanderbilt contains more than 30,000 network news broadcasts. For this study, a list of broadcast networks and dates were e-mailed to the archive (<http://tvnews.vandervilt.edu>), which then provided the requested taped newscasts for a fee.

The entire 30-minute (for consistency, only the first 30 minutes of CNN was coded) news broadcasts were analyzed in the 5:30 to 6:00 p.m. (CST) time slot. The 2003 dates ranged from the beginning of the invasion of Iraq through April 9th, the "The Fall of Baghdad," which was symbolized by the fall of the statue of Saddam Hussein and considered to be the end of the invasion phase of the war. Because the invasion phase encompassed 15 days, the same number of days were selected for analysis of the occupation phase to provide an equivalent comparison between the two phases of OIF. The time frame of the occupation/resistance phase was dictated by a resumption of embedded coverage of OIF. The number of embedded reporters in Iraq dropped precipitously after the fall of Baghdad from about 700 to 23 (Strupp, 2003), but then rebounded to nearly 100 in early November 2004 on the eve of the U.S. assault on Fallujah (Strupp, 2004).

The unit of analysis was each single report by a broadcast journalist about a person, unit, or event with a clear beginning, middle, and end. A unit of analysis commenced with the anchor introducing a story and then either turning to an embedded or nonembedded correspondent, or showing video of OIF while the anchor reported in support of the video. The ending of each unit of analysis was defined as when an embedded or nonembedded journalist "signed off" (e.g., "John Smith, CNN, Fallujah") or the anchor clearly displayed that the story was over.

Six DoD public affairs personnel, who were enrolled in the Joint Communication Course at a Midwestern university, conducted the content analysis. Coders were veteran media analysts with a combined experience of more than 90 years working in military public affairs. Coding norms were established during supervised training sessions conducted using network newscasts of combat operations outside of the two 15-day windows of the study. A total of 18 stories were coded during the training phase by each of the two teams. Coders established a high degree of standardization during the training sessions, resulting in intercoder reliabilities of .92 and .94 for the two teams.

To avoid difficulty determining the start and end of segments, coders worked together to make this determination. This eliminated errors in judgment about what was to be coded. Once these judgments were made, coders worked separately to evaluate segments. One team of three coders assessed television news coverage of OIF during the invasion phase, and another team of three coders evaluated coverage of OIF during the occupation/resistance phase. Effective intercoder reliability ratings were computed (Rosenthal, 1984, 1987). Ratings were .98 for each team of coders ($n = 588$ for the invasion phase [196 stories and 3 coders]; $n = 252$ for the occupation phase [84 stories and 3 coders]).

Independent Variables

Two one-way multivariate analyses of covariance (MANCOVAs) were computed to assess the hypotheses (one to assess Hypotheses 1 through 4, and a second to assess Hypothesis 5). The independent variable for these analyses was news correspondent status, which was coded based on information provided about the reporter as embedded, nonembedded (termed "unilateral" during OIF), or unknown. An embedded reporter is defined as a media representative remaining with a unit on an extended basis (DoD News Transcript, 2003). Coders distinguished between embedded and nonembedded reporters based on information provided by the news anchor. In some instances, it was unclear whether the reporter was embedded or nonembedded, in which case they were coded as unknown. However, subsequent data analyses compared only embedded and nonembedded cases.

Day of coverage functioned as a covariate for analyses examining embedded versus nonembedded news coverage. Its role was to assess Hypothesis 3, which posited that the proclivity of embedded television news reports to be more positive toward the

military and to manifest stronger organizational commitment increases over time. It was operationalized as 1 to 15 based on the 15 days of content analyses for both the invasion and occupation/resistance phases of OIF.

A one-way multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was computed to assess Research Question 1. The independent variable was the phase of OIF, dichotomized as invasion phase (March 20 to April 9, 2003) or occupation/resistance phase (November 1 to November 19, 2004).

Dependent Variables

The investigation featured seven dependent variables. Overall tone of coverage toward the military was assessed with a global attitude measure adapted from M. Burgoon, Cohen, Miller, and Montgomery (1978). It consisted of six 7-interval semantic differential scales: bad/good, negative/positive, unacceptable/acceptable, worthless/valuable, unfavorable/favorable, and foolish/wise. The reliability of this measure was .96 ($n = 282$). Depiction of the trust toward the troops covered in news reports was assessed with the Individualized Trust Scale (ITS), which was initially developed by Wheelless and Grotz (1977) based on four 5-interval semantic differential scales adapted to 7-interval scales for this investigation. Specific items included dishonest/honest, untrusting/trusting, deceptive/candid, and insincere/sincere. Alpha reliability rating of the trust measure was .95 ($n = 282$).

Organization commitment was operationalized as the extent to which journalists conveyed positive commitment to the U.S. military in their news reports. It was assessed using a modified version of a 12-item measure initially developed by O'Reilly and Chatman (1986). This study employed four 7-interval disagree/agree scales designed to tap internalization and identification. The four items were as follows: "What the military stands for is important to the journalist," "The journalist talks up the military as a great organization," "The journalist manifests the values of the military," and "The journalist conveys a sense of involvement with the military rather than that of an outsider." Alpha reliability of the organizational commitment measure was .87 ($n = 282$).

The extent to which each story unit employed episodic framing was measured with a single 7-interval scale: thematic/episodic. The scale was used previously by Pfau et al. (2004). Although Iyengar (1991) initially conceived episodic and thematic framing in discrete terms, he acknowledged that most news stories embody both episodic and thematic frames, with one being more predominant, or as he put it, "tilted in one direction or the other" (p. 145). Hence, this study captured the degree of the "tilt" using a relative measure assessing the extent to which each news story embodied episodic or thematic framing.

Assessment of relational communication was limited to those news segments in which combat military personnel were interviewed, producing a smaller sample size and thus requiring separate statistical analysis. The extent to which military members

interviewed in story units conveyed positive relational communication was assessed using 7-interval semantic differential scales developed by J. K. Burgoon and Hale (1987). The relational communication dimensions and scale items employed in this investigation were immediacy/affection (expression of enthusiasm, involvement, and warmth), similarity/depth (expression of similarity, friendliness, and caring), and receptivity/trust (expression of interest, receptiveness, sincerity, and honesty; J. K. Burgoon & Hale, 1987). When no military member was shown, coders reported a score of "undetermined." Reliability ratings of relational communication dimensions were as follows: immediacy/affection, .76 ($n = 82$); similarity/depth, .80 ($n = 82$); and receptivity/trust, .92 ($n = 82$).

Results

This study sought to determine whether embedding journalists with military units during combat produces different television news reports and, if so, the nature of such differences. In addition, this study investigated whether there are any differences in news stories reported during the initial invasion versus those reported more than a year later during the occupation/resistance, and whether there are differences in the tone or nature of television news reports across major networks.

Reporter Status

Hypotheses 1 through 5 addressed differences between embedded and non-embedded news reports. To assess these predictions, a one-way MANCOVA was computed for journalist status (embedded/nonembedded) on the dependent variables of: overall tone toward military, trust toward individual troops, organizational commitment, and use of episodic versus thematic news frames. A covariate, day of coverage, was employed to determine whether these differences were greater over time. The omnibus MANCOVA revealed significant results for the independent variable of journalist status, Wilks's λ $F(4, 273) = 70.66, p < .001$, and for the covariate of day of coverage, Wilks's λ $F(4, 273) = 10.71, p < .001$. Univariate results for dependent variables will be examined in the context of specific hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1 predicted that embedded television news reports of combat operations are more positive about the military and convey greater trust toward military personnel. Subsequent univariate tests supported Hypothesis 1. The results revealed that compared to nonembedded reports, embedded television news reports were more positive toward the military, $F(1, 276) = 113.42, p < .001, \eta^2 = .29$, and conveyed greater trust toward military personnel, $F(1, 276) = 125.37, p < .001, \eta^2 = .31$. These means are displayed in Table 1.

Hypothesis 2 posited that embedded television news reports of combat operations depict stronger organizational commitment. The univariate test revealed a significant main effect for reporter status on organizational commitment, $F(1, 276) = 131.88, p <$

Table 1
Tendencies in Television News Stories as a Function
of Journalist Status

Dependent Variable	Journalist Status					
	Embedded			Nonembedded		
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>n</i>
Tone of coverage						
Overall tone	4.81 ^a	0.56	132	4.11	0.59	147
Trust	5.03 ^a	0.59	132	4.23	0.58	147
Organizational commitment	4.50 ^a	0.52	132	3.76	0.54	147
Framing (episodic)	3.77 ^a	1.45	132	1.57	1.18	147
Relational communication						
Immediacy/affection	4.74	0.47	70	4.67	0.57	10
Similarity/depth	4.78 ^b	0.43	70	4.53	0.53	10
Receptivity/trust	5.10	0.49	70	5.00	0.63	10

Note: Tone of coverage was assessed using two scales: Overall tone of coverage was assessed using six 7-interval scales; trust conveyed toward the individual troops depicted in news reports was measured using four 7-interval scales. Higher scores indicate more positive depictions. Organizational commitment was assessed using four 7-interval scales. Higher scores indicate greater organizational commitment. Framing was assessed using a single 7-interval scale that measured the extent to which a news report's frame was episodic as opposed to thematic. Higher scores indicate more episodic frames. Relational communication was assessed using three 7-interval scales to tap each of three dimensions. Higher scores indicate more positive relational communication.

^aSignificant compared to nonembedded reports at $p < .01$. ^bSignificant compared to non-embedded reports at $p < .05$.

.001, $\eta^2 = .32$. As Table 1 illustrates, embedded news stories revealed stronger organizational commitment, thus supporting Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 3 predicted that the tendencies of embedded journalists to produce television news reports of combat operations that are more positive toward the military and its personnel and manifest stronger organizational commitment increase the longer journalists are embedded with military units. The covariate, day of coverage, was used to assess this prediction. It exerted a significant impact on the dependent variables of overall tone of coverage, $F(1, 276) = 13.26, p < .001, \eta^2 = .03$, and trust toward military personnel, $F(1, 276) = 15.60, p < .001, \eta^2 = .04$. Effects on organizational commitment were not significant. Valence of the correlations between day of coverage and dependent variables was positive. When correlations for day of coverage were examined separately for embedded and nonembedded reporters, the resulting association was significant for embedded reporters, but not for nonembedded, on the dependent variable of overall tone of coverage: For embedded, $r(132) = .315, p <$

.01; for nonembedded, $r(147) = .13$, $p = .125$. However, the association was significant for both embedded and nonembedded reporters on the dependent variable of trust toward military personnel, although the association for embedded reporters was more robust: For embedded, $r(132) = .29$, $p < .01$; for nonembedded, $r(147) = .18$, $p < .05$. Thus, Hypothesis 3 was partially supported.

Hypothesis 4 predicted that compared to nonembedded coverage, embedded television news reports manifest greater use of episodic as opposed to thematic frames. The univariate test revealed a significant effect for framing, $F(1, 276) = 215.95$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .43$. As Table 1 shows, embedded television news reports employed more episodic framing, thus supporting Hypothesis 4.

Finally, Hypothesis 5 posited that embedded television news reports of combat operations that feature interviews with military personnel convey more positive relational communication than nonembedded stories. Because relational cues were only assessed in news reports in which military personnel were interviewed, a separate one-way MANCOVA was computed involving the three relational communication variables. For the covariate of day of coverage, neither the omnibus test nor the univariate test were statistically significant. For the independent variable of journalist status, the omnibus test fell short of statistical significance, Wilks's $\lambda F(3, 75) = 1.75$, $p = .16$, probably the consequence of insufficient power (power = .44). The subsequent univariate analyses indicated that compared to nonembedded coverage, embedded television news reports conveyed greater similarity/depth, $F(1, 77) = 4.26$, $p < .05$, $\eta^2 = .05$, but differences involving immediacy/affection and receptivity/trust were not significant. Thus, the results offered limited support for Hypothesis 5.

Differences in Coverage Between Invasion and Occupation Phases

Research Question 1 inquired whether there was a significant difference in tone or in the nature of television news reports depending on the nature of the combat environment, that is, whether there were differences between television news coverage of combat operations in OIF during the invasion versus the occupation/resistance. A one-way MANOVA was computed for stage of conflict (invasion vs. occupation/resistance) on the dependent variables of overall tone of coverage, trust conveyed in individual troops, extent of organizational commitment, and framing. The omnibus test revealed significant differences across dependent variables, Wilks's $\lambda F(4, 273) = 13.17$, $p < .001$. Subsequent univariate tests revealed significant differences on the dependent variables of overall tone of coverage, $F(1, 276) = 10.01$, $p < .01$, $\eta^2 = .03$, and framing, $F(1, 276) = 12.63$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2 = .04$. As Table 2 illustrates, the pattern of means indicated that compared to coverage of occupation/resistance, television news coverage of the invasion phase was more positive in overall tone and featured more episodic as opposed to thematic framing. Differences involving depictions of trust in individual military personnel and organizational commitment were not statistically significant.

Table 2
Differences in Television News Stories During Operation Iraqi Freedom at the Times of Invasion and Occupation

Dependent Variable	Time of Reporting			
	Invasion (<i>n</i> = 196)		Occupation (<i>n</i> = 84)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Tone of coverage				
Overall tone	4.52 ^a	0.62	4.26	0.76
Trust	4.67	0.65	4.57	0.79
Organizational commitment	4.10	0.51	4.13	0.89
Framing (episodic)	2.83 ^a	1.75	2.10	1.18

Note: Tone of coverage was assessed using two scales: Overall tone of coverage was assessed using six 7-interval scales; trust conveyed toward the individual troops depicted in news reports was measured using four 7-interval scales. Higher scores indicate more positive depictions. Organizational commitment was assessed using four 7-interval scales. Higher scores indicate greater organizational commitment. Framing was assessed using a single 7-interval scale that measured the extent to which a news report's frame was episodic as opposed to thematic. Higher scores indicate more episodic story frames.

^aSignificant compared to occupation phase at $p < .01$.

Discussion

During OIF, the DoD embarked on an extensive experiment in military and news media relations during combat. The DoD launched an extensive strategy of embedding journalists with U.S. military forces. The scope of embedding in OIF was unprecedented. Prior to OIF, journalists had never "worked alongside U.S. military units ... in such numbers [or] in such an organized fashion" (Knickmeyer, 2003). The question is whether embedding fundamentally altered television news coverage of OIF and whether news coverage of the invasion, which most viewed as a success, differed from coverage of the occupation/resistance, which produced most of the American casualties in OIF. There is very little hard evidence addressing either question; just anecdotal evidence, based on the retrospective opinions of military leaders and journalists.

Findings

This investigation examined television news coverage of OIF. It attempted to determine whether embedded television news reports were more positive in their depiction of the military and whether embedded reports were structurally different: employing more episodic news frames and, when troops are interviewed on camera,

conveying more positive relational communication. In addition, the study compared television news coverage of combat operations during the invasion and the occupation/resistance phases of OIF, and it compared news coverage across television networks. The investigation featured a content analysis of network television newscasts during the invasion and occupation/resistance phases of OIF.

The results indicated embedded television news stories were more favorable toward the military than nonembedded television news reports. Embedded television news reports were more positive and conveyed greater trust toward military personnel. This outcome was expected because, over time, embedded journalists develop personal relationships with the troops they are covering, resulting in increasing levels of relational trust (Derlega et al., 1993; Wheelless & Grotz, 1977). This process is sped up whenever uncertainty is high and the conditions are dangerous (Meyerson et al., 1995). The results of this study also indicated that the tendency for embedded news reports to be more positive toward the military and its personnel increased over time, suggesting that relational attachments born of "swift trust" accelerate biases (Hensley, 1996).

The findings of this study are consistent with two past studies: one revealing that BBC coverage was more favorable toward the government's position on the war (Lewis et al., 2004) and the other finding that U.S.-embedded print coverage of the invasion phase of OIF was more positive toward the military (Pfau et al., 2004). The results of this study also are consistent with most anecdotal evidence that the intrinsic nature of the embedding experience may undermine impartiality (e.g., Hall, 2004; Overington, 2003).

Results also revealed that embedded television news reports of combat operations depict stronger organizational commitment. This study argued that embedding would increase organizational commitment, which involves "a pattern of shared basic assumptions" (Schein, 1992, p. 12), in large part, because embedded reporters who experience the same stresses in combat as military personnel come to internalize the values of military units they are assigned to (Beyer et al., 2000; Miller, 2004a; Soeters, 2000). Organizational commitment provides a second, independent explanation for why embedded news reports should provide more positive coverage of the military. However, the expectation that embedded television news reports would manifest greater organizational commitment over time was not supported.

The results confirmed that embedding structurally changes television news reports. Compared to nonembedded stories, embedded television news reports featured more episodic as opposed to thematic frames. Episodic frames are based more on exemplars as opposed to general or abstract content. "Episodic framing seeks to personalize issues" (Iyengar, 1991, p. 14), which is common in television reports, in part, because time is limited and, in part, because television prizes visual over verbal content. However, the results of this study confirmed that embedding further accentuates episodic framing because embedded journalists, naturally, focus on the activities of the unit they are assigned to and not on overall military operations. The findings of this study are consistent with anecdotal reports that coverage of the Falklands War emphasized "the minutia of the conflict at the expense of the big picture" (Miskin et al.,

2003, p. 9), with Lewis et al.'s (2004) conclusion that BBC coverage of OIF focused more heavily on specific combat than broader issues, and with the finding of Pfau et al. (2004) that embedded print coverage of the invasion phase of OIF featured more episodic frames.

In addition, this investigation predicted that embedded television news reports that interview military combat personnel, because they feature more episodic frames, would also convey more positive relational cues. This expectation was based on the premise that relational cues are elevated whenever a communication venue provides close personal access to a source's face and, therefore, to the soft dimensions of persona that are communicated via the nonverbal stream (Dillard et al., 1999). However, the results revealed that compared to nonembedded reports, embedded television news stories did embody greater similarity/depth, consisting of expression of similarity, friendliness, and caring, but embedded television news stories did not convey more immediacy/affection or receptivity/trust. However, this study assessed relational communication only in news reports in which military personnel were interviewed. Because there were so few nonembedded interviews, the statistical analyses suffered from insufficient power, which is the most plausible explanation for the weak findings.

Finally, the results of this study identified differences between television news coverage of combat operations in OIF during the invasion and the occupation/resistance. Compared to coverage of the occupation, television news coverage of the invasion phase was more positive in tone toward the military and featured more episodic frames; differences involving trust and organizational commitment were not significant. However, because the means for tone of coverage exceeded 4.0 on 7-interval scales, even in the occupation/resistance condition, it would seem that the complaint of President Bush and Defense Secretary Rumsfeld that, during the occupation, "the American public is getting only the 'bad news' of casualties and bombings in Iraq, at the expense of good-news stories" (Hall, 2004, p. 85), is not valid, at least with regard to the tone of stories. Coverage may, indeed, focus primarily on "bad news," but the frame of coverage remains positive toward the military, if not as positive as during the invasion phase of OIF.

Limitations

The results of this study focus specifically on how the practice of embedding reporters in military combat units affects the resulting news reports. The results reveal significant differences in embedded and nonembedded television news reports. However, the study cannot definitively conclude that embedding alone is responsible for these differences. Differences may have been the product of preexisting differences that motivated some reporters to choose embedded status, or differences may have been caused by the way in which news editors used embedded and nonembedded reports in stories. In addition, this study does not address the broader issue of reporter objectivity or broader questions about war coverage, such as the topics or aspects of the

war that were covered, the relative emphasis of war coverage that focused on the U.S. military as opposed to other parties, or the sources that reporters utilized. Instead, results of this study address only some relevant indicators of war coverage.

In one important respect, the results of this investigation are conservative. The structure of television news reports caused coders to overstate positive coverage of the military in nonembedded television news reports, resulting in smaller differences between embedded and nonembedded news reports across all dependent variables. During OIF, nonembedded journalists sometimes filed reports from Baghdad, the Pentagon, and other locations using sound bites and video footage submitted by embedded reporters and videographers. Hence, some nonembedded television news reports took on the characteristics of news stories filed by embedded reporters. The results of Hypotheses 1 through 5 may have been more significant if the stories by nonembedded reporters who used, and did not use, segments from embedded reporters and videographers had been separated. Future studies should incorporate this distinction in the design.

There is no assurance that the measure, day of coverage, actually captured the concept that researchers wanted to measure, namely, the length of time that journalists were embedded with specific combat units. Day of coverage was operationalized as 1 to 15 based on the 15 days of content analysis for both the invasion and resistance/occupation phases of OIF. If journalists remained embedded with combat units for the duration, then the measure fulfilled its function as a covariate, based on the premise that embedded television news reports would be more positive toward the military and manifest stronger organizational commitment as journalists became more attached to the units they were assigned to. Of course, there is no way to know whether reporters remained embedded with the same units over the 15-day interval.

In addition, the results involving relational communication were disappointing. This study assessed relational communication only in television news reports in which military personnel were interviewed. However, there were few nonembedded interviews, and the statistical analyses suffered from insufficient power.

Finally, coding was done by DoD public affairs personnel, who were students in the DoD Joint Course in Communication at the University of Oklahoma. Their military ties may have biased coding. However, coding was conducted under the direct supervision of the first author, their professor, and the second author, a doctoral student. In addition, any bias would have affected both embedded and nonembedded coverage, thus not undermining the main findings of this study.

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Children's Exposure to Negative Internet Content: Effects of Family Context

Chang-Hoan Cho and Hongsik John Cheon

Concerned that inappropriate Internet content may jeopardize the health or safety of children, this study is designed to provide insights into children's exposure to negative Internet content by building a hypothesized theoretical model that examines the effect of family context factors (family cohesion, shared Web activities, parents' Internet skill, and parents' perceived control) on children's exposure to negative Internet content. Findings from the 178 participating families who completed the survey demonstrate that children are more exposed to negative Internet content than what most parents expect. Parents' perceived control, obtained through shared Web activities and family cohesion, was determined to actually reduce children's exposure to negative Internet content.

The Internet has become an indispensable element of life for most people in the contemporary world, and children are not excluded. Because of the ubiquitous availability of Internet access, in schools and libraries, children are increasingly becoming involved in this new technology (Steyer & Clinton, 2003). As of December 2003, 23 million children in the United States ages 6 to 17 have Internet access at home, which is a threefold increase since 2000 (MediaPost, 2003). According to a survey conducted by the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in July 2002, 78% of family households with children have Internet access at home. A survey by Yahoo and Carat showed that children ages 12 to 17 used the Internet an average of 16.7 hours per week in 2003 (Indiantelevision, 2003). Given this extensive usage, the Internet has the potential to be a very powerful socialization agent (Huston, Watkins, & Kunkel, 1989).

The Internet has a double-edged sword characteristic for children: providing many opportunities for learning (ParentLink, 2004; Wartella, Lee, & Caplovitz, 2002) while

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exposing children to potentially negative content (Finkelhor, Mitchell, & Wolak, 2000). The Internet not only provides significant benefits for children, such as research access, socialization, entertainment, and a communication tool with families, but it also connotes negative aspects such as violence, pornography, hate sites, isolation, predators, and commercialism (Media Awareness Network, 2003; National School Boards Foundation, 2003). The Web sites considered detrimental include those dedicated to negative content such as pornography, violent online games, online gambling, and so forth. For example, many children can easily access pornographic content on the Internet. They can also be accidentally exposed to numerous obscene pop-up banner ads and extensive pornographic content when they type seemingly innocent key words into a search engine, for example, the name of a singer such as Britney Spears, Christina Aguilera, or Madonna (U.S. House of Representatives, 2001). According to Finkelhor et al., 25% of the respondents ($n = 1,501$, ages 10–17) reported receiving unwanted exposure to sexual materials while online, and 19% received a sexual solicitation online.

Despite the potential negative effects on children using the Internet, more than 30% of surveyed parents had not discussed the downside of Internet use with their children (Internet Advisory Board, 2001), and 62% of parents of teenagers did not realize that their children had visited inappropriate Web sites (Yankelovich Partners, 1999). Recognizing the ever-serious negative aspects of children using the Internet and parents' possible underestimation of, or ignorance about, their children's Internet usage and its effects, this study explores the degree of children's exposure to negative Internet content and detects the possible discrepancy between what parents think their children are doing online and their children's actual activities. In doing so, this study carefully dissects the possible causes and consequences of perceived parental control over children's Internet usage. Concerned that inappropriate Internet content may jeopardize the health or safety of children, the present study is a crucial attempt that aims to address the following research inquires with regard to children's Internet usage: (a) to understand the degree to which children are exposed to negative Internet content, (b) to detect a possible discrepancy between parents' perception and children's actual exposure to negative Internet content, (c) to examine various antecedents explaining perceived parental control over children's Internet usage, and (d) to suggest various ways to decrease children's exposure to negative Internet content.

Literature Review

In fall 2002, 99% of public schools in the United States had access to the Internet and 64% of children ages 5 to 17 had Internet access at home (National Center for Education Statistics, 2002). Children ages 13 to 17 spent more time online than watching television—3.5 hours versus 3.1 hours per day, and used the Internet mostly for exploration (surfing and searching), followed by education (learning and homework), multimedia (music, video, etc.), communications (e-mail, chat, and instant mes-

sages), games, and e-commerce (Corporation for Public Broadcasting, 2002). The place children were most likely to use the Internet was in the home, rather than at a library or school: 20% of children ages 8 to 16 had a computer in their bedroom, of which 54% had Internet access (Wartella et al., 2002).

Negative Effects of Using the Internet

There is an increasing concern from educators, psychologists, and parents about the negative effects of using the Internet on the physical (e.g., information fatigue syndrome), cognitive (e.g., inability to discriminate between the real and cyber world), and social development (e.g., identity confusion) of children (Cordes & Miller, 2000), among which, detriment to social development (hurting children's skills and patience to conduct necessary social relations in the real world) is a paramount problem (Affonso, 1999). One of the most serious concerns regarding children's social development involves the proliferation and easy accessibility of negative content on the Internet, such as pornography, violence, hate speech, gambling, sexual solicitation, and so forth (Internet Advisory Board, 2001; ParentLink, 2004). It is easy to see how these types of negative content harm children and destroy their development. Extant literature shows that children's exposure to inappropriate media content yields many negative outcomes such as increased aggression, fear, desensitization, poor school performance, prevalence of symptoms of psychological trauma, antisocial behavior, negative self-perception, low self-esteem, lack of reality, identity confusion, and more (e.g., Donnerstein, Slaby, & Eron, 1994; Fleming & Rickwood, 2001; Funk & Buchman, 1996; Strasburger & Donnerstein, 1999; Wartella, O'Keefe, & Scantlin, 2000).

In particular, sexually explicit materials on the Internet can desensitize children to deviant sexual stimuli and encourage them to enact antisocial aggressive sexual behaviors (W. Fisher & Barak, 2001). Furthermore, the anonymity of the Internet makes it easier for pedophiles to approach children through online chatting. Children who spend hours in chat rooms looking for friends or just passing time can be easily targeted and abused by unknown adult sexual offenders (KidsHealth, 2004). Violent online games are another serious concern. It is known that violent computer games increase children's physical, verbal, relational, and antisocial aggressions (Donnerstein et al., 1994). These negative effects of violent games on children are even more serious regarding the Internet because access to such violent games has become easier for unsupervised children due to free or fee-based online games (Collwell & Payne, 2000). Online gambling has also been cited as a serious Internet problem affecting children. It can seriously disrupt children's social and psychological development, for example, addiction, being unable to repay debts, missing school, and so forth (Ho, 2002; Mikta, 2001).

However, little is known about children's actual amount of exposure to such inappropriate content and activities on the Internet. Extant literature shows that a discrep-

ancy exists between the reports of parents and children on children's media usage; for example, parents tend to underestimate time spent on television viewing and the amount of violence to which children are exposed (Pearl, 1982; Strasburger & Donnerstein, 1999). This discrepancy leads parents to underrate the impact of media messages on their children and to not exert much control over their children's media use (Gentile & Walsh, 2002). Surprisingly, 38% of surveyed children ages 8 to 18 said that their parents do not enforce any rules on watching television, 95% of older children watch television without their parents, and 81% of children ages 2 to 7 watch television unsupervised (Roberts, Foehr, Rideout, & Brodie, 1999). This may be true for children's Internet usage, but we know little about the possible discrepancy between parental estimates and children's actual Internet usage. In this vein, the present study tries to detect the degree to which children are exposed to these sources of negative content and whether parents overestimate or underestimate their children's exposure to such content. In doing so, this study strives to examine how children's exposure to such negative Internet content relates to the social context of Internet usage, that is, the role of family communication and relationship on children's exposure to such content.

Social Context of Children's Internet Use

People use media within a social realm, and children are no exception. Social context of media usage, especially parental influence, is crucial in children's social development. However, many social aspects of children's Internet usage are still unknown. Therefore, this study focuses on the social context of children's Internet use, especially relative to family environment such as parental guidance, influence, and relationship with children.

Children live within a family boundary; therefore, parental influence on children's media usage and effect is very important. Extant research shows that family communication exerts the greatest influence on children's socialization and development (McLeod & Chaffee, 1972; Moschis, 1985; O'Keefe, 1973). Stemming from political socialization research (Chaffee, McLeod, & Atkin, 1971), family communication patterns have been widely applied to various socialization contexts such as consumption, political process, media usage, and so forth. In particular, in mass media research, it was found that family communication patterns mediate the extent and type of children's mass media use and effects, for example, watching public affairs television programs (McLeod & Chaffee, 1972; Weintraub-Austin, 1993), interest in and knowledge about politics (Meadowcroft, 1986), imitating their parents' television usage (Chaffee et al., 1971), interpreting televised violence (Krcmar, 1998), attitude towards nontraditional sex roles (Corder-Bolz, 1980), child consumer learning (Churchill & Moschis, 1979; Moschis & Moore, 1982; Robertson, 1979), and so forth.

More specifically, concerning children's Internet usage, Wartella et al. (2000) found that parental attitude and guidance significantly influence children's judg-

ment of quality Internet materials. Recognizing the importance of family context on children's Internet usage, the present study tries to examine the role of family context (parent-child communication, relationship, and activity) on children's exposure to Internet content and parents' control over children's Internet use. In short, the research contributes to this area in the following three aspects: (a) understanding children's actual Internet usage in terms of content, not by Web sites or general activities; (b) examining the role of family environment on children's negative Internet exposure; and (c) providing a theoretical framework to explain children's exposure to negative Internet content and parents' perceived control over their children's Internet usage.

Hypotheses Model

The first purpose of this study is to compare children's actual exposure to negative Internet content and parents' perception of their children's negative exposure, exploring the degree of discrepancy between the two. This study also examines whether children's exposure to negative Internet content varies with demographic variables such as family income, parents' education, and children's age and gender. Therefore, the two exploratory research questions for the study are as follows:

- RQ₁: Is there any discrepancy or gap between children's actual exposure to negative Internet content and parents' perception of children's negative exposure?
- RQ₂: Does children's exposure to negative Internet content vary with demographic variables such as family income, parents' education level, and children's age and gender?

After answering the two research questions, the study builds a hypothesized model of children's exposure to negative Internet content and parental influences. More specifically, extending previous research on children's Internet usage and family context of media usage, this study proposes a hypothesized theoretical model that examines the relationship between family cohesion/intimacy, shared Web activities, parents' Internet knowledge and skill, parents' perceived control over children's Internet use, and children's exposure to negative Internet content (see Figure 1).

Family Cohesion/Intimacy

Family cohesion or intimacy is one of two basic dimensions of family relationships, along with power structure. It is defined as emotional connection among family members (Olson et al., 1983) or emotional links between parents and children (Emery, 1992). Previous studies demonstrate the importance of family cohesion or intimacy in children's socialization and development. For example, Powers (1988) found that high emotional cohesiveness or intimacy within a family significantly affects chil-

dren's development of advanced moral judgment. In highly cohesive families, parents are the most influential source of moral authority and exert more control over their children's moral standards. This may be because a more cohesive and intimate relationship between parents and children makes it more likely that parents will have good communication with children, be more aware of children's attitudes and behaviors, and will thus perceive high control over children's behavior (White, 2000).

More specifically, regarding children's media-related behaviors, extant literature reveals the positive role of family cohesion on children's media consumption patterns and parental control. Highly cohesive families tend to have high internal connectedness through high family communication and encourage more nonmedia alternative family activities (e.g., leisure, outings, etc.), which are positively associated with decreased television viewing and increased parental monitoring, supervision, and control over children's media use (Dorr & Rabin, 1995; Gentile & Walsh, 2002; Pearl, 1982; Willits & Willits, 1986). Applying this to children's Internet use, it can be postulated that more cohesive parents tend to have high family communication, be more aware of children's behaviors, exert much control over children's Internet use, and thus perceive higher control:

H₁: Parents who feel higher intimacy with their children have greater perceived control over their children's Internet usage.

Shared Web Activities/Co-Browsing

Parent-child interactions or shared family activities are among the most salient forces in establishing and maintaining family relationships and boundaries (Zabrickie & McCormick, 2003). Shared activities are positively related to family functioning and communications (Shaw & Dawson, 2001). Parents with greater shared activities or positive interactions with their children are more likely to have better relationships with their children (Stafford & Canary, 1991) and, thus, are more aware of children's attitudes and behaviors (Olson et al., 1983). This may lead to high parental control over children's attitudes and behaviors, that is, more shared activities, better communication, and more control over children's behaviors (Holman & Jacquart, 1988; Orthner, 1975).

In mass media research, a similar phenomenon is found, that is, the positive role of shared family interactions on children's television viewing behaviors such as viewing time, pattern, and effects (Krcmar, 1998). First, more shared family activities are associated with fewer television viewing hours (Willits & Willits, 1986). Second, children from families with more shared activities are less likely to watch television without parental supervision (Roberts, 2000). Extant literature also shows that shared family activities are correlated with positive media effects (Gentile & Walsh, 2002). In particular, when parents comment on and explain television programs for their children (shared media activities), their input results in more positive effects on children's tele-

vision viewing behaviors. For example, shared television activities, or co-viewing, enhanced children's learning from educational programs (Collins, 1983) and increased children's comprehension of the characters and events depicted in television programs (Collins, Sobol, & Westly, 1981). Moreover, the effects of violent televised content on children were significantly minimized through parental television mediation (Corder-Bolz, 1980). Recently, Nathanson (2004) showed that parental mediation through evaluation of violent program characters yielded positive outcomes among children (e.g., negative attitude toward violent programs and characters, less likelihood to justify violence, and less involvement with violent programs). Family control orientation was also positively related to the degree of shared media activities, such as co-viewing and parental mediation (Chaffee & Tims, 1976).

Applying this positive role of shared media activities on children's media usage to the Internet context, it can be expected that high parent-child interaction (shared Web activity or co-browsing) makes it more likely that parents will have greater mediation and communication (discussion of Internet content), greater agreement on children's decision making (deciding which Web sites to see or not), and will thus perceive higher control over children's behaviors (perceived control over their children's Internet usage). Therefore, it can be postulated that greater shared Web activities may result in a greater level of perceived parental control over children's Internet usage.

H₂: Parents who engage in greater shared Web activities with their children have greater perceived control over their children's Internet usage.

Internet Knowledge and Skill

A new medium, like the Internet, usually requires a technical basis, namely "possession of knowledge or skill without which actual behavioral enactment is difficult or impossible" (J. D. Fisher & Fisher, 1992, p. 457). This technical skill and knowledge enhances a user's perceived control over the medium (Ajzen, 1988). Skill, a Web user's "capacity for action during the online navigation process," has been known to influence the Internet user's online experience or "flow"—"an optimal, intrinsically enjoyable cognitive state experienced during online navigation" (Novak, Hoffman, & Yung, 2000, p. 24). It is believed that greater knowledge about, and skill at using, the Internet leads to greater perceived control during the Internet interaction.

The role of skill and knowledge is also crucial in school-based children's education programs. The possession of good knowledge and skill in teaching content is essential for the success of every schoolteacher, especially for health-related and socially sensitive issues (Gingiss & Basen-Engquist, 1994). For example, teachers lacking adequate knowledge of HIV/AIDS could not effectively explain the disease or comfortably discuss related issues with students such as safer sex, disease transmission, symptoms, and so on (Dawson, Chunis, Smith, & Carboni, 2001). Despite the lack of studies on the role of parents' skill and knowledge on children's education, it can be assumed

that parents with the necessary skill and knowledge concerning discussion topics might see themselves as competent in teaching their children about the topics, feel more comfortable discussing related issues, and perceive high control over children's related learning behaviors or adjustment. Similarly, in terms of parent-child interactions about and with the Internet, it can be assumed that parents with the necessary skill and knowledge concerning using the Internet may see themselves as competent in making judgments about, and exerting control over, their children's Internet usage (e.g., checking bookmarks and cache history, blocking inappropriate Internet content, etc.). Therefore, the following hypothesis is postulated:

H₃: Parents who have good skill and knowledge concerning the Internet have greater perceived control over their children's Internet usage.

Perceived Parental Control and Children's Internet Usage

Perceived parental control—parents' perception of their ability to successfully supervise and understand their children's Internet usage patterns and behaviors—can influence children's actual Internet usage. In other words, parents who have sophisticated Internet skill and knowledge, and have high intimacy and shared activities with their children, are expected to exert better control over their children's Internet usage, which may result in more appropriate use of the Internet by their children. More specifically, the higher perceived control over children's Internet usage, the less children's exposure to negative Internet content. Therefore, the following hypothesis is postulated:

H₄: Greater parental perceived control over their children's Internet usage leads to less exposure to negative Internet content by their children.

Method

Sample

Participating families were recruited through a developmental research school system associated with a large southeastern university. The school encompasses elementary, middle, and high school. It was determined that access through this school system was a good avenue for contacting a broad range of families, while cutting across social and demographic lines and including those families that still had children in the home. This school's student population is manipulated by the state to ensure impartial demographics with students from differing economic, racial, and ethnic backgrounds. Representing a cross section of the population in the area where the school is located, the school has 27% African American and 12.5% Hispanic students. Thirty-one percent of the students are drawn from families with an income below

\$25,000 a year. Children between the ages of 11 and 16 (6th to 10th grade) participated in the study, which assures that they have reached a cognitive level that provides the abstract thinking capacity required to complete the survey instrument. This allowed students to understand and interpret the survey question items (Zabriskie & McCormick, 2003).

Procedure

To recruit families for this study, the researchers first contacted the principal of the school. After getting permission from the principal and teachers at the school, permission (consent) was obtained from parents or guardians. For consenting families (student–parent pairs), the survey questionnaire was first administered to the parent (delivered home by the student) and then to the child (in school). The upper right corner of each pair of questionnaires (parent–child) was numbered and distributed in alphabetical order according to the students' last name (using the class roster) for each class. This was to ensure that each parent's survey form matched their child's form. When students returned their parents' consent and survey forms in sealed envelopes in class, the associated questionnaire (the same number as the specific parent) was given to the children and they were asked to fill out the questionnaire. The students were rewarded with candies and chocolates upon completing the questionnaire in class. One child was randomly selected if a parent had multiple children at the school. Of the 310 families initially contacted, 190 families participated in the survey.

Measures and Instrument

Five latent constructs are examined in this study: children's exposure to negative Internet content, parents' perceived control over children's Internet usage, family cohesion, shared Web activities, and Internet skill. Internet skill items were taken from Novak et al. (2000). All other question items were constructed by the researchers due to the lack of previously validated measures or an adaptable preexisting scale in the literature. Accidental exposures ("accidentally exposed to") and intentional exposures ("likes to browse or participate in") were used to measure both parents' perception of children's exposure (e.g., "How often do you think your child is accidentally exposed/likes to browse ...") and children's actual exposure (e.g., "How much are you accidentally exposed/do you like to ...").¹ Four types of negative Internet content or activities were illustrated in the questionnaire as follows: "violent online games (fighting, killing, or destroying things),"² "sexually explicit sites (romantic or dating information)," "online chatting with unknown persons (with unknown intentions),"³ and "online gambling (using cyber or real money)." Seven-point semantic-differential scales, ranging from 1 (*rarely*) and 7 (*very frequently*), were used to measure accidental and intentional exposure. Either 7-point Likert or 7-point semantic-differential

scales were used to measure all remaining constructs (parents' perceived control, family cohesion, shared Web activity, and Internet skill).

Because most measurement items used in this study were constructed by the researchers, a four-step measurement purification process was performed: (a) exploratory factor analysis to discover the items that deviate from the common core of items and to produce additional dimensions (Churchill, 1979), (b) confirmatory factor analysis for the final verification of unidimensionality (Gerbing & Anderson, 1988), (c) reliability test of the final scales, and (d) calculation of construct validity (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1995). First, through exploratory factor analyses, only one factor was kept for each construct due to either a small eigenvalue (slightly higher than 1) of the second factor or only one item belonging to the second factor (Hair et al., 1995). Second, through confirmatory factor analyses, nonsensical or theoretically inconsistent items that had large standard errors, standardized coefficients exceeding or very close to 1.0, or negative error variance were deleted. The results from first-order confirmatory factor models showed that the item-loading estimates on their factors were significant ($p < .05$; see Table 1). Goodness-of-fit indexes also demonstrated the quality of all models. The reliability coefficient alpha was higher than .70 for all five constructs. Finally, construct validity for each construct was calculated manually following Hair et al. (1995, p. 642), and the coefficients were all above the rule of .50. The final measurement items, purified through a series of factor analysis and used in the final structural equation analysis, are presented in Table 1.

Results

Participant Profile

Of the 190 families participating in the survey, data from 178 families was usable for the final analysis after deleting cases with missing values for key study variables.⁴ Among the 178 participating parents, 55 were fathers, 116 were mothers, and 7 were legal guardians. Parents and guardians ranged in age from 28 to 74 years, with a mean of 44.4. For participating children, 46.9% were male, and 53.1% were female, and their ages ranged from 11 to 16 years, with a mean of 13.04.

Findings of Research Questions 1 and 2

A discrepancy was found between children's actual exposure to negative Internet content (violent online games, sexually explicit sites, online chatting with unknown persons, and online gambling) and parents' perception of children's Internet exposure. Table 2 compares parents' perception of their children's negative Internet exposure with children's actual exposure. For accidental exposure, the mean of parents' perception of their children's accidental exposure to negative Internet content ($M = 2.24$) was lower than that of children's actual exposure ($M = 2.57$), $t(177) = -3.75$, $p <$

Table 1
Constructs, Indicators, and Key Statistics

Latent Variables	Indicators	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	Confirmatory Factor Loadings
Family cohesion	I consider myself to be very close to my child ^a	6.40	0.87	.90 ^b
	I respect my child's opinion ^a	6.41	0.81	.63 ^c
	I like to spend as much of my spare time as I can with my child ^a	5.96	1.10	.41 ^c
	I feel that I get along with my child ^a	6.45	0.94	.81 ^c
	Index	6.30	0.73	Cronbach's $\alpha = .86$
Parents' shared Web activities with the child	I spend much time with my child in front of the computer ^a	2.94	1.46	.49 ^b
	I share Web content or Web sites with my child ^a	4.24	1.69	.35 ^c
	I help my child use the Internet or search Web content ^a	4.95	1.55	.66 ^c
	Index	4.04	1.15	Cronbach's $\alpha = .72$
Parents' Internet skill and knowledge	I am skilled at using the Internet ^a	5.15	1.33	.97 ^b
	I consider myself knowledgeable about the Internet ^a	5.02	1.32	.95 ^c
	I know how to find what I am looking for on the Internet ^a	5.48	1.29	.81 ^c
	How would I rate my skill at using the Internet, compared to a sport, game, hobby, or shopping I am best at? ^d	4.58	1.44	.74 ^c
	Index	5.05	1.24	Cronbach's $\alpha = .92$
Parents' perceived control over children's Internet usage	I know what Web content my child is exposed to ^a	5.07	1.40	.65 ^b
	I know which Web sites my child usually browses ^a	5.14	1.43	.88 ^c
	I control the Web content to which my child is exposed ^a	4.35	1.84	.54 ^c
	Index	4.84	1.30	Cronbach's $\alpha = .83$

(continued)

Table 1 (Continued)

Latent Variables	Indicators	M	SD	Confirmatory Factor Loadings
Children's exposure to negative Internet content (violent online games, sexually explicit sites, online chatting with unknown persons, and online gambling)	How much are you "accidentally" exposed to or have you participated in the following Internet content or activities, even though you do not intend it (or through commercials)? ^e	2.57	1.03	.65 ^b
	How much do you "like" to browse or participate in the following Internet content or activities? ^e	1.96	0.93	.82 ^f
	Index	2.27	0.85	Cronbach's $\alpha = .79$

^aOn a scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). ^bLoading was set to 1.0 to fix construct variance. ^cFactor significance: $p < .01$. ^dOn a scale from 1 (*not skillful*) to 7 (*skillful*). ^eOn a scale from 1 (*rarely*) to 7 (*very frequently*). ^fFactor significance: $p < .05$.

Table 2
Discrepancy Between Children's Actual Exposure to Negative Content and Parents' Perception of Their Children's Negative Internet Exposure

	M	SD	$t(177)$ (Two-Tailed)
Parents' perception of accidental exposure	2.24	0.96	$t(177) = -3.75, p = .000$
Children's actual accidental exposure	2.57	1.03	
Discrepancy (parent - children)	-0.33	1.18	
Parents' perception of intentional exposure	1.65	0.75	$t(177) = -4.35, p = .000$
Children's actual intentional exposure	1.96	0.93	
Discrepancy (parent - children)	-0.31	0.96	
Parents' perception (average of accidental and intentional)	1.94	0.86	$t(177) = -4.60, p = .000$
Children's actual exposure (average of accidental and intentional)	2.27	0.85	
Discrepancy (parent - children)	-0.32	0.94	

Note: Average of exposure to violent online games, sexually explicit sites, online chatting with unknown persons, and online gambling (each measured on a scale from 1 to 7).

Table 3
Children's Exposure to Negative Internet Content by Gender

Gender	N	Intentional Exposure			Accidental Exposure		
		M	SD	<i>t</i> (Two-Tailed)	M	SD	<i>p</i> (Two-Tailed)
Male	76	2.26	1.04	$t(143.80) = 3.78$,	2.58	1.09	$t(160) = 0.11$,
Female	86	1.69	0.84	$p = .000$	2.56	1.07	$p = .97$

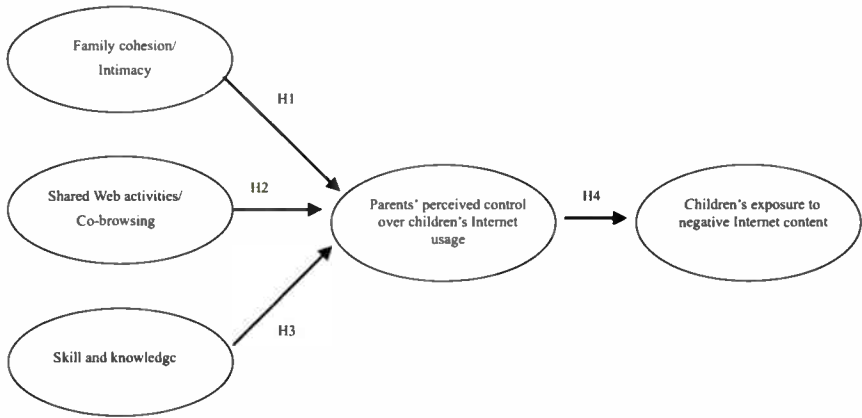
Note: Average of exposure to violent online games, sexually explicit sites, online chatting with unknown persons, and online gambling (each measured on a scale from 1 to 7).

.001.⁵ The same was true for intentional exposure ($M = 1.65$ vs. 1.96), $t(177) = -4.35$, $p < .001$, and combined exposure (average of accidental and intentional; $M = 1.94$ vs. 2.27), $t(177) = -4.60$, $p < .001$. The relationship between children's exposure to negative Internet content and demographic variables was also examined. As shown in Table 3, male children ($M = 2.26$) are more likely to be intentionally exposed to negative Internet content than female children ($M = 1.69$), $t(143.8) = 3.78$, $p < .05$. However, there was no statistically significant mean difference between male and female children for accidental exposure (2.58 vs. 2.56), $t(160) = 0.11$, $p > .05$. Children's accidental and/or intentional exposure to negative Internet content is not related with other demographic variables such as family income, parents' education level, gender of parents, and age of children ($p > .05$).

Model Testing

Prior to the main hypothesis testing, several underlying assumptions were validated for structural equation modeling (normality, sampling adequacy, and no extreme multicollinearity; Hair et al., 1995), and the assumptions were confirmed to be within acceptable boundaries.⁶ Four research hypotheses were tested, using structural equation analysis, by the method of maximum likelihood. AMOS 5 was used for performing data analyses. Figure 1 shows the visual description of the initial hypothesized model. Exogenous variables included family cohesion, shared Web activities, and Internet skill. Two endogenous variables included parents' perceived control over children's Internet usage and children's actual exposure to negative Internet content. Estimating goodness-of-fit for the hypothesized research model is the first step in model testing. In this study, the chi-square test is significant and suggests that the estimated model does not fit well with the observed data. However, the chi-square test is sensitive to sample size, and such a test frequently leads to model rejection. Therefore, Bentler and Bonnett (1980) suggested a chi-square/degrees of freedom ratio that does not exceed five indicates acceptable model fit (Bentler, 1989; Bollen, 1989), and this was estimated as 2.13 in the hypothesized model ($\chi^2 = 213.34$, $df = 100$). Normed fit index (NFI) was .84, comparative fit index (CFI) was .91, and root mean

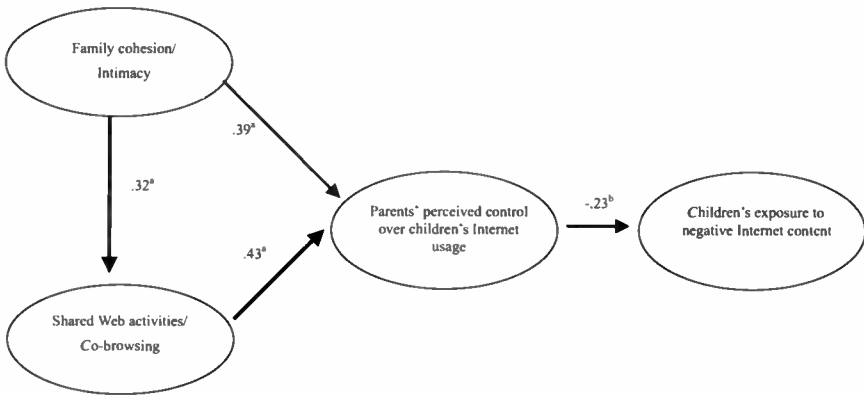
Figure 1
Hypothesized Model



square error of approximation (RMSEA) was .08, respectively. Based on these measures, it can be concluded that the model is acceptable despite the significant chi-square statistic.

To improve the model, the significance of the regression weights was first examined, and all variables were significant ($p < .05$), except for parents' perceived control caused by Internet skill ($p = .26$).⁷ This path was deleted in the revised model. Furthermore, modification indexes were used to identify any theoretically meaningful paths or relationships omitted in the original model. It was found that family cohesion is related to shared Web activity ($p < .01$), and therefore, the relationship was added to the revised model. Although this relationship was not hypothesized, much of the literature on shared family activity points out that family members in a high degree of family cohesion/intimacy tend to have high internal connectedness through high family communication, encouraging inside interactions within the family boundary (Olson et al., 1983; Shaw & Dawson, 2001), and are more likely to view television programs together (Messaris & Kerr, 1983; Weintraub-Austin, 1993). Similarly, a recent study (Warren, 2003) shows that parents who are highly involved with children are more likely to mediate their children's television viewing. The revised model with the added path (family cohesion \rightarrow shared Web activity) and deleted path (Internet skill \rightarrow parents' perceived control) was tested (Figure 2), and the revised model was found to fit the data better than the original model ($\chi^2 = 65.69$, $df = 49$, χ^2/df ratio = 1.34, NFI = .99, CFI = .99, and RMSEA = .04). The significance of regression weights was examined for all constructs, and their associated measures and all relationships were significant at $p < .05$. The final model provides support for three of the four hypotheses (Hypotheses 1, 2, and 4). In support of Hypothesis 1, parents who feel higher intimacy with their children have greater perceived control over their children's Internet usage

Figure 2
The Final Model



Note: Model fit: $\chi^2 = 65.69$, $df = 49$, $p = .056$; χ^2/df ratio = 1.34, NFI = .99, CFI = .99, RMSEA = .04. ^aPath significance: $p < .01$, one-tailed. ^bPath significance: $p < .05$, one-tailed.

($\gamma = .39$, $p < .01$). The degree to which parents engage in shared Web activities with their children was positively related to parents' perceived control over their children's Internet usage (Hypothesis 2: $\gamma = .43$, $p < .01$), which in turn leads to decreased children's exposure to negative Internet content (Hypothesis 4: $\gamma = -.23$, $p < .05$). In addition, a new causal relationship (family cohesion \rightarrow shared Web activity) emerged ($\gamma = .32$, $p < .01$) in the model.

Discussion

This study was an exploratory study to understand children's exposure to negative Internet content. The objective was to provide insight into family context factors that influence children's exposure to negative Internet content and to test their proposed interrelationships. In pursuing that goal, a theoretical model of children's negative Internet exposure was synthesized from the theoretical traditions of a representative body of diverse referent disciplines. Possible contributions of this study are threefold. First, it is the first attempt toward understanding children's negative Internet exposure in terms of content, rather than by Web sites or general activities. Second, this study builds a theoretical model explaining children's exposure to negative Internet content. Third, the study identifies the importance of family environment on children's negative Internet exposure and suggests two important family context variables that reduce children's exposure to negative content.

This study found that parents generally underestimate their children's exposure to negative Internet content. This finding suggests that children are more exposed to

negative Internet content than what parents expect. It implies that the effect of negative Internet content on children can be more serious than what most parents estimate. Moreover, among various demographic variables such as family income, parents' education level, and age and gender of children, only the gender of children is related to children's exposure to negative content (male children are exposed to negative content more than female children). This finding suggests that demographic variables do little to explain children's negative Internet exposure, which amplifies the importance of identifying other significant factors that explain children's Internet exposure. This study proposed family relationship, interaction, and control as important antecedents of children's exposure to negative Internet content and built a theoretical model on the effect of family context on children's negative exposure.

The acceptable fit of the final model generally supports the stated hypotheses: Parents' perceived control is explained by shared Web activity and family cohesion, and perceived control results in more appropriate use of the Internet by their children (less exposure to negative Internet content). As anticipated in Hypothesis 1, there was a significant effect of family cohesion/intimacy on parents' perceived control over children's Internet usage. The result suggests that parents who perceive high family cohesion/intimacy tend to have high perceived control over their children's Internet usage. This finding implies that parents need to maintain intimate emotional bonding with their children to have better understanding of, and control over, their children's behaviors (negative Internet exposure). The result is consistent with previous studies on the role of family cohesion on the parent-child relationship (Emery, 1992; Olson et al., 1983; Powers, 1988; White, 2000), and this study substantiates the importance of family cohesion in the context of children's negative Internet exposure.

As expected in Hypothesis 2, findings demonstrate a significant effect of shared Web activities on parents' perceived control over children's Internet usage. The result implies that parents who spend more time online with their children are more likely to have high perceived control over their children's Internet usage. The result is consistent with previous studies on the role of shared family activities on parent-child mutual understanding (Shaw & Dawson, 2001; Stafford & Canary, 1991) and children's media usage and learning (Collins, 1983; Collins et al., 1981; Corder-Bolz, 1980). This study further confirms the importance of shared family activities in the context of children's negative Internet exposure. Although not initially hypothesized, a new causal relationship (family cohesion → shared Web activity) was discovered. This relationship seems conceptually sound because high emotional bonding among parents and children may lead to more shared activities and interactions between them. Actually, previous studies have demonstrated the positive relationship between family bonding and family interaction (Messaris & Kerr, 1983; Olson et al., 1983; Shaw & Dawson, 2001; Warren, 2003; Weintraub-Austin, 1993).

Unexpectedly, however, the effect of parents' Internet skill on perceived control over children's Internet usage was not confirmed. The hypothesized relationship (Hypothesis 3) was derived from "flow" research (more skill, higher cognitive control), but the result failed to show the importance of parents' Internet skill on the

perceived control over their children's Internet usage. The finding suggests that parents' Internet knowledge and skill do not necessarily give high competency and control to parents; instead, emotional bonding and shared Web activities contribute to increase parents' perceived control over children's Internet usage. In terms of relative importance, shared Web activity exhibited the strongest predicting power of parents' perceived control ($\gamma = .43$), followed by family cohesion ($\gamma = .39$). The result suggests that the most important contributor of parents' perceived control over children's Internet usage is shared Web activities between parents and children. In addition, parents' perceived control led to decreased children's exposure to negative Internet content (Hypothesis 4). This suggests that parents' perceived control through shared Web activities and family cohesion actually reduces children's exposure to negative Internet content.

The findings of the present research provide substantial implications for child education in school and at home. This study suggests possible home education strategies to parents, for example, locating the computer in a common area and having regular shared Internet sessions, encouraging children to evaluate Web sites and Internet ads and commenting on and explaining the subjects, teaching quality Web browsing and clicking choices, building and maintaining family love, affirmation and intimate relationship with children, and so forth. Parental oversight and interaction through these home education strategies can help reduce the temptation for children to use the computer to explore inappropriate content. The results of the study also can help educational organizations and governmental agencies develop various workshops or educational programs for children and parents to teach quality Internet use and importance of family context in children's negative Internet exposure. The study also provides implications for government regulations regarding Web sites that are potentially negative to children, for example, the need for developing a universal rating system for inappropriate Internet content (such as early childhood, everyone, teen, mature, and adults only) and requiring the Web sites to post the rating to better inform children and parents about the content of the Web sites before they observe the content.

Limitations and Future Research

This study has several noted limitations. The first concern relates to sampling issues. First, the sample was relatively more upscale in terms of reported family income and parent education level than reflected in the sample school's general student population.⁸ Second, the sample size of 178 was relatively small and was not a national sample. Third, the sample was limited to children ages 11 to 16. Therefore, it would be valuable to replicate the present study with a larger and more representative national sample including younger, more vulnerable children. Another concern is that the study employed self-reported measurement of children's Internet exposure without any actual observation of the children's behavior. Even though

this study tried to address social desirability effects by assuring the anonymity of participants and employing accidental exposure, as well as intentional exposure, there is still a chance that social desirability may have factored into the responses. Hence, it would be fruitful to conduct an experiment that directly measures actual children's Internet exposure (e.g., log file analysis, surveillance software, etc.) by controlling social desirability effects. Similarly, for the measure of parents' control, it might be more valid to assess actual behavioral control, instead of perceived control, for example, how often parents intervene, monitor, filter, and/or supervise. In addition, the list of inappropriate Internet content could have been more exhaustive; for example, hate Web sites were not included. Hence, it would be useful to include a more exhaustive list of inappropriate content for future research. Last, Family communications patterns inventory could be another important indicator of parents' perceived control of their children's use of the Internet. Therefore, the relationship would be worthwhile for future study.

In conclusion, this study has provided a theoretical framework for understanding the role of family environment on children's negative Internet exposure, such as family cohesion, shared Web activity, and parents' perceived control. The proposed model is an initial step in understanding the relationship between family context and children's exposure to negative Internet content. Theoretical approaches to understanding children's Internet exposure have rarely been conducted in previous literature, and this study was undertaken to guide future empirical research and theoretical work. For example, the focus was on the family environment from the parents' perspective. It would be worthwhile to examine children's perspectives of family context, such as the role of children's Internet skill, children's perceived intimacy with their parents, children's perceived shared Web activities with their parents, and children's perceived control over Internet content. Second, this study only examined the role of family environment on children's negative Internet exposure. It should be noted that other social contexts might also be crucial in children's media usage. For example, children interact with other peer students outside family boundaries in school or other places. Children's exposure to negative content may be influenced by their interactions with other peer children. In addition, education in school on quality Internet usage may also significantly reduce children's negative Internet exposure. Therefore, as future research, it would be fruitful to examine the effects of peer interaction and school education on children's exposure to negative Internet content.

Notes

¹The reasons for measuring both accidental and intentional exposures are twofold. First, because the topic is highly sensitive (exposure to negative Internet content), it addresses social desirability effects by ensuring anonymity of participation and measuring both intentional and accidental exposure. Second, accidental exposure was related to the perceived parental control as explained by shared activities and family cohesion. The rationale is that children might learn, or have better knowledge for, reducing accidental exposure (e.g., blocking or closing inappropriate pop-up windows right away, not typing certain key words, screening negative content, and in-

tionally ignoring or avoiding content, etc.) through parental control, which is affected by interaction and communication between child and parents (shared Web activities and family cohesion). Accordingly, shared activities and family cohesion were hypothesized to be related to better parental control over children's exposure to negative content and should result in more appropriate and sophisticated use of the Internet by children (less intentional and accidental exposure to negative content).

²There is a question about defining violent online games; different people might have different interpretations and understanding. In this work, violent online games are defined as "a cartoon, fantasy, or human character that must fight or destroy things in order to avoid being killed or destroyed while trying to reach a goal, rescue someone, or escape from something" (Funk & Buchman, 1996, p. 24).

³Although online chatting with unknown persons is not necessarily negative and children interact with other children they might not know online all the time, this study addresses an adult-initiated sexual solicitation or approach targeted at children via the Internet. According to Finkelhor et al. (2000), 19% of surveyed youths received a sexual solicitation on the Internet through online chatting. To address this concern, the phrase "online chatting with unknown adults with sexual intentions" was developed in the pilot test, but it was revised in the main survey to "online chatting with unknown persons (with unknown intentions)," because many adult offenders hide their identities and intentions when they approach children on the Internet, and it was illogical to ask about intentional exposure for this item ("likes to participate in online chatting with unknown adults with sexual intentions").

⁴Some children did not reveal their intentional exposure to negative Internet, so those cases were deleted. Meanwhile, it was decided to include cases with missing values in demographic variables (not the key variables used in the model testing) because a number of parents did not want to reveal their personal demographic information, especially on family income and education level. The researchers assume that this is especially true for the parents with low family income and/or low education level. They might have been afraid that their children would be discriminated against in school based on their family income and parents' education level.

⁵Because the two research questions do not specify directions of effects (nondirectional), two-tailed p values to determine statistical significance were used.

⁶Skewness and kurtosis values for each item were within the range of ± 1.96 , Bartlett's test of sphericity index showed statistical significance ($p < .01$), variance inflation factors of three predictor variables are less than 10.0, tolerance scores of the variables are larger than .10, eigenvalues are larger than .01, and condition indexes are less than 100.

⁷Because the four research hypotheses were one directional, one-tailed p values to determine statistical significance were used.

⁸Although the school's general student population reflected a typical cross section of the broader population, the collected sample was relatively upscale. One possible explanation for this skewed sample would be that parents with a lower education level and lower income were not willing to provide their demographic information. There were approximately 30 cases with missing demographic data such as income and education level, and there is a probability that those cases are mostly from low-income and less-educated families. However, this is a just assumption, and thus, this study might not cover those who are at greater risk (less educated, low-income families). Therefore, caution is recommended in generalizing this study's findings to the broader population.

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New Communication Technologies and Society

Dom Caristi

Lievrouw, L., & Livingstone, S. (Eds.). (2002). *Handbook of new media: Social shaping and consequences of ICTs*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 564 pages.

Schuler, D., & Day, P. (Eds.). (2004). *Shaping the network society: The new role of civil society in cyberspace*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. 433 pages.

Terms for "new media" are almost as prevalent as the media themselves. "Cyberspace" has been used by those wishing to connote a zone in which electronic communications occur. "Information and Communication Technology" (ICT) is a term that fuses the purpose and delivery system within the name. Who can forget the popular metaphor of the 1990s, the "Information Superhighway," with all its associated imagery: on-ramps and off-ramps, the fast lane, and perhaps most remembered, roadkill? All of these labels and many others are attempts to characterize new media in a way that refrains from using the term "new," avoiding the inevitable question of how long a medium must exist before it is no longer considered new. As Leah Lievrouw and Sonia Livingstone state in the introduction to their text:

The field needs a definition that is abstract enough to accommodate the range of systems, contents, issues and settings that researchers consider essential, yet not so broad that new media cannot be distinguished from other established areas within communication research and other disciplines. (p. 5)

In trying to define what constitutes new media, it may be best to remember Supreme Court Justice Potter Stewart's famous characterization of obscenity: "I know it when I see it" (*Jacobellis v. Ohio*, 1964).

There has been no shortage of books attempting to define the new landscape. Approaches are as varied as the authors themselves: everything from "how to" books (McAdams, 2005) to rhetorical studies (Murray, 1997) to philosophy (Hansen, 2004).

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Two recent publications focus on the social impacts of new media. Each text is a collection of essays from an eclectic collection of authors, intended to provide the reader with a diversity of perspectives into new media and their effects on modern society.

Handbook of New Media

The 31 essays in the *Handbook of New Media* are divided into six content areas: the changing social landscape; technology design and development; new media and organizing; systems, industries, and markets; policy and regulation; and culture and new media. The overall text is interdisciplinary, with contributors coming from economics, political science, communication, and other fields, but the individual essays themselves tend toward the authors' specializations. The international flavor of the articles (the authors are from 10 different countries) adds another level of diversity.

Perhaps the *Handbook's* greatest contribution is in framing the issues surrounding new media. For example, the chapters on policy and regulation serve as reminders that regulatory schemes based on media channels become increasingly convoluted as media convergence becomes more prevalent. Several essays examine the shift away from audiences to the concept of "users," or from citizens to "consumers." The book's emphasis is not on the technology but rather on the effects technology has on society *and* the effects society has on the technology. As the editors state: "The social contexts and uses of new media are as important as the technologies themselves" (p. 11).

Shaping the Network Society

In *Shaping the Network Society*, Douglas Schuler and Peter Day created a book with an explicit purpose: They advocate the use of new communication technologies by activists and advocates for social change. It is their premise that mass media have been monopolized by the political and economic elite and that new media provide a real opportunity for average individuals to engage in public dialogue and expand the opportunities for citizen democracy. Unlike the *Handbook of New Media*, the 16 essays in *Shaping the Network Society* promote successful models of citizen engagement in cyberspace and encourage their further proliferation. They advocate free space in the cyberworld for the institutions that promote civic engagement: educational institutions, nonprofit organizations, and public libraries. Their examples include community networks not just in the United States but also in Argentina, Italy, Mexico, and others. The authors provide examples of obstructions created not only by corporations but, perhaps surprisingly, by cities and other government entities.

One recurring theme is the anecdotal nature of the successes: So often one event, one person, or one situation served as the catalyst for the public sphere project. The essay on a community radio station's struggles in the former Yugoslavia to remain an independent voice in the face of oppression is encouraging but may speak more of the

people of that time and place than it does of a universal truth. At the same time B92 was an independent voice, the daily newspaper in Sarajevo continued to publish despite the fact that at least half of their building had been shelled and journalists had to dodge sniper fire to enter or leave the building. Optimists can be encouraged to learn that one person can make a difference. Pessimists will be frustrated to find that there are few universal truths that can be generalized. As Schuler and Day point out: "Just as community and culture differs according to social environments, so too do civil society initiatives" (p. 367).

One common thread found in both the *Handbook* and *Shaping the Network Society* is a rejection of any technological imperative. In *Shaping the Network Society*, the notable essay by Gary Chapman contrasts the technological imperative with a social imperative, asserting that the same technologies used by multinational media corporations to increase profit and homogenize society can be used by social activists to include otherwise neglected voices and provide cultural diversity. Oliver Boyd-Barrett's essay opines that the digital divide that exists today is due not to any technological imperative but merely reflects capitalistic societies that support it.

Howard Rheingold's chapter in *Shaping the Network Society* provides an important reminder that no matter how useful communications technology may be in facilitating social engagement, it is still the active participation in communities that enhances civic life. An active online community cannot replace involvement by local citizens in their physical world.

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Broadcast History From Many Perspectives

John McGuire

Winn, J. E., & Brinson, S. L. (Eds.). (2005). *Transmitting the past: Historical and cultural perspectives on broadcasting*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press. 252 pages.

Roman, J. (2005). *From daytime to primetime: The history of American television programs*. Westport, CT: Greenwood. 345 pages.

Transmitting the Past: Historical and Cultural Perspectives on Broadcasting is a collection of essays examining selected periods in American broadcast history. Edited by J. Emmett Winn and Susan L. Brinson, the book covers historical topics that are both significant (Fritz Messere's chapter on the Federal Radio Commission) and obscure (George Plasketes's critical analysis arguing why *Cop Rock* should be recognized for expanding television's crime drama genre).

Brinson identifies the book's goal in her introductory chapter as "understanding the complex relationships among radio, television, and American culture" (pp. 14–15). Many of the chapters in this book support Brinson's premise that American broadcast history has been shaped through the convergence of "technology, industry, government and the public" (p. 6). The authors achieve this goal while using multiple approaches (from objective history to cultural studies) in developing and presenting their research.

Technology and Its Role in Broadcast History

Interest in technology among broadcast historians is demonstrated in several chapters. Brown's essay about Guglielmo Marconi notes how advances made by American scientists eclipsed the Italian inventor's public stature in the 1920s. Brown writes that Marconi's reputation may already have been impacted by newspaper reports that

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the inventor had picked up radio waves sent from Mars (a claim Marconi never actually made). Progress in point-to-multipoint communication in the United States, however, still played a role in reshaping the public's perception of Marconi and his role in the radio industry. In his chapter, Ferguson summarizes the film colorization-for-television debate from the 1980s and how it can serve as context for current controversies involving media technology and how it may be used to manipulate existing creative content. Killmeier highlights technology's impact on the broadcast industry by focusing on the rise of the automobile radio in the 1950s, helping launch the age of "mobile media."

Early regulation in the broadcast industry is addressed in Messere's outstanding chapter on external pressures facing the Federal Radio Commission (FRC) in the period between 1927 and 1933. Messere provides readers with an extensive commentary about how politicians and corporate interests (e.g., the Radio Trust and the National Association of Broadcasters) applied pressure to commissioners trying to do their work. Messere focuses his discussion on the FRC's response to the Davis Amendment of 1928, which demanded equality in radio broadcast service throughout the country. Messere notes that the Institute of Radio Engineers (an industry-supported group) provided the basis for the plan eventually adopted, even over criticism from some commission members.

Going beyond a basic account of that critical time for the radio industry, Messere uses Lowi's model of capture theory as the basis for analyzing why the FRC eventually acted the way it did to satisfy conditions of the Davis Amendment. Messere's use of a theory outside of typical communication approaches is a good example of taking an alternative track to analyzing broadcasting's seminal events.

Programming Process as Broadcast History

The collection of essays in *Transmitting the Past* does an excellent job in introducing readers to undiscovered broadcast history—events or individuals downplayed in other historical surveys of American radio and television. The best of these chapters is Hilmes's work on female radio and television performers during the 1940s and 1950s.

As one thinks about the early 1940s, it would be easy to posit that women became what Hilmes calls "program toppers" simply because of World War II. Hilmes shows how evolving business practices helped shatter the glass ceiling for female performers. Hilmes credits the evolution of "package shows," where the star had the ownership of the program and the ability to dictate its creative direction. The author also points to changes in audience research during this time, including the introduction in 1942 of Nielsen's audimeter. The new ratings device and improved surveying process gave broadcasters greater confidence in the listening data being collected. Hilmes says the other significant research development during this time was the implementation of diary research by CBS. The initial results released in 1943 found there was a substantial female audience for radio programs, both day

and night. The data made it easier for network executives to promote women for starring roles in programs.

Hilmes also pays tribute to a group of female performers from the 1940s and 1950s she identifies as having been overlooked for their contributions in helping women advance in the electronic media. Although most broadcast historians have highlighted Lucille Ball's television stardom and her role in establishing Desilu Studios, Hilmes believes other performers should be acknowledged. In particular, Hilmes cites Joan Davis as a pioneer for women on radio and television. Davis was one of the first performers to benefit from the package show approach, giving her the power to craft a radio comedy program that best suited her acting talents. Davis later became one of the first women to headline her own television comedy series (part of the evolving situational comedy genre). Hilmes also credits performers like Eve Arden, Ann Sothern, Marie Wilson, Judy Canova, and Hattie McDaniel as paving the way for future female stars. Hilmes also calls attention to the work of a woman named Martha Rountree, one of the first significant broadcast radio news producers. One of Rountree's accomplishments was creating a public affairs program in 1945 for Mutual Radio that later moved to television and is still on the air today: *Meet the Press*.

Broadcast programming decisions are the focus of two other essays in the book. Dell contributes an insightful discussion about program choices made by NBC television executives between 1945 and 1950. Dell describes the clash within NBC as network executives tried to balance studio-based programs (productions that network executives believed projected an image of quality) with remote telecasts that often featured sports content. Dell also documents the outside pressures programmers faced from their corporate bosses at RCA and from local affiliates. NBC programmers found that although televising live events like boxing and wrestling could yield an instant audience that could generate profits, the long-term goal became satisfying the desires of national advertisers who sought to be identified with studio-based programs—even if it meant producing those early studio shows at a deficit. Dell's article about the debate over quality versus popular content should have a familiar ring to today's generation of network television executives. Some 60 years later, networks are balancing their weekly schedules between low-cost (but often lowbrow) reality programs and more expensive scripted series.

Brumbeloe and Winn also address how outside pressures can impact programming decisions, even for one of the first educational radio stations in the South. WMAV (later known as WAPI) was licensed to Alabama Polytechnic Institute (the school would later be known as Auburn University). The purpose of the new station was purported to be that of providing farmers with market prices and other agricultural information. Brumbeloe and Winn describe how the mission was usurped by efforts to put on programs that would attract an audience. Particular attention is given to the involvement of the school's athletic department, which saw the radio operation as a way of promoting its endeavors through the broadcast of the school's football and basketball games. WAPI eventually became known more for its sports and entertainment programs than aiding farmers—the reason why the station got on the air in the

first place! This chapter will resonate with those involved in noncommercial broadcasting, as outside political and economic influences mount in today's media climate.

Transmitting the Past is an outstanding text because of the diverse topics covered in a well-written book. This is the sort of book a broadcast historian should have on the bookshelf to pick up and thumb through from time to time. *Transmitting the Past* can give researchers many perspectives to consider as they go about chronicling the history of the broadcast industry.

You May Have Seen This Show ...

James Roman's *From Daytime to Primetime: The History of American Television Programs* aspires to tie the development of American television programs to societal changes of the last few decades. Roman says his text "attempts to analyze various program genres as arbitrators of American values and their influence on behavior" (p. xi). Although Roman has a worthy aspiration, most chapters in *From Daytime to Primetime* come across as an accounting of what programs fell under which genres, which actors appeared in those programs, and when those shows were seen. The major criticism of this text stems from the lack of an overarching theoretical perspective analyzing the development of television programs. In the introduction of his book, Roman identifies several components contributing to the development and reinvention of genres and various programs, including (a) America's mores becoming more liberal, (b) audiences seeking lowbrow entertainment versus audiences seeking more uplifting content, (c) analysis of the ever-moving target of audience tastes, (d) the economics of the television business, (e) the creative process of developing programming, (f) television's role in enacting societal change, and (g) the role of advertisers. These factors suggest a variety of theoretical perspectives—from economic and political to communication—that the author could have employed in his research.

Although Roman discusses many of the traditional television genres (e.g., situational comedies, westerns, and crime dramas), he also calls attention to genres typically forgotten in many television program histories (e.g., children's television programming and science fiction). Roman also offers readers a chapter examining the burgeoning reality television genre. Some of Roman's best commentary is found in this chapter, which traces the roots of reality television back to a 1950s ABC game show called *Queen for a Day*. The daytime program had women come on the show to talk about their lives, often highlighting personal setbacks they recently endured. At the end of the show, the studio audience would vote on which woman would go home with a prize package. Echoes of *Queen for a Day* can be found on ABC's *Extreme Makeover: Home Edition*, in which families are rewarded with home remodeling projects after sharing their tales of hardship or tragedy with the viewing audience.

Roman's thought-provoking opening line in this chapter ties the rise of reality television to some of the real-life morality plays seen on television during the 1990s: "Perhaps the cultural imperative of reality television evolved from true events that were

nurtured by the media to create a frenzy of attention celebrating the mission of audience pleasure" (p. 171). Roman believes the sagas of O. J. Simpson and Monica Lewinsky that played out on the small screen in the 1990s only whetted the nation's appetite for a new programming form. Roman also contends the start of *Operation Iraqi Freedom* (Roman's italics) played out as television's ultimate reality show in 2003: "It incorporated every component of reality television with the ultimate challenge of life and death, a compelling game of conflict and the decisive prize of conquest" (p. 189). Although Roman's comparison of Iraq war coverage on television to reality shows like *Survivor* or *Fear Factor* may be radical to some, it does suggest a potential avenue of research: evaluating how viewers of reality television perceive news coverage and other forms of television program content.

From an information standpoint, Roman's work on one other chapter in *From Daytime to Primetime* merits praise. The author offers an interesting discussion about the role movie studios played in the early days of television and how studio executives went from fearing the medium to embracing it. Of particular interest is the story of ABC's early dealings with Walt Disney, which aided the animator's dream of building a California amusement park called Disneyland. Other chapters, although offering many interesting stories about series and specials, lack comprehensive analysis supporting Roman's goal of connecting television program development and their impact on societal values.

Accentuating the Trivial

Another criticism of this text regards the attention given to recent broadcast events that have already been relegated to the status of industry footnotes. In the chapter on television sports programming, for example, the only season of the X-Football League (XFL) in 2001 gets as much attention as the 50-year relationship between network television and the National Football League (NFL). The XFL was the creation of professional wrestling entrepreneur Vince McMahon, chairman of the board for World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE). Roman is justified in ridiculing the occasionally lewd storylines in the broadcasts and the often-amateurish performance of XFL announcers (including color commentary by then-Minnesota Governor Jesse Ventura). Roman, however, could have given credit to the upstart league for production values that have carried on to current network football broadcasts. Although the author criticizes video and audio experiments tried in XFL games, innovations like the miking of players on the field and the use of an overhead camera on cables above the playing field have become commonplace on NFL and college football broadcasts ("Early X-it," 2001; Fisher, 2004).

Any attempt to write the history of television should give significant attention to the relationship between network television and the NFL. Television has been joined at the hip with the sport ever since the Baltimore Colts' overtime victory against the New York Giants in the now-legendary 1958 NFL title game (King, 1996). It is not hyper-

bole to suggest that the NFL has at one time or another significantly impacted the fortunes of all four major television networks (ABC, CBS, NBC, and FOX) as well as cable networks like ESPN and TNT (Kimmel, 2004).

Roman also shortchanges another broadcast institution in his chapter on television news. The author makes no mention of the journalistic contributions of *The MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour* on public television (later known as *The News Hour With Jim Lehrer*); however, the curiosity that was Ashleigh Banfield's career on cable's MSNBC merits several paragraphs. Although Roman is using Banfield's experiences to establish his critique of how television journalism is changing, it would be appropriate that *The News Hour*, one of television's most honored journalism programs over the last three decades, should receive some mention as well. It may be difficult to touch on all television programs in a book like this, but an oversight involving any program of this magnitude should be avoided.

From Daytime to Primetime offers another resource for identifying dominant television genres and programs since the 1940s. At the same time, the book fails to provide overarching explanations for how American television programs or their respective genres have impacted society.

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The Media and Globalization

Margot Hardenbergh

Rantanen, T. (2005). *The media and globalization*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. 180 pages.

Finally, we have a book about globalization focusing on the role of media. Most globalization theorists only acknowledge that media has played a crucial role in the acceleration of globalization. Terhi Rantanen uses media as the fundamental starting point for a discussion of the theories of globalization and offers a systematic method of studying how lives have changed. She considers questions concerning the impact of globalization by studying in detail the lives of three families over four generations.

Rantanen, director of the Master of Science Programme in Global Media and Communication in the Department of Media and Communications at the London School of Economics and Political Science, has written also about the role of media in Russia and Finland, her home country. In *The Media and Globalization*, Rantanen brings her understanding of communication theory and globalization together with her teaching experience to formulate a most unique, seemingly easy, study of the effects of media on people's lives.

First, the book lays out the theories of globalization, pointing out how many theorists assumed that developments in our communication technologies have changed people's lives, their environment, and their understanding of time and space. The theorists discussed include Harold Innis, Anthony Giddins, Roland Robertson, James Lull, John B. Thompson, John Tomlinson, Walter Ong, Herbert Schiller, and Marshall McLuhan. Drawing on the work of Giddens and Lull, Rantanen identifies six stages of globalization, with a complementary list of six stages of media and communication. For each of the stages, various categories of study are identified. The categories range from demographics such as education and family structure, the way time is measured, types of media available, travel, conflicts or wars, and languages spoken, to the more complex categories of ideology and resistance. These categories offer a framework for the study of four generations of each of the families. Rantanen's methodology is similar to ethnography, but because she is motivated by mediation, how people interconnect through media and communication, she calls the methodology "mediagraphy."

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Rantanen successfully merges the micro and macro levels of study. Her writing weaves back and forth between highly abstract theoretical discussions and detailed descriptions of people's lives, thus connecting theory to people's daily lives. The book makes an excellent textbook for undergraduates or a supplementary text for graduate students, as the students are drawn to read on and discover more about people's lives, each section ending with the current generation.

Not all of the questions Rantanen asks of the families seem to be related to media, but they all have a bearing on social practices. She looks at family structure, religion, education, and changes in class. The first generations live in Finland, Latvia, and China in the latter part of the 19th century. They are followed to the present day. She studies their sense of time, place, identity, ideology (and resistance to ideologies), and finally, cosmopolitanism. The areas of homogenization and heterogenization are creatively handled within the questions of identity and ideology as well as deterritorialization, when individuals no longer equate their identity with their locality.

Rantanen's mediographies show how both change and consistency coexist. Although the media provide a homogeneous culture, the nations have countered this with powerful ideologies. People have more opportunities to interconnect across great distances, but also within places. Her conclusion is expected: Globalization has brought about changes in the way we live. But Rantanen has given us a way to identify and categorize the changes in a fresh way of looking at the theories of globalization and in an enjoyable read about the relationship of time, place, and space; the ways women have traveled throughout generations; and the role of conflict, among other topics. It is a marvelous introduction and review of globalization.

Editor's Note: As BEA celebrates its 50th anniversary and the *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* approaches its half-century of research excellence, we are honoring our research pioneers. These tribute essays, 2,500 words, began with Volume 49, Issue 1, and will continue into the 50th anniversary issue of the Journal, in 2006. This endeavor was undertaken with the encouragement of the BEA Research Committee, and it is being spearheaded by Michael D. Murray, University of Missouri–St. Louis. As we continue, we particularly want to encourage essays honoring those who have set foundations in race, gender, and methodological innovation in media research. We hope you will join us in honoring those who have made an intellectual contribution to our discipline.

Teacher-Scholar Herbert Zettl: Applied Educational Ideals

Lawrence J. Mullen

After examining the 40-plus years of his scholarly activity and talking with his former students and colleagues, one thing is clear: Professor Herbert Zettl exemplifies the ideals of the “teacher-scholar.” Those who pursue intellectual inquiry through both research and teaching shape higher education and help create academic culture:

The Teacher-Scholar is someone who understands the subject matter deeply enough to structure, select, and organize it in order to effectively communicate to students and whose scholarship and service to the university and community demonstrate a commitment to creating new knowledge, to applying knowledge to solving problems, to synthesize various strands of knowledge, and to understand how students learn. (“Defining the Teacher-Scholar,” n.d., ¶ 4)

A teacher-scholar is, in other words, a leader in the classroom, in research, and to his or her colleagues. Herb Zettl is all of these and more. His influence extends to the professional world of television production. Indeed, his influence reaches an international audience of students and experts alike. This essay looks at the academic career and contributions of Herb Zettl, who passionately and gracefully fills the roll of teacher-scholar.

The Teacher-Scholar: Career Details

In 1959 Zettl began teaching at San Francisco State University in the Department of Broadcasting and Electronic Communication Arts. While at San Francisco State, he

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headed the Institute of International Media Communication (IIMC). The IIMC facilitates international visitors through the auspices of the U.S. State Department's International Information Programs and the San Francisco International Diplomacy Council, sponsors international visiting scholars, and gives occasional international summer workshops for television professionals. He received the California State Legislature Distinguished Teaching Award in 1966, and in 2004 he received the Distinguished Education Service Award from the Broadcast Education Association. He is currently Professor Emeritus of Broadcasting and Electronic Communication Arts in the College of Creative Arts at San Francisco State University.

Zettl taught courses in media aesthetics, television production, and seminars in experimental production. In his experimental production course he spearheaded various experimental television projects such as dramas for simultaneous multiscreen and inductive narrative presentation techniques. This experiment led to the publication of the seminal article, "Toward a Multi-Screen Television Aesthetic: Some Cultural Considerations" (Zettl, 1977). In the article Zettl explored the use of multiscreens in contrast to split-screens, quad-screens, or other ways of dividing up a single frame. Multiscreens "represent an extension of the space-time entity of the single screen" (p. 6). In fact, they "represent ... an organic extension of the television mosaic into several self-contained space-time units" resulting in a "clarified and intensified screen Gestalt" (p. 6). As a teaching exercise, his students became aware of these theoretical constructs as well as the practical aspects associated with the technical and logistical issues involved in producing complex shows. This applied, practical link between his teaching and research is a theme that runs through much of his career. This was, in many ways, a necessity due to the fact that San Francisco State is not a research-oriented institution. Rather, their emphasis leans strongly toward students and high-quality instruction.

His approach toward teaching and scholarship was, according to Phil Kipper, former director of the Department of Broadcasting and Electronic Communication Arts at San Francisco State, very influential. Zettl's ideas "permeate our curriculum and still serve as the program's guiding ethos" (P. Kipper, personal communication, June 15, 2005). Kipper writes:

Herb Zettl provided our department with a unique perspective that joined an artistic sensibility with the popular medium of television. To put it simply, Zettl was perhaps the first scholar to see television as an art form with wide potential to affect human emotions and experience. His examination of the medium did not dwell on specific content or genres, as is typical of much of media scholarship, but looked beyond to television's phenomenological qualities. He used artistic models to show how the use of light and color on the screen influenced audience perceptions. He developed his vector theory to explain how forces of motion and graphic mass on the screen shape the viewer's experience. (P. Kipper, personal communication, June 15, 2005)

Besides its applied nature, Zettl was always careful to link his theory and concepts to ethical standards. This was an important characteristic of Zettl's teaching style due to

his belief that “the audience member was at the mercy of the program creator because of the ease with which aesthetic variables could be manipulated for psychological or emotional effect” (P. Kipper, personal communication, June 15, 2005). His former students also commented on this point: “His life philosophy influenced me a lot. As media professionals, we should be responsible for the good of society” (T. Feng, personal communication, July 3, 2005). Another student said that Professor Zettl taught her that “media are not shallow subjects as some people might think. I see the great potential and influence of media and how to use them well to uplift the societal values and improve things” (T. Yeh, personal communication, June 14, 2005).

Zettl brought much to the classroom experience for his students. Before joining the San Francisco State faculty, he received his bachelor’s (1953) and master’s (1956) degrees at Stanford University and his doctorate (1966) at the University of California, Berkeley, where he wrote a dissertation about the use of television within the adult educational setting. He was also influenced by Bauhaus design philosophy and Gestalt psychology during a brief stay at Santa Rosa Junior College in the early 1950s before entering Stanford (he also attended the University of Munich briefly between Santa Rosa and Stanford). These influences—as well as the work that Rudolph Arnheim was doing around this time, especially the work that culminated with the now classic, *Art and Visual Perception* (Arnheim, 1965)—would later play important intellectual roles in Zettl’s own theory and research on television production and applied media aesthetics.

He worked his way through much of his postsecondary schooling to pay for his room and board. His professional career included a stint as a producer-director at KPIX-TV, the CBS affiliate in San Francisco. He worked on many CBS and NBC network productions, including Edward R. Murrow’s *Person to Person* and several network specials. He was inducted into the prestigious Silver Circle of the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences (NATAS), Northern California Chapter, for his outstanding contributions to the television profession. He is also a member of NATAS Broadcast Legends. His accomplished professional experience was important for many reasons, not least of which was the credibility it established in the eyes of his students. His knowledge of the profession was also important for informing his critical stance toward the television industry. He does not take a hard line against the industry; rather he understands what producers and directors are up against technically, economically, and so on, when it comes to the creative aspects of television production.

Zettl has been a visiting professor at Concordia University in Montreal, Quebec, Canada; Heidelberg University in Heidelberg, Germany; the Institute for Television and Film in Munich, Germany, and the Communication University of China in Beijing. For one year he served as resident director in Germany for the California State University students at Heidelberg and Tübingen Universities. For several years he consulted as an academic specialist with broadcast institutions in various countries, frequently under the auspices of the U.S. State Department’s International Information Programs. With nary a continent that has not fallen under the influence of his

knowledge and expertise, he has acted as consultant to a number of universities and professional broadcast institutions in North and South America, Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and Southeast Asia.

He has also created tools for teaching concepts of applied media aesthetics in the classroom. One of the tools, developed with the support of the Cooperative Media Group, *Zettl's VideoLab 2.1* (Zettl, 1995), is an interactive multimedia program containing basic information on video production and interactive simulated production exercises. It won the Macromedia People's Choice Award and the following 1995 New Media Invision Awards: Gold Medal in the Best Higher Education category and Silver Medals in the Best Use of Video and Best Continuing Education categories. From *A/V Video* magazine it won the Silver Medal for the Best Production in Education and Training in 1995, and from the National Education Media Network it won the Bronze Apple Award in 1996.

It is evident from all this that it is difficult to separate Zettl's teaching from his scholarly endeavors. Both are intimately intertwined. His research in applied media aesthetics, which permeates everything he has written, has elevated the teaching of media production. Robert Tiemens, himself a pioneer in the area of visual studies and a close associate of Zettl's, recalls

being introduced to his very first edition of the production handbook after having used Bretz's (1953) production text for many years. My immediate reaction was that Zettl's approach was on a higher plane than any of the other production texts in our field. And every edition of the handbook moves that plane higher. One of the great debts that we, who teach production or applied media (even web design, film, photography, etc.), owe to Herb Zettl is that he helped to legitimize what we teach. His work has taken us beyond the level of simply teaching production skills—or at least has given us the opportunity to advance beyond that level. (R. Tiemens, personal communication, June 14, 2005)

Indeed, Zettl's two television production handbooks (Zettl, 2002b; Zettl, 2003b) are standard reading in production courses at universities and in television production centers around the world. Widely used, both books have been translated into several languages including Spanish, Greek, Chinese, and Korean.

Applied Media Aesthetics

Zettl's research is defined by his theory of applied media aesthetics. This theoretical approach for understanding and creating mediated imagery is fully explicated in his book, *Sight Sound Motion: Applied Media Aesthetics* (Zettl, 1999)—a book which is a cornerstone of not only Zettl's research but arguably of the field of visual communication. The book, now in its fourth edition and translated into several languages, explains that "applied media aesthetics considers art and life as mutually dependent and essentially interconnected" (Zettl, 1999, pp. 3–4). Moreover, "applied aesthetics em-

phasizes that art is not an isolated object hidden away in a museum and that aesthetic experiences are very much part of everyday life" (Zettl, 1999, p. 4). This is not to say that everything is art, rather, all things and experiences "have the potential of serving as raw material for the process of aesthetic communication that we call art" (Zettl, 1999, p. 4). In this way, we can understand the potential of television as an art form—an idea that was, in many ways, visionary, if not revolutionary, when the book was first published in 1973.

Before *Sight Sound Motion* few would have dreamed of television as an art form. Zettl's ideas were so new and different that his original writings for the book (which started as a master's thesis project at Stanford) were deemed "nonsense" by a short-sighted thesis advisor (H. Zettl, personal communication, June 24, 2005). Undeterred, Zettl eventually developed his thoughts into the groundbreaking book that served as a basis for an entire career's worth of research and teaching.

Applied media aesthetics differs from more traditional aesthetics theory in a variety of ways. The traditional study of aesthetics is concerned with the question of beauty—what is and is not beautiful—how we derive pleasure from it, and what art is and why we have it (Zettl, 2005a). Applied media aesthetics is concerned with the ways in which both moving and still images are structures for maximum communication effectiveness. Traditional aesthetic methods are usually used for the study of existing works, whereas applied media aesthetics involves both existing works and the creation of new works. In addition, Zettl (2005a) sees a difference between traditional aesthetics and applied media aesthetics in the treatment of the visual medium. The former sees the medium as a neutral channel for content distribution. The latter understands the medium as an essential part of the meaning-making process. The medium is, in other words, an important part of the message.

In the unpublished epilogue to *Sight Sound Motion*, Zettl (2004) said:

This book is written with one overriding idea in mind: to help you not only cope with and reflect the human condition but also to improve it. By *human condition* I mean how we look at ourselves, portray ourselves in the media, and reinterpret and live in the fragmented, if not fractured, world we have constructed.

His theory, however, provides a way in which researchers of visual imagery might put the pieces back together. Borrowing from contextualism, Zettl's theory of applied media aesthetics offers a framework and method for understanding visual messages. The method is an inductive approach in which the embedded aesthetic characteristics of a visual message are examined one after another to form a complex, integrated understanding. In *Sight Sound Motion*, Zettl (1999) identifies "five fundamental and contextual *image elements* of television and film: (1) light and color, (2) two-dimensional space, (3) three-dimensional space, (4) time/motion, and (5) sound" (p. 11; see also Zettl, 1978, 2002a). These elements can be used to examine the fractured visual world Zettl alluded to in his epilogue and to gain some semblance of a unified understanding of the things we see in mediated presentations. Concepts such as "vectors"

(including graphic vectors, index vectors, and motion vectors) borrowed from the study of physics, "aesthetic entropy," "index vector target consistency," "inner and outer orientation functions of lighting," "event intensity," and others are unique and provocative theoretical concepts that one can use as building blocks to construct visual meaning. Using these and other concepts associated with the theory, he has conducted investigations on such topics as virtual reality (Zettl, 2003a), media literacy (Zettl, 1998), and television news (Zettl, 1989). The theory has proven to be versatile and could be used to study an extremely broad range of mediated (or even nonmediated) phenomena.

The Visual Communication Conference

Herb Zettl is one of the founders of the Annual Visual Communication Conference. This conference, which attracts scholars from across the United States, Canada, and Europe, is unique in its scope, purpose, and organization. Held in various idyllic locations primarily in the western part of the United States, it is unaffiliated with any association.

The genesis of the Visual Communication Conference came in reaction to Zettl's and Bob Tiemens's disillusion with the larger conferences such as the formerly named Speech Communication Association (SCA) conference. Zettl and Tiemens felt as though little was being done by these large associations in terms of visual communication, and they thought that important things were being done in this growing area of study that were not being discussed at conferences such as SCA's (H. Zettl, personal communication, June 24, 2005).

The Visual Communication Conference was their answer to this problem. It would be devoted solely to visual communication research, and it was designed to have a series of plenary panels over a 4-day period. There were to be no multiple panels occurring simultaneously. Each panel would be attended by all conference goers. The conference would be small in size, with anywhere from 25 to 70 conference attendees. The range of presentations were (and continue to be) eclectic, with presenters from a variety of research, artistic, and design backgrounds and interests. The organization can be characterized as organic: It has no president, chairperson, or other leadership, and all participation and organizational effort is voluntary. Coming up on its 20th year of annual meetings, the conference is informally structured and allows for a variety of presentation formats and extended discussions in a relaxed setting. It also allows researchers to present works-in-progress to gain insights and feedback from fellow conferees. Exploration of ideas and experimentation with concepts are welcome. This was Zettl's hope when conceptualizing this special conference—that it be conducted in the spirit of experimentation with visual ideas and the lack of fear for making mistakes. This was always his approach in the classroom too. It was his belief that the classroom or production lab was the place to experiment and make mistakes. Zettl believes that you can never know when a mistake will evolve into the next innovative

idea. In many ways this organic mindset is characteristic of Zettl's research too, for it offers concepts to stimulate discussion and thought about the applied aesthetic nature of visual phenomena.

The Visual Communication Conference, or "Viscom," as it is called by many of its devoted attendees, has spawned many research projects, presentations, collaborations, and publications. A true sense of camaraderie, love, and devotion to the study of visual phenomena are some of the intangible results of this yearly event. It is arguably the greatest influence Zettl has had on the area of visual studies as broadly defined.

Conclusion

Herb Zettl's influence on visual communication and its related areas of study has been, and hopefully will continue to be, significant. Everything he has done—from the conference he founded to his research and teaching—all have contributed to his ultimate goal of advancing the discipline of visual communication. Advance the discipline Zettl did, and he continues to advance ideas through his active research agenda, which includes regular appearances at the Visual Communication Conference and several recent publications. He recently presented a paper at the 2005 Visual Communication Conference entitled, "Media Aesthetics 101: How Not to Stage a Presidential Debate" (Zettl, 2005b), in which he criticized the staging and camera placement during the 2004 election debates, showing yet again the versatility and practical usefulness of applied media aesthetics. I was there for that conference and can say that much was learned from what he said during the presentation and in informal discussions during the rest of the conference. For the 4 days of the conference Zettl was a teacher and scholar, a person to listen to and be around, a colleague and gracious mentor.

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Editor's Report

Donald G. Godfrey

This report covers the time period from January 1, 2004 (the beginning of this editor's service) to August 1, 2005 (when this issue goes to press). During this period many people have provided extensive service to *JOBEM* and our discipline. These people come from the editorial board, as well as from our reviewers' research expertise and activity. We extend accolades of gratitude for the unsung service these unusually busy scholars provide. Our editorial board is recognized in each issue. In this issue we specifically acknowledge our reviewers' service.

Manuscripts

Regarding the deposition of manuscripts:

Manuscripts received	285
Manuscripts not reviewed	77
Rejected manuscripts	88
Revise and resubmit invitations	91
Author revisions in progress	46
Accepted manuscripts	24

To date the acceptance rate for all manuscripts for which a final decision has been reached is 7.7%. Being that this is the first report of a new editor, the rate does not yet reflect many manuscripts in the revise and resubmit process.

Editor's Transition

The editor's transition has been smooth between the University of Kentucky and Arizona State University. Tom Lindlof, Alan Rubin, Louisa Nielsen, Alyssa Heck, Linda Bathgate, and all the folks at LEA have worked facilitating my education and this transition. We have all been in regular communication.

Lindlof's manuscripts filled the first issue, Vol. 49, No. 1, March 2005, and there were three in Vol. 49, No. 2. This is as we had agreed. Both felt it more advantageous for the authors to work the manuscript through the editor with whom the work was already underway.

JOBEM has started receiving manuscripts electronically. We have organized procedures to facilitate the first reviews electronically. This necessitated a small change in the guidelines for the submission of manuscripts calling for electronic copies. This has improved our efficiency, but much of the review and editorial process remains traditional.

Research Pioneer Tributes

As a part of the BEA 50th anniversary celebrations, the Review and Criticism section of the journal includes tributes to our research pioneers. This was orchestrated by the Research Task Force and facilitated by our Review and Criticism Editor, Michael D. Murray, University of Missouri, St. Louis. We plan on continuing these tributes through Volume 50 after which *JOBEM* will return to the traditional review and criticism.

Calls for Research

Two research calls were distributed this year. The first was a specific call for research surrounding the topic, "Broadcasting and Electronic Media of the Americas." The rationale for this call is simply that we have studied systems all over the globe, yet we know so little about our closest neighbors. David Spencer, Western Ontario University, and Joseph Straubhaar, University of Texas, were invited to be guest coeditors of that issue. The deadline for those manuscripts was June 30, 2005, and they are currently under review.

The second call was an invitation "seeking historical research." The goal was to provide a catalyst for research. In order to facilitate this diversity, manuscript guidelines have been revised to accept manuscripts for review written in the Chicago style, with the realization that they would be transposed to APA upon acceptance. To facilitate this transition in styles, guidelines were developed and are published for the first time in this issue.

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An asterisk indicates multiple reviews.

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Adapting Historical Citations to APA Style

Donald G. Godfrey

In an effort to improve the diversity of manuscripts submitted to the *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, appreciation of historiographical documentation must be considered. A review of APA style can frustrate the historian as there are no APA directives for historical research. APA does, however, advise that when researchers have references that do not match the examples presented in the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*, they can modify an existing form in order to properly document the work. APA also directs that it is better to provide more information than not enough. The purpose of these suggestions is to offer ways for historians, when submitting their work to *JOBEM*, to document their historical sources in APA style.

What is important for *JOBEM* historians? First, that enough information is given so that future researchers can locate the documentary evidence; and second, that the references are presented in a consistent style. In drafting these guidelines the editor has analyzed the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association; Writing With Style: APA Style Made Easy*, by Lenore T. Szuchman; the *Pocket Guide to APA Style* by Robert Perrin (most helpful in providing categorized ready-made examples with minimal narrative); the *Oral History Review*, and the 15th edition of *The Chicago Manual of Style*. Examples utilized are from the editor's own research, so that any errors can be properly attributed and corrected.

The historical citation, particularly a reference from broadcast material, must include all of the information necessary to enable future researchers to locate and examine the document. This is critical in establishing the credibility of the source. Most of the following examples are from historical documents where these elements are clear, readily accessible, and easily adapted from Chicago to APA style. Variations are noted from those unpublished archived materials and personal records that are often the challenge. The citations may look a little different at first, but they contain the elements that comprise full documentation, thus establishing the validity of the source, the value of the evidence, and the availability for future research.

General Example

The common reference requirements include and are set out as follows:

Author, Director—that is, the content responsible person or agency. (The exact date, where possible, in parentheses). *Title in italics* [Additional descriptive information in brackets] (Filing information, such as box and file numbers, in parentheses and not italicized). Collection and/or archival information, city, and state.

At the first mention of an archive the researcher may indicate “hereafter referred to as,” thus shortening the extended information on the name and location of the collection, as citations from the same group continue but refer to different documents, authors, and so forth. The author should pay particular attention to how the library/archive/museum itself wants the collection cited.

In text: (Author, Year/Date)

The in-text citation is merely the author/content responsible person or agency, followed by the year of origin. If more than one document comes from the same collection, source/author/year is utilized and then the full date is presented.

Archival Source Examples

Correspondence. The general correspondence between parties is presented with full names of each party, date, and location information. The in-text reference refers only to the author of the information.

Farnsworth, P. T. (1927, February 27). *Correspondence from Philo T. Farnsworth to George Everson* (Box 2, File 1). University of Utah, Marriott Library Special Collections, Salt Lake City, UT.

In text: (Farnsworth, 1927)

Business Records. Business records, where possible, should include the name of the author/content control person and an exact date. If, however, the author and the exact date are uncertain, the record can be identified by the title of the work and the approximate date.

The history of Farnsworth. (c. 1948–1952). Business pamphlet (ITT Library Farnsworth Papers). ITT Aerospace/Communications Division, International Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, Fort Wayne, IN. Hereafter referred to as ITT Papers.

In text: (*The History of Farnsworth*, 1948–1952)

Proceedings of the annual meetings of stockholders. (1931, May 5). *Annual RCA stockholders report* (p. 7; Sarnoff Corporation Library). Princeton, NJ.

In text: ("Proceedings of the Annual Meetings of Stockholders," 1931)

Newspapers or Magazines. Newspapers or magazine citations follow the traditional APA style especially in major newspapers that might readily be available for research online or via library access. However, where the article and/or reference material are incomplete, for example, those coming from a clipping service or an archival file, then the reference location information must be provided, such as from the Library of Congress, Newspaper and Current Periodical Reading Room, where records from the past centuries are found.

Postman, N. (1999, March 29). Electrical engineer: Philo Farnsworth, *Time 100 Special Issue*, 153(12), 92–94.

In text: (Postman, 1999)

Newspapers or Magazines From Archival Sources.

True electrical scanning radio television step. (1928, September). Unidentified newspaper clipping. *Christian Science Monitor* (Box No. ____, File No. ____). University of Utah, Marriott Library Special Collections, Salt Lake City, UT.

In text: ("True Electrical Scanning Radio Television Step," 1928)

Film, Television, and Audio and Visual Sources. Citations for these documents are drafted as directed in APA. However, in historiography it is important for the researcher to identify the content control person, beyond the simple designation of "producer," or "director," as well as differentiate the source itself. In the following example, Murrow is identified as the "reporter." In the descriptive portion of the citation (see the general example above as well as below), the author needs to provide sufficient detail so the reader knows when the information has passed through a diversity of creative filters. For example, an unedited live broadcast has more evidential value than an edited report. Similarly, film/video outtakes, scripts, and printed documents surrounding the creation of the content could be considered primary evidence and should be identified within the citation. The reel, disc, or transcript page number should also be noted where it is available.

Murrow, E. R. (Reporter). (1941, June 1). *CBS radio news* [Unedited live broadcast report] (Electronic Transcription Disc No. 23, Audio Reel 1181a). National Archives, CBS-KIRO Milo Ryan Phonoarchive, Washington, DC.

In text: (Murrow, 1941)

Oral Histories. Oral histories are challenging for the historian. Although these interviews reflect wonderful color and at times represent primary participants, the infor-

mation is also suspect enough that they often require supportive verifiable documentation. There is something of an unspoken hierarchy within the utilization of the oral history records as evidence. For example, a reference from an oral history within the Columbia School of Journalism's Oral History Collection has more credibility than a recorded phone conversation between the author and the subject. The question within this question of an oral history source appears to be access as well as accuracy. So it behooves the author/interviewer to provide information relative to the interview for future research, such as tape recording, transcript, and location information. In the following examples, the first one provides the strongest source of evidence, simply because it is available for future research and examination.

The minimal information in a full oral history interview (OHI) includes (a) the name of the interviewee (in oral history, commonly called the narrator); (b) the name of the interviewer; (c) the date of the interview, especially the full date if there has been more than one interview within a given year; (d) the place of the interview; and (e) the repository that houses the transcript and/or recording. The in-text citation could include the last name of the narrator, OHI (indicating it is from an *oral history interview*), and the year.

Hoover, H. (n.d.). *The reminiscences of Herbert Clark Hoover* (Oral History Research Office, Radio Pioneers, Fiche 1, Series II, pp. 10–11). Columbia University, New York.

In text: (Hoover OHI, n.d.)

Lindsay, A. (1985). Oral history interview conducted by Timothy Larson (Transcript Box No. ___, File No. ___ and/or reel/transcript information). University of Utah, Marriott Library Special Collections, Salt Lake City, UT.

In text: (Lindsay OHI, 1985)

Eberhardt, E. (1995). Oral history interview conducted by Samuel G. Godfrey. Recorded interview (and/or transcript/notes) in possession of the author.

In text: (Eberhardt OHI, 1995)

Editor's Note

Many historians who desire to preserve history as well as promote research have created collections or donated materials from their own works. Erik Barnouw's interviews for his trilogy on American broadcast history are in the Columbia University Oral History Research Office. The original electronic transcription disks providing the foundation for Milo Ryan's *History in Sound* are now housed at the National Archives. Donald Godfrey's work on broadcast pioneers has been placed in the Arizona State University and the University of Utah Library Special Collections units. Thus, full documentation can be disclosed and future access is provided.

Manuscript Submission Guidelines

The *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media* is an international quarterly devoted to advancing knowledge and understanding of communication and the electronic media. The *Journal* invites submissions of original research that examine a broad range of issues concerning the electronic media, including their historical, technological, economic, policy, cultural, and social dimensions. Scholarship that extends or tests theory, or that fosters innovative perspectives on topics of importance to the field, is particularly encouraged. The *Journal* is open to a diversity of theoretic paradigms and methodologies.

Submitted work is evaluated according to the quality of its conceptualization; the importance of the topic to scholars, policy makers, and practitioners; the lasting contribution it will make to electronic media studies; and the research execution. Key considerations of research execution include the research design, soundness of the research procedure, and the clarity of presentation. The Editor reserves the right not to send manuscripts out for review that fall outside the scope of the *Journal* or make an insignificant contribution to the field.

1. It is assumed that only the original work of the author will be submitted for *Journal* consideration. Any manuscript submitted must not be under consideration by another publication. Papers presented first at conferences or symposia should be carefully revised prior to submission for publication in the *Journal*.

2. Four hard copies of the manuscript should be submitted along with a clearly labeled disk containing a Word or WordPerfect copy. The author should retain the original. Manuscripts will not be returned.

3. Manuscripts should be prepared in strict accordance with the current edition of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*. Nonsexist language should be used.

4. Because manuscripts are reviewed blindly, author identification should be on the title page only. The title page should include the following: the complete title; name(s) of author(s); corresponding postal addresses, electronic mail addresses, and telephone numbers; brief biographic information about the author(s); and any necessary credits. Any further references that might identify the author(s) should be removed from the manuscript.

5. The second page of the manuscript should consist of an abstract of 75 to 100 words. The text of the manuscript (including its title) should begin on the next page, with the remaining pages numbered consecutively with running heads.

6. Notes and references should be double-spaced on pages following the text of the manuscript and follow the formats of the current edition of the *Publication Manual of the American Psychological Association*. Notes should be kept to a minimum. Complete citations for references should be supplied.

7. Clear, economical, and orderly expression is expected of submissions to the *Journal*. Most *Journal* submissions should be circa 25 pages, including references and tables. Brevity is encouraged.

8. The number of tables should be kept to a minimum. No table should be included if the equivalent information can be communicated in a few sentences in the text. If the author wishes to offer large or esoteric tables for interested readers, their availability from the author should be indicated in a text note. Graphic material, other than tables, should be submitted in camera-ready and electronic forms if the manuscript is accepted for publication.

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11. The Editor reserves the right to make minor changes in any accepted manuscript that do not alter the substantial meaning or results of the article or the expressed views of the author. Authors will be given the opportunity to approve all such changes and can withdraw their manuscript from consideration at any time.

12. Research manuscripts and correspondence should be addressed to Donald G. Godfrey, Editor, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, Walter Cronkite School of Journalism & Mass Communication, Arizona State University, Box 871305, Tempe, AZ 85287-1305. Inquiries and correspondence about book/media reviews and critical essays should be addressed to Michael D. Murray, Review and Criticism Editor, *Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media*, Department of Communications, 575 Lucas Hall, University of Missouri-St. Louis, St. Louis, MO 63121.

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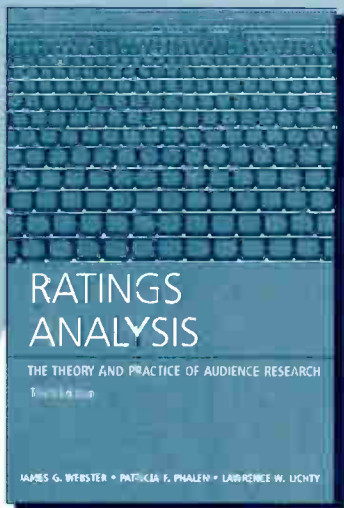
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A VOLUME IN LEA'S COMMUNICATION SERIES

As the oldest members of the baby boomer generation head into their retirement years, this demographic shift is having a substantial influence on uses of mass media, as well as the images portrayed in these media. *Mass Media, an Aging Population and the Baby Boomers* provides a comprehensive examination of the relationship between

media and aging issues, addressing mass media theory and practice as it relates to older Americans.

Reviewing current research on communication and gerontology, authors Michael Hilt and Jeremy Lipschultz focus on aging baby boomers and their experiences with television, radio, print media, entertainment, advertising and public relations, along with the Internet and new media. They draw from studies about health and sexuality to understand views of aging, and present a view of older people as important players in the political process. Hilt and Lipschultz conclude the volume by addressing trends and making predictions related to baby boomers and mass media.

Providing a timely and insightful examination of the linkage between mass media and aging issues, this volume will prove a valuable resource for scholars and students in media and gerontology. It is intended for use in coursework addressing such topics as mass communication and society, media and aging, media and public opinion, sociology, and social gerontology.

Contents: E. Palmore, Foreword. Preface. Introduction to Mass Media, Aging Americans, and Baby Boomers. Theory and Research on Communication and Gerontology. Radio-Television News and the Elderly. Print Media and the Elderly. Entertainment Media. Advertising, Public Relations, and Advocacy. Internet and New Media. Health and Sexual Media Content. Political Issues of Media and Gerontology. Aging Americans, Mass Media, and the Future.

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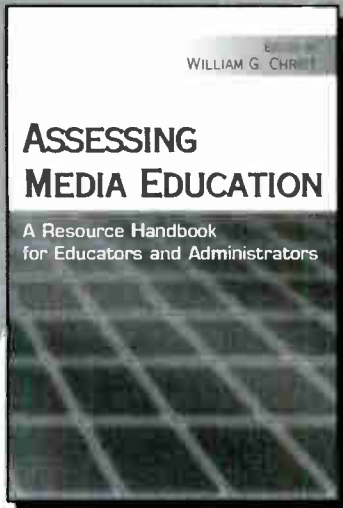
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ASSESSING MEDIA EDUCATION

A Resource Handbook for
Educators and Administrators

Edited by

WILLIAM G. CHRIST, *Trinity University*
A VOLUME IN LEA'S COMMUNICATION SERIES

Assessing Media Education provides guidelines for media educators and administrators in higher education media programs who are creating or improving student-learning assessment strategies. Covering the topics and categories established by the Accrediting Council on Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, this key resource guides readers through the steps of developing an assessment plan, establishing student learning outcomes

in the various areas of the curriculum, and measuring those outcomes.

This timely and critical volume provides detailed discussion on:

- › developing an assessment plan, placing special emphasis on mission statements;
- › the development of student-learning outcomes, with chapters reflecting the eleven competencies presented in the ACEJMC requirements; and
- › indirect and direct measures of student-learning outcomes, ranging from advisory boards to examinations.

The volume concludes with case studies of programs at different points in their development of student outcomes, illustrating the implementation of assessment plans in a variety of contexts.

As assessment gains importance throughout the curriculum, *Assessing Media Education* will be a useful and practical resource for media educators and administrators as they grapple with the challenges of assessment.

Contents: Preface. **Part I: Developing the Assessment Plan.** W.G. Christ, Introduction: Why Assessment Matters. M. James, R.F. Ervin, Developing the Assessment Plan. W.G. Christ, T. Hynes, Mission Statements. **Part II: Developing Student-Learning Outcomes.** J. Henderson, Law and Policy. P. Summers, History. B. Hines, Diversity. A. Delwiche, B. Gersch, S.H. Williams-Rautiola, Production/Graphics. M.J. Haefner, Ethics. H. Ruminiski, Critical Thinking. R.B. Rubin, A.M. Rubin, Research and Information-Gathering. S. Finn, D. Majka, Media Writing. T. Dickson, Reporting and Editing. P. Voakes, Numbers and Statistics. D. Kruckeberg, Public Relations. B. Barnes, Advertising. **Part III: Measuring Student Learning Outcomes.** P. Parsons, Indirect Measures: Institutional Data, Surveys, Interviews, and Advisory Boards. D. Grady, Indirect Measures: Internships, Competitions, and Careers. D. Tucker, Direct Measures: Examinations and Certification. S. Irwin, Direct Measures: Embedded "Authentic" Assessment. R. Donald, Direct Measures: Portfolios. R. Moore, Direct Measures: Capstone Courses. **Part IV: Using Assessment: Case Studies.** K. Hanson, University of Minnesota. J. Foote, Arizona State University. P. Otto, J.M. Yerian, J.V. Turk, Virginia Commonwealth University. J.H. Keefer, Zayed University. L. Rakow, Postscript: Assessment and Accreditation.
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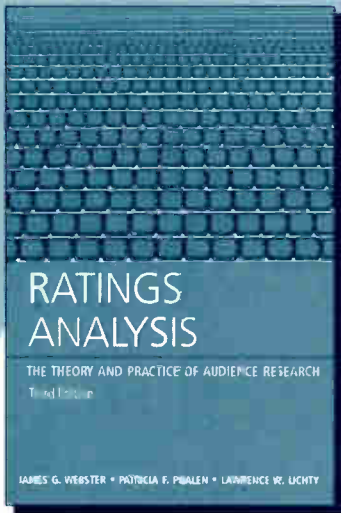
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