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ABSTRACT

TELEVISION PREFERENCES, ATTITUDES, AND OPINIONS OF INNER-CITY RIOTERS AND NONRIOTERS: AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

By

Thomas F. Gordon

With the increase of racially oriented civil disorder in the American society, the cry has gone out for an effective means of dealing with the complex problems which are currently inhibiting racial understanding. The purpose of the present research is to explore the role television is playing in the lives of those individuals who are most directly associated with civil disturbances in the hope of gleaning information relevant to their personal involvement in riot activity. At the same time, an effort is made to formulate guidelines for further research efforts. The study concentrates on an analysis of the degree of violence orientation in the entertainment programming preferred by rioters and nonrioters. Other areas examined include attitudes and opinions concerning violence on television, television coverage of the Detroit riot, coverage of inner-city problems as well as civil rights issues and spokesmen, and the area of television news programming.

The television programs used in the violence analysis were those telecast by the three commercial networks during the prime time evening viewing hours of the 1967-68 television season. The programs were established as violent or

nonviolent by a panel of judges consisting of graduate students from the Departments of Television and Radio, Psychology, and Political Science. The panel was supplied with a definition of a violent television program and rated each program accordingly on a five point bipolar scale between "violent" and "nonviolent". Counterpart to the violence ratings was the program checklist used to obtain respondent program preferences. The checklist contained the 115 prime time program offerings for the Detroit area. The checklist was utilized to insure respondent consideration of all possible choices in his selection of those programs he watches almost every week.

The results of the present study indicate that the rioter does not attend to any more violent television entertainment programming than does his nonrioting neighbor. At the same time, age appears to be the most relevant factor in determining how much violent programming an individual in either sample will watch. Overall, the rioter is less preoccupied with television than is the nonrioter, although television is still the dominant medium for both individuals. The preoccupation factor was most evident in a check of the number of shows watched regularly by both groups. The difference, in this case, was significant at the .001 level of confidence.

Through a Chi square analysis, the data revealed three areas of difference which proved significant at the .01 level of confidence. The first area was respondent

Thomas F. Gordon

choices of moderate vs. militant civil rights leaders, with the rioter more likely to chose the militant leader although the majority of rioters still preferred moderate leaders. The second area involved the respondent's initial reaction to seeing the riot for the first time. In this case, the nonrioter displayed a greater degree of shock or surprise. The third area of significance revealed that the rioter is less likely to see violence on television as harmful.

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OF INNER-CITY RIOTERS AND NONRIOTERS:
AN EXPLORATORY STUDY

By

Thomas F.^{Frank} Gordon

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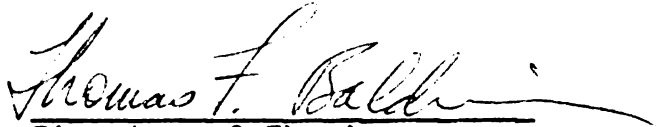
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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	iii
LIST OF TABLES	vi
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
Chapter	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. THE PROBLEM	4
III. METHODOLOGY	12
The Study Design	12
Sample Selection	12
Violence Viewing Index	14
Construction of the Questionnaire	20
IV. RESULTS	23
Violence Indices	23
Program Popularity	24
News Items	26
Television Coverage	28
Civil Rights Leaders	32
The Detroit Riot	35
Violence Issues	40
Demographic Items	46
Age and Violence Preference	49
V. DISCUSSION	54
The Present Study	54
Future Research	60
APPENDICES	
I. Program Violence Rating Form	69
II. Questionnaire and Program Checklist	80
REFERENCES	88

LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1. Violence Index of Programs	17
2. Four Most Popular Programs	25
3. World and National News	26
4. Local News	27
5. Television and Inner-City Problems	28
6. Television and Civil Rights Problems	30
7. Television Time for Civil Rights Spokesmen	31
8. Favorite Civil Rights Spokesmen	33
9. Chi square Analysis—Choice of Leaders	34
10. First Sighting and Reaction to the Riot	36
11. Sources of Information During the Riot	37
12. Recall of Television Riot Coverage	38
13. Criticism of Television Riot Coverage	39
14. Time Spent on the Street During the Riot	40
15. Preference for Violence in Civil Rights	41
16. Opinions on Television Violence	42
17. Effect of TV Violence on Children and Adults	43
18. Worst Violence on Television	44
19. Perceived Causes of National Violence	45
20. Length of Residence in Detroit	46
21. Marital Status	47

Table	Page
22. Educational Level	48
23. Age of Respondents	50

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Average Violence Indexes and Age	53

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Problems of civil disorder in the American society are not new as phenomena of social protest. However, in recent years they have gained a new significance as precursors to needed social change. Recognizing this, the efforts of social scientists and concerned civil officials have been focused on the problem in an attempt to answer the urgent questions raised and make the needed changes before the system literally destroys itself.

The increase of civil disorder within the past five years attests to the fact that something must be done soon. Within this immediate five year period major riots have taken place in Harlem, Los Angeles, Cleveland, Newark, and Detroit to mention a few. These riots left hundreds dead, thousands injured, and tens of thousands arrested, besides the millions of dollars worth of property that was destroyed.(30) The role of these riots in America's race relations cannot be denied. The magnitude of their racial overtones has consistently carried through the years and was accented by the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in April of 1968 which lead to rioting in more than one hundred American cities.(10)

A major attempt to examine the many aspects of civil disobedience was launched in July of 1967 when President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed the "National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders". It became evident from this report that violence as a mode of behavioral response in America was especially prevalent. Following the assassination of Senator Robert F. Kennedy, coupled with the fresh memory of the King assassination and the lingering memory of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, President Johnson moved to appoint the "National Commission on the Causes and Preventions of Violence". The immediate juxtaposition of these major studies indicates the link that exists between the two and indeed the areas of inquiry of the two investigations have been somewhat overlapping.

An area of social concern that was touched upon by the Riot Commission and is being probed in depth by the Violence Commission is the role of the mass media in problems of urban unrest. The Riot Commission has felt that the problems which could be effectively dealt with through extensive communication research are of such importance that one of their final recommendations was for the establishment of an Institute of Urban Communications.(26) It is also evident that the Violence Commission is taking a strong look at television in particular for possible correlations between violent content and behavior of the American people.

The present study is a combination of the elements of civil disorder and violence in the mass medium of television.

This study is an exploratory look at the rioter vs. the nonrioter in relation to television viewing preferences, attitudes, and the amount of violent television programming attended to. This research was begun before the release of the massive amounts of data to come out of the major riot areas. Where applicable, the present research will be related to the findings of various researchers who have worked in the riot areas.

CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM

The scope of any study dealing with riot behavior as correlated with a measure of violence orientation or preference must necessarily be limited in some way due to the sheer magnitude of the area. Since a good deal of sociological research has been done which focuses on the problems of the ghetto Negro; and since a majority of riot action has been concentrated in ghetto areas, the present research has been limited to Negro respondents who were arrested on felony charges during the Detroit riot of 1967. The rioters' views will be compared to views of individuals living in the riot area but ascertained to be nonrioters. The study is further limited by concentration on male respondents only. In the Detroit riot, approximately 88 percent of those arrested were Negro and 77 percent of the Negro arrestees were male.(29)

The crisis of race relations in America is unique in that it threatens to destroy the very fabric of our social system. ✓ Silberman, author of Crisis in Black and White, has stated that race is "not only the most urgent piece of public business facing the United States today; it is also the most difficult."(28) This view has been echoed

by the Riot Commission in their main conclusion that "Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."(26)

This pressing need to understand the complexities of the race problem has generated a great deal of research and will continue to do so until a satisfactory solution is achieved. Through research it has been recognized that a major focal point of racial tension and perhaps a root cause of the tension lies in the Negro ghetto. Such classics as Clark's Dark Ghetto have shed much light on this fact.(8)

The Commission concluded:

What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it.(26)

The importance of the ghetto as a symbol of the Negro plight in America cannot be overstated. In an effort to understand the increased ghetto protests and the more recent violence that has issued from the ghetto, researchers have traced one turning point to the 1954 Supreme Court decision on school desegregation.(6) From this point a new pride and a new emphasis on equality began to grow in the Negro population. As long sought goals appeared to be within reach impatience also began to grow.

The more patient protest marches, sit-ins, and boycotts have formed the backbone of the nonviolent effort to achieve racial equality. However, the use of violence has assured the Negro of one thing, that he will be heard. Conot's

Rivers of Blood, Years of Darkness, a chronicle of the Watts riot of 1965, stresses that the Negro wants to be heard, and now he has found a way to get immediate action. As one Watts rioter stated:

All we wants is that we get our story told, and get it told right! What we do last night, maybe it wasn't right. But ain't nobody come down here and listen to us before!(9)

The Watts riot is viewed by Conot to be the turning point of Negro-white relations in America. The riot symbolized the end of Negro passivity in the form of the doctrine of non-violence and the beginning of an era in which the Negro as a power unit must be met and dealt with on a level of equality.

America has chosen in the past to ignore the implications that riots of this nature are a form of communication. ✓
Instead, they have been viewed as the result of the actions of troublemakers who are irresponsible, unattached, uprooted, unskilled, and unemployed. This view has been termed the "riffraff theory" and includes such deviants as criminals, migrants, and emotionally disturbed persons.(7) ✕

The second of three major theories which has been advanced to explain the riots contends that the riots are ✓
due to "a gap between the rioters' objective, economic and social situation and their expectations." This theory has been termed the "relative-deprivation theory".(7) ✕

The "blocked-opportunity theory" is the third major ✓
theory and sees riots as the consequence of the prolonged exclusion of Negroes from American life.(7) This "blocked-

opportunity" theory appears, through all available research, to be the most accurate:

One is led to conclude that the continued exclusion of Negroes from American economic and social life is the fundamental cause of riots. This exclusion is a result of arbitrary racial barriers rather than lack of ability, motivation or aspiration on the part of Negroes, and it is most galling to young Negroes who perceive it as arbitrary and unjust.(7)

In addition to feeling that his way is blocked, the rioter feels that he had substantially improved his status in the past three to five years and is confident in his future and himself.(24) From these data we can see the growing pride which was mentioned earlier; it is also easier to understand the basis for Negro impatience when things fail to move as rapidly as expected.

The impact of the electronic media in the Negro revolution has been recognized by black and white alike. William B. Monroe, Jr., director of NBC News in Washington, D.C., has stated that television is a major media of communication which has promoted the Negro struggle. /

Television is their chosen instrument—not because television set out to integrate the nation or even improve the South, but because when the Negroes got ready for their revolution, television was there.(23)

The impact of television on the riots was investigated by the Riot Commission with the thought that the medium was acting as a catalyst to violent behavior. The conclusion was, that despite incidents of sensationalism, inaccuracies, and distortions, television on the whole made a real effort to give a balanced, factual account of the riot. Despite

this effort, the overall effect was "an exaggeration of both mood and intent." (26) This critical evaluation came just a few weeks before the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and prompted the implementation of new guidelines for handling such disturbances. After the King assassination the television industry received appropriate commendation for the way it handled the resulting disturbances. (10)

With the increased control in news reporting of riots, the emphasis of television's influence on the Negro revolution could easily shift from a direct visible influence to one more indirect. This indirect influence appears to be taking shape in the entertainment function of the medium. A more extensive discussion of this form of influence will be presented later.

The present study attempts to capitalize on both situations and examine news preferences as well as entertainment preferences. The role of television in the ghetto is just beginning to be understood. At present we know that 96 percent of the homes in America have television sets and that the average middle class home has the television set in use for six hours per day. (17) We also know that the average middle class male watches about two and one-half hours of television per day and gets most of his news from television. However, as Greenberg pointed out in his testimony before the Violence Commission, despite the middle class dependence on television, "The citizen of below-standard income is socially and significantly even more dependent on that medium, for the same and other gratifications." (14)

When it is realized that the low-income adult watches about five hours of television each day while the low-income Negro watches about six hours per day, we begin to see the potential influence that the media could have for these individuals.(14) For our own purposes, given that we have a strong bias among low-income Negroes for television, the question becomes, what are they getting out of the medium?

One of the fears which has prompted the concern of officials as well as responsible citizens is that rioters and other individuals who spend a great deal of time with the medium may be absorbing the excessive amounts of violence which are being presented on television, and that this violence is in turn being related to their behavior. Various studies have indicated the great quantities of violence on television. One recent study conducted after the death of Senator Robert F. Kennedy recorded 291 incidents of violence during seven prime evening viewing hours.(27) Fredric Wertham, U. S. Senate Consultant on crime, has also reported counting 334 killings or attempted killings on one station in a single week.(34)

Studies by Berkowitz and by Bandura have indicated there may be a strong possibility that aggressive behavior presented in the media may be imitated.(4)(2) However, these studies have been subject to a good deal of controversy and the generalizability of the findings are in doubt. Berkowitz, however, has taken an apparently justified stand against the catharsis theory of violence in the mass media.(3)

One of the least controversial statements about the effect of violence on television was presented by Joseph Klapper to the Violence Commission:

... surveys indicate certain personality traits lead to a taste for violent media material, and that this material serves some sort of ill-understood psychological function—perhaps good, perhaps bad, and perhaps neither—for children with certain maladjustments. The surveys really do not tell us very much about whether such fare will render audiences more likely to behave violently.(20)

It is evident that what the individual brings to the medium will influence what he will get from it. The counter argument, of course, is that the individual had to gradually formulate what he brings to the medium and, thus, it is the overall acceptance of violence as a common occurrence in American life that may be most harmful.

With this overview of the problem areas, the present research was entered into with the realization of the complexities involved and at the same time the conviction that the medium of television could hold promising keys to the Negro problems in our society. Federal Communications Commissioner Nickolas Johnson has stated:

Today the airways—rather than the roadways of the 1700's—provide the ways for the meetings of men and minds. It is television and radio that hold open the hope of reinstituting the dialogue among men—carrying a message in the air to each man's home, across the barriers of race, of class, of occupation, of prejudice, of the division of peoples into city and suburb. People talking to one another—sharing their thoughts, their lives, their cultures—that is what television and radio can be.(18)

The Riot Commission added to their statement of separate societies the qualification that, "This deepening racial division is not inevitable. The movement apart can be reversed,"(26)

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

The Study Design

The major distinction made between respondents in this study was the classification of rioters vs. nonrioters. This distinction was achieved through sources of sample selection and questions asked of the respondents. Post hoc comparison of the present data with other data to come out of the Detroit area provides a degree of validation for the distinction achieved.

The original questionnaire was pretested in face-to-face interviews with respondents in the riot area around Twelfth Street. The questionnaire was then revised and finally administered in a telephone survey to both samples. The questionnaire was designed to obtain male Negro program preferences as well as respondent opinions on various aspects of television programming. Opinion items were limited to television news, riot coverage, civil rights issues, and violence present on television.

Sample Selection

To select the rioter sample, a rioter was defined as an individual arrested for participation in the Detroit riot

of 1967. In an attempt to make any differences between rioters and nonrioters more apparent, the rioter classification was further limited to those persons arrested on felony charges. A felony charge included such offenses as assault, looting, arson, or homicide. In comparison, misdemeanor charges were primarily curfew violations. The rioter sample was then drawn at random from the 3,230 felony arrestees on file in the Prosecuting Attorney's office in Detroit. A systematic sample was drawn by computing a skip interval for the 3,230 defendants and proceeding through the files in order. Only male respondents were selected. In cases where the interval produced a female name, the first adjacent Negro male was selected to replace it.

The sample of respondents for the riot area was selected through the use of a map of the area and the R. L. Polk City Directory for the Detroit West Side. Streets in the area were listed, and it was calculated that a random selection of eight individuals from each of the twenty-five streets in the area would provide a sufficient number of individuals to work with.

For this exploratory study a sample size of approximately thirty respondents in each group was judged to be adequate. At the completion of the interviewing, thirty-one usable interviews were obtained for the nonrioter sample and twenty-seven for the rioter sample. Two interviews were discarded for the nonrioters due to incomplete information

while one interview was discarded for the rioters because the individual was white. It is noted here that there were eleven refusals from the nonrioters and only one from the rioters. This low refusal rate for rioters held true for other studies conducted for this group. The general refusal rate tended to run around 3 percent for most studies dealing with rioters.(7)

The interviewing for this study was conducted through the office facilities of the Detroit News newspaper in the late afternoon and early evening hours of May 25, 1968. Female interviewers were utilized and four of the seven were Negro. Although it was unknown if any bias would result from racial differences between interviewer and respondent over the telephone, the mixed choice of interviewers was a precautionary measure. A spot-check of completed interviews revealed no apparent differences along these lines.

If a respondent was not reached on the first call, interviewers were instructed to make repeated call backs as time permitted. Due to an inability to reach rioter respondents and a general lack of time, seven of the rioter interviews were completed in the week following the 25th of May.

Violence Viewing Index

To determine the degree of violent content in the 115 television programs used for evaluation of respondent preferences, a panel of judges rated each program. The panel

consisted of 39 graduate students selected from the academic areas of Television and Radio, Psychology, and Political Science.

Objectivity of the rating was attempted through the use of a specified definition of a violent television program. A violent program was defined as:

A program where usually at some point the action results in injury or destruction to some object, animal or human. The injury may be psychological or physical...a result of verbal or motor action.

This definition was developed by James Smith and the author. Smith used the resulting violence ratings in his master's thesis, the results of which have been utilized by Greenberg in his reports to the Violence Commission.(14)

Having carefully read the definition, each judge was asked to rate the programs with which they were familiar on a five point bipolar scale between violent and nonviolent. An example of the scale is shown below; the scale numbers appear here for illustration only and did not appear on the administered instrument.

Bonanza

Violent $\frac{5}{5}$: $\frac{4}{4}$: $\frac{3}{3}$: $\frac{2}{2}$: $\frac{1}{1}$ Nonviolent

From these ratings a violence index was computed for each program by dividing the point total for the program by the number of judges who had rated it. For example, Bonanza was rated by 30 judges and received a point total of 121. Dividing 121 by 30 produced the violence index of 4.033 for that program. The rating instrument in its final form appears in Appendix I.

Of the 115 programs on the original rating form, 17 were discarded because they were either news programs; or they had been rated by fewer than five judges. The original programs were selected from the 1967-68 prime time evening offerings of the three commercial networks—ABC, CBS, and NBC. Prime time in this case was defined as 7:00 p.m. to 11:00 p.m., Monday through Sunday.

From the program checklist secured from each respondent it was possible to average the violence indices of those programs checked as being watched regularly to provide an overall violence index rating for that individual. The violence indices for the individuals in the two groups could then be averaged to provide an index representative of each group.

No attempt was made to statistically determine variance in the violence ratings of the programs by the judges. It was evident from the calculations of the violence indices that at no time were there wide discrepancies in judge ratings. A case in point is Hogan's Heroes which received a violence index of 3.129. The point total for the program was 97 and it was rated by 31 judges, 29 of these judges rated the program 3, one rated it 4 and one rated it 2. Table 1 presents the rank order listing from most violent to least violent of 98 programs utilized for the final analysis in this study.

TABLE 1.--Violence index of programs

Program	Violence Index	Rank
Untouchables	4.90	1
Garrison's Gorillas	4.87	2
Felony Squad	4.69	3
Gunsmoke	4.59	4
Mission Impossible	4.59	4
N.Y.P.D.	4.58	5
Mannix	4.56	6
Wild Wild West	4.54	7
The Avengers	4.50	8
Rat Patrol	4.50	8
The Saint	4.43	9
The Invaders	4.36	10
The Virginian	4.35	11
The F.B.I.	4.33	12
High Chaparral	4.31	13
Cimarron Strip	4.27	14
Batman	4.23	15
Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea	4.23	15
Rawhide	4.21	16
Pro Hockey	4.20	17
Ironside	4.18	18
Guns of Will Sonnett	4.17	19
It Takes a Thief	4.09	20
Star Trek	4.07	21
Bonanza	4.03	22
Big Valley	4.00	23
Dragnet	4.00	23
Tarzan	3.87	24
Judd for the Defense	3.83	25
Run for Your Life	3.83	25
Peyton Place	3.73	26
Daniel Boone	3.69	27

TABLE 1.--Continued

Program	Violence Index	Rank
Get Smart	3.69	27
Lost in Space	3.61	28
Death Valley Days	3.60	29
Maya	3.44	30
Daktari	3.35	31
Hogan's Heroes	3.13	32
F Troop	3.09	33
Cowboy in Africa	3.00	34
Juvenile Court	2.67	35
Lassie	2.63	36
Rowan and Martin	2.46	37
Traffic Court	2.33	38
Smother's Brothers	2.29	39
Truth or Consequences	2.26	40
Michigan Sportsman	2.23	41
Flashback	2.20	42
The Monkees	2.19	43
Newlywed Game	2.12	44
Mothers-in-Law	2.05	45
Michigan Outdoors	2.00	46
Gomer Pyle USMC	2.00	46
Jackie Gleason	2.00	46
Jonathan Winters	2.00	46
Walt Disney	1.96	47
Gentle Ben	1.92	48
Jerry Lewis	1.90	49
Danny Thomas	1.89	50
Sports Profile	1.83	51
Off to See the Wizard	1.83	51
Bewitched	1.79	52
Red Skelton	1.79	52
Gilligan's Island	1.77	53
Lucille Ball	1.76	54

TABLE 1.--Continued

Program	Violence Index	Rank
Horse Racing	1.75	55
Carol Burnett	1.71	56
Beverly Hillbillies	1.70	57
Andy Griffith	1.69	58
I Dream of Jeannie	1.64	59
Dating Game	1.62	60
Dennis the Menace	1.59	61
The Second Hundred Years	1.57	62
That Girl	1.47	63
Green Acres	1.43	64
He and She	1.43	64
My Three Sons	1.43	64
The Flying Nun	1.42	65
Country Music Hall	1.40	66
G.E. College Bowl	1.40	66
Family Affair	1.35	67
Petticoat Junction	1.33	68
Hollywood and the Stars	1.33	68
Dean Martin	1.32	69
Anniversary Game	1.30	70
Good Morning World	1.27	71
Kraft Music Hall	1.27	71
George Pierrot	1.17	72
Dream House	1.17	72
Hollywood Palace	1.14	73
Operation Entertainment	1.11	74
Ed Sullivan	1.10	75
Grand Ole Opry	1.08	76
Robin Seymore	1.00	77
Weekend	1.00	77
Hollywood Squares	1.00	77
Lawrence Welk	1.00	77

Construction of the Questionnaire

The questionnaire for this study was developed to explore five major areas of television programming. The first area inquired about the programs each respondent watched every week or almost every week. To avoid the tendency respondents might have to recall those programs they had viewed the night before, the interviewers read off a checklist of the 115 programs mentioned earlier. Interviewers were instructed to emphasize that the respondent should answer "yes" only to those programs watched every week or almost every week and to hold the respondents to yes-no answers in order to save time.

The program checklists were used to analyze violence differences in the two groups sampled. To ascertain differences which might prove more indicative of the group preferences, each respondent was also asked to state his three most favorite programs.

The lengthy program list did not prove to be awkward and took between five and seven minutes to complete. The only difficulty reported with the list was holding respondents to yes-no answers. It appears that when a respondent enjoys a program, he wants to make sure his opinion is registered with adequate intensity, perhaps in hopes the program will thus remain on the air. No attempt was made to examine television specials or movies due to the difficulty in rating the varied program content.

The second area of programming examined was the individual's attendance to world, national, and local news. The preferred source of these three levels of news was then ascertained. If television was not listed as the respondent's preferred source of local news, he was asked if he ever watched local news on television. However, television proved to be so overwhelming as the source of local news that the question was of little benefit.

The third area studied involved the perceived competence of television in dealing with inner-city problems and problems of civil rights. In this section, also, a civil rights question was asked to check which civil rights leader the respondent thought was doing the best job. This question permitted a check on the moderate vs. militant leader choices of the two groups.

The fourth programming area studied dealt with reactions to the Detroit riot only. Each respondent was asked what his major source of information was during the riot, his reactions to the riot itself, and his reactions to the television coverage of the riot. The respondent was also asked whether he spent much time on the street during the riot. This question was an attempt to achieve a self-admitted difference between rioters and nonrioters.

The fifth and final programming section of the questionnaire dealt with respondent opinions of violence on television and its effects on our society. Questions were included in this section to measure the respondent's tendency toward

violent action as well as his opinions as to the root causes of the major acts of violence which prompted the appointment of the Violence Commission.

Following these five areas of programming several questions were asked to obtain demographic type data. Items included in this section were length of residence in the Detroit area, marital status, age, education, and employment. Several studies provide comparative data for these items. The complete questionnaire and program checklist appear in Appendix II.

After pretesting the questionnaire face-to-face in the riot area and making appropriate revisions, the instrument was again pretested by telephone to insure that all items, particularly the program checklist, could be handled over the telephone. The use of the telephone was questioned because of the income bias that may have been introduced. Other factors to be considered were interviewer costs, time considerations, dangers in working with felony arrestees, and ease of contacting all respondents. The final decision was made when preliminary data from a study conducted for the National Institute of Mental Health was released. This data indicated that only 15% of the arrestees of the Detroit riot were unemployed and of those who were employed the average annual income was \$6,500.(24) This consideration appeared to overcome the fear that a telephone could not be afforded by the respondents. The advantages then overweighed the disadvantages, and the telephone was utilized.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

Violence Indeces

The violence indeces for the 98 programs used for the final evaluation ranged from 4.90 to 1.00. The most violent program was The Untouchables while four programs—two talk shows, a game show, and Lawrence Welk, ranked least violent. One program, Cowboy in Africa, was rated at the neutral position on the bipolar scale with a 3.00.

The average violence index (AVI) for the total 98 programs was 2.63. The 40 programs above the neutral point had an AVI of 4.00, and the 57 programs below the neutral point rated an AVI of 1.64.

The computation of the average violence index for each of the two samples provided a difference in the direction originally anticipated although this difference was not significant. The rioter AVI was 3.02 while the nonrioter index was 2.87. Differences in the AVI for favorite programs produced a greater difference but again not significant. These indeces were 3.46 for rioters and 3.00 for nonrioters.

When this study was conceived it was expected that rioters, being more inclined to action, would attend to more violent programming than nonrioters. In retrospect the

present findings are consistent with the preponderance of research findings which indicate that the rioter is really not much different than the nonrioter.

In an attempt to reduce the number of variables and thus provide a more obvious difference in the two groups, a matched sample of fourteen respondents was drawn from the original groups. This provided a matching on race, sex, age, and marital status. The results drew the AVI ratings for the two groups even closer together. In fact, they were almost identical with the nonrioters rating a 3.05 AVI and the rioters a 3.04 AVI for the total program list. The favorite programs followed the same line with nonrioters rating a 3.40 AVI and rioters a 3.39 AVI. Although sample size restricts generalizability, these ratings provided further evidence that the differences between rioters and nonrioters in the amount of violent programming attended to is negligible. This suggested also that either age or marital status was a relevant factor in the original differences obtained. As will be noted later, various age correlations appear to answer this proposition.

Program Popularity

A popularity check was run on the programs by totaling the number of times a program was mentioned in each group. This popular ranking is presented in Table 2 for the top four programs. This ranking does not necessarily indicate a preference but merely a popularity. Programs which received equal mention appear with the same rank number.

TABLE 2.--Four Most Popular Programs

NONRIOTERS		RIOTERS	
Program	Rank	Program	Rank
Mission Impossible	1	Mission Impossible	1
The F.B.I.	1	Voyage to the Bottom	
I Spy	2	of the Sea	2
Untouchables	2	I Spy	3
Wild Wild West	2	The Invaders	3
Felony Squad	3	F Troop	3
Juvenile Court	3	Ed Sullivan	3
Traffic Court	3	The F.B.I.	4
Bonanza	4	Wild Wild West	4
Big Valley	4		
The Virginian	4		

The popularity list indicates that for the nonrioters two of the eleven comprising the top four are below a 3.00 AVI or nonviolent. For the rioters only one of the eight programs is nonviolent. This difference appears to be more a function of the number of shows each group checked as being watched regularly than a true indicator of violence orientation. The rioters checked an average of 42.7 shows while the nonrioters checked an average of 52.5. These figures proved significant at the .001 level of confidence in a t test of mean differences: $t = 8.126$, two tailed, $df = 194$.

The significant difference in programs checked indicates that nonrioters are more preoccupied with television as a source of entertainment than are the rioters. If this is so, a similar relationship should follow through in the use of television as a news source, as indeed it does in the data presented below. The data to follow in this section will present statistical results only where significant differences

were achieved. In subsequent discussions of the differences obtained, the differences were not significant unless so noted.

News Items

To get at news the first question asked was, "Do you pay much attention to world and national news?" This was followed with questions as to the major sources of world and national news. Table 3 presents the results of these inquiries.

TABLE 3.--World and National News

<u>Do you pay much attention to world and national news?</u>		
<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
%		%
85.0	Yes	87.1
15.0	No	12.9
 Where do you get most of your world news?		
78.3	TV	88.9
8.7	Radio	14.8
13.0	Newspaper	3.7
4.3	Magazine	0.0
 Where do you get most of your national news?		
73.9	TV	96.3
4.3	Radio	7.4
17.4	Newspaper	3.7
4.3	Magazine	0.0

These data indicate that both samples pay almost equal attention to world and national news but the reliance on particular sources of news varies. Although television is the predominate news source for both groups, the nonrioter is more likely to use the broadcast media than is the rioter. At the same time, the rioter utilizes the print media to a

greater extent in both categories. This variance could be a function of the difference in educational levels which will be pointed out later. Allen reports the same overall reliance on television for news in his study of media habits in a Pittsburgh ghetto.(1)

When the same questions were asked about local news, differences appear again in the sources of news but this time attention to local news shows a wider split. This difference in attention to local news tends to follow a prediction made by Bob Bennett, a Negro reporter for WXYZ, who regularly covered the Twelfth Street area before and after the riot. Bennett, while discussing the present research project before the research had begun, felt that the rioter would be more oriented toward news on the national level because there he could see more advancement than was evident in his own local area. It also appears from the data that the rioter gets more local news by radio than does the nonrioter. The local news breakdown is presented in Table 4. Cases where percentages do not add up to 100 are the result of respondents listing more than one major source of news.

TABLE 4.--Local News

Do you pay much attention to local news?		
<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
%		%
85.2	Yes	93.5
14.8	No	6.5
Where do you get most of your local news?		
65.4	TV	75.9
30.4	Radio	17.2
17.4	Newspaper	6.9
0.0	Magazine	0.0

Television Coverage

A specific element of local news was used to get into the perceived competence of television in handling problems related to the Negro. The first area examined was television coverage of inner-city problems. The results indicate that the rioter is more willing to rate the coverage as poor and to indicate that there is not enough time given to the problem. The percentages in each case are presented in Table 5. In succeeding cases where critical remarks were made by respondents, the number of respondents is placed beside the percentage figure to indicate the figure was calculated only from the total number who gave critical responses.

Table 5.--Television and Inner-City Problems

How well do you feel the problems of the inner-city are covered on TV?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
22.2	Very well	29.0
44.5	Fairly well	48.4
14.8	Not very well	12.9
18.5	Poorly	9.7

Do you have any criticism of television news coverage of inner-city problems?

40.7	Yes	41.6
59.3	No	58.4

Criticism:

54.5 - 6	Not enough time	9-69.2
45.5 - 5	Slanted news	4-30.8

Is enough time given to inner-city problems on TV?

37.1	Yes	54.8
62.9	No	45.2

Table 5.--Continued

IF NO: Why do you think there is not enough time given to inner-city problems?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>	
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>	
35.3	- 6	Other things to do	6 - 40.0
23.5	- 4	Need in depth coverage	5 - 33.3

The overall impression from the data in Table 5 indicates first, that television does not devote enough time to inner-city problems, particularly for the rioter, and second, that what time is given to inner-city problems is handled "fairly well". Along this line, the Riot Commission pointed out that, "The Commission's major concern with the news media is not in riot reporting as such, but in the failure to report adequately on race relations and ghetto problems ..."(26) The Commission noted this as a failure of the media to communicate.

They have not communicated to the majority of their audience—which is white—a sense of the degradation, misery, and hopelessness of living in the ghetto. They have not communicated to whites a feeling for the difficulties and frustrations of being a Negro in the United States.(26)

One of the main points to come out of the research conducted by the Institute for Social Research for the Commission was that the rioter is more sensitive to discrimination.(7) This is reflected in the time portion of Table 5 with the rioter feeling more strongly that not enough time is provided for inner-city problems.

The second major area of perceived competence of television dealt with problems of civil rights. The data again indicate that a slight majority of rioters feel there is not enough time given to problems of civil rights. The overwhelming judgment by both samples of television's coverage of civil rights problems was again "fairly well", with rioters more inclined to say "poorly". The civil rights breakdown is presented in Table 6.

TABLE 6.--Television and Civil Rights Problems

How well do you feel the problems of civil rights are covered on television?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
11.1	Very well	16.1
48.2	Fairly well	48.4
18.5	Not very well	19.4
22.2	Poorly	12.9
0.0	No opinion	3.2

Do you have any criticism of television news coverage of civil rights problems?

48.1	Yes	32.3
51.9	No	67.7

Criticism:

53.8 - 7	More time and detail	2 - 20.0
46.2 - 6	Slanted news	8 - 80.0

Is enough time given to problems of civil rights on television?

44.4	Yes	54.8
55.6	No	45.2

IF NO: Why do you think there is not enough time given to civil rights problems?

33.3 - 5	Don't know	4 - 28.6
40.0 - 6	More time and detail	9 - 64.3
0.0 - 0	No public demand	1 - 7.1
26.7 - 4	Whole problem too big	0 - 0.0

It is possible at this point to compare the present data with the hypothesis that the rioter is more nationally oriented, particularly the data concerning the criticism of news coverage. Since inner-city items are more local in nature and civil rights in general is more national, one might expect less criticism from rioters on the local items. Indeed, the data from Tables 5 and 6 show a 40.7 percent to 48.1 percent increase in criticism from local to national items for rioters. More indicative, however, is the 41.9 percent to 32.3 percent decrease in criticism for nonrioters in the change from local to national levels.

In conjunction with this observation it is noted that the type of criticism, for those who stated so, remains about the same for rioters but changes for nonrioters. The dominant criticism for rioters in both the local and national items was "not enough time". The nonrioter stated lack of time as a criticism of local coverage but shifted to slanted news as the dominant criticism of national news. The rioter did, however, see slanted news as a relevant factor in denying civil rights spokesmen enough time on television to make their views clear. (See Table 7)

TABLE 7.--Television Time for Civil Rights Spokesmen

Do spokesmen for civil rights problems have enough time on TV to make their views clear?

<u>RIOTER</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
44.4	Yes	61.3
55.6	No	38.7

TABLE 7.--Continued

IF NO: Why do you feel this is so?

<u>RIOTER</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
20.0 - 3	Don't know	2 - 16.6
26.7 - 4	Slanted News	0 - 0.0
53.3 - 8	Need more time	9 - 75.0
0.0 - 0	No sponsors	1 - 8.4

Table 7 also points out that when spokesmen are considered, the rioter becomes even more separated from the nonrioter as to the amount of time he feels is granted to civil rights spokesmen. This split could be due to the rioter's more intense following of national leaders. If, as Caplan and Paige point out, the rioter is more sensitive to discrimination, he would feel this exclusion more keenly.(7)

Civil Rights Leaders

The area of civil rights leaders seems to be an important area of consideration when examining differences between rioters and nonrioters. In the present study a significant difference was found in the type of leader preferred by each group. Table 8 presents the results of the spokesman question. The question was originally asked as an open-end question; and if no response was made, the five leaders in the top half of the table were read as possible choices.

Table 8.--Favorite Civil Rights Spokesman

Whick spokesman for civil rights do you think is doing the best job?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
0.0	Whitney Young	0.0
18.5	Stokely Carmichael	0.0
11.1	Roy Wilkins	19.4
7.4	H. Rap Brown	0.0
33.3	Ralph Abernathy	48.4

Names volunteered by the respondents:

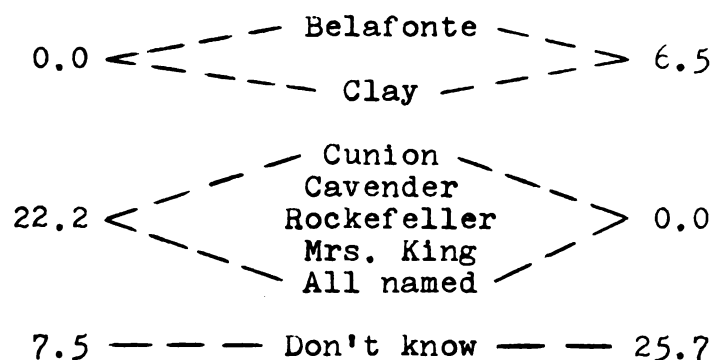


Table 8 illustrates that of the arrest sample, the dominant choices were for moderate leaders while 25.9 percent preferred either Stokely Carmichael or H. Rap Brown. These two leaders were classified as militant for purposes of further analysis. At the same time not one in the nonrioter sample listed the militant leaders as favorites. For the nonrioters 67.8 percent chose Roy Wilkins or Ralph Abernathy with Abernathy as the favored choice by almost half the sample. It should be noted that at the time of the interviewing Abernathy was a major name in the news as the successor to the assassinated Martin Luther King, Jr. Thus, if we consider Abernathy as a substitute for King,

we can compare data gathered immediately after the riot. Singer interviewed 500 arrestees at their places of detention after the riot and reports that 36.4 percent rated King as their favorite Negro leader.(29) The present study found 33.3 percent favoring Abernathy in the rioter group. The Chi square analysis for the significant findings in leader choice is presented below Table 9. The analysis was significant at the .01 level of confidence.

TABLE 9.--Chi Square Analysis - Choice of Leaders

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>	
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>	
25.9	Militant	0	
44.4	Moderate	67.8	
22.2	Other	6.5	
7.5	Don't know	25.7	
$x^2 = 14.85$		$df = 3$	$p < .01$

These data also reveal that an important indicator of the rioter's personal involvement in civil rights issues may be his ready identification of civil rights leaders. The rioter might then be further identified by the degree of militancy of his choice.

Table 8 shows that 22.2 percent of the rioters volunteered names that were not on our original list, while only 6.5 percent of the nonrioters did so. Unfortunately, no check was made of the total number of respondents in each group who volunteered answers as opposed to those who required reading of the list. An analysis of this nature might prove even more conclusively the value of naming leaders as an

indicator of personal involvement. A similar item from Table 8 lends support to this idea in that 25.7 percent of the non-rioters answered "don't know" even after reading of the list. At the same time, only 7.5 percent of the rioters were without an opinion as to which spokesman for civil rights was doing the best job.

The Detroit Riot

To probe television's role in the Detroit riot the approach was to emphasize the respondent's perception of the riot itself, his major sources of information during the riot, and his evaluation of the television coverage of the riot. There were no differences between groups as to the first place they actually saw the riot, in person or on television. However, there was a significant difference in the reported first reaction to seeing the riot. The greatest reaction differences occurred in the areas of curiosity as to what was happening, evaluation of the importance of the riot, initial shock, and the degree to which the riot was expected. In these cases, as Table 10 indicates, the rioter rated slightly above the nonrioter in all instances except the category of shock or surprise. The reaction items in the lower half of Table 10 proved significant at the .01 level of confidence.

TABLE 10.--First Sighting and Reaction to the Riot

Do you recall where you first saw the Detroit riots of last summer; was it in person or on television?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
77.8	In person	74.2
22.2	On television	25.8

What was your first reaction when you did see the riots?

3.7	No response	19.4
29.6	What was happening	12.9
14.8	Nothing big	0.0
29.6	Shocked, surprised	51.9
14.8	Felt it would happen	6.5
0.0	To stay home	9.7
7.4	Excited	0.0

$$\chi^2 = 17.0433$$

$$\text{df} = 6$$

$$p < .01$$

These data seem to indicate that a major difference between the rioter and the nonrioter was the nonrioter's surprise and initial shock at the onset of the rioting. Couple the slight majority of 51.9 percent of nonrioters reacting this way with the 19.4 percent who could offer no response to the question and the division becomes even greater. The Chi square analysis for the seven categories is presented below Table 10.

There were only slight differences between groups as to sources of information utilized for riot news while the riot was in progress. As might be expected, rioters tended to use other people more frequently as sources of information than did nonrioters. This difference mirrors the level of active participation of the two groups. In both samples television was the dominant source of news. Table 11 presents

the figures obtained for riot information sources. The percentage total is greater than one hundred in Table 11 and the lower half of Table 10 because some subjects responded in more than one category.

TABLE 11.--Sources of Information During the Riot

<u>Where did you get most of your information during the riot?</u>			
<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>	
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>	
18.5	Radio	22.6	
7.4	Newspapers	6.5	
70.4	Television	61.3	
51.9	Other people	35.5	

The greater reliance of the rioters on television could again be attributed to their greater interest in civil rights issues. As the Riot Commission points out, the Negro tends to distrust most of the "white" media but trusts television most because he can see for himself what is happening.(26)

When asked to recall what was remembered best about the television coverage of the riot, it was expected that the rioter would recall more violent action. This assumption, however, was thought to be a function of the rioters greater attraction for violence. The data revealed that the rioter does recall more violent action but from our previous discussions it would be difficult to attribute this to his more violent nature. Instead, the recall could be due to the rioters greater sensitivity to racial issues. Since the majority of televised scenes revealed blacks, those

rioters seen on television may have been perceived as being discriminated against. Singer supplies some data to support this when he reports that 20.6 percent of the arrestees studied answered the question, "What were most of the people doing during televised race riots?", by stating that "whites were aggressing Negroes." At the same time only 1.6 percent report seeing Negroes "aggressing against whites." (29)

Singer's data also report that for the same question, 52.2 percent of the arrestees stated that people were "destroying property ... fighting, ... fighting the police or National Guard." (29) The present data show a close similarity in that 48.1 percent of the rioters reported that what they remembered best about the television coverage was the burning, looting, and killing. In comparison, 29 percent of the nonrioters reported the same items as remembered best. These items are detailed in Table 12.

TABLE 12.--Recall of Television Riot Coverage

What do you remember best about the television coverage?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
14.8	What was happening	6.5
48.1	Burning-looting-killing	29.0
37.1	Nothing special	48.4
0.0	Slanted news	9.7
0.0	Good coverage	6.5

When both samples were questioned as to their criticism of how television covered the riots, both samples indicated by a clear majority that the riot coverage was "good" or "as

well as could be expected". Consistent with the theory that the rioter tends to feel slightly more discriminated against, in the present study he tended to be slightly more willing to criticize the television coverage of the riot. Likewise, the criticism tended to be more toward the condemnation of slanted news. Table 13 presents both sets of data with the number of respondents beside the critical percentages for perspective.

TABLE 13.--Criticism of Television Riot Coverage

Do you have any criticism of the way television handled or covered the riots last summer?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
18.5	Yes	3.2
81.5	No	96.8

Criticism:

37.5 - 3	Good coverage	4 - 80.0
62.5 - 5	Slanted news	1 - 20.0

No significant difference was found in the probe designed to distinguish between rioters and nonrioters by the amount of time spent on the street while the rioting was taking place. Table 14 presents the responses to this item. In retrospect, the close approximation of the nonrioter sample to the riot area and the length of time the riot lasted would make it difficult for the nonrioter not to have spent some time on the street. It is noted, however, that the percentages for the arrest group who admitted spending time on the street are exactly the same as the arrest percentages in Table 10

denoting where the respondent first saw the riot. It was originally anticipated that in asking for an admission of time spent on the street the respondent might fear an admission of guilt and not answer honestly; however, this does not appear to be the case.

TABLE 14.--Time Spent on the Street During the Riot

This is a yes-no answer: Many people in the Detroit area were able to watch some of the riot action in person as it progressed over the week long period. Yes or no, did you spend any time on the street observing or watching when the rioting was taking place?

<u>RIOTERS</u> %		<u>NONRIOTERS</u> %
77.8	Yes	54.8
22.2	No	45.2

The question in Table 14 could be criticized as being too general in that the phrase, "did you spend any time on the street?", was too broad to make a reliable distinction. Judging from the frankness of questions used by other researchers it would appear more beneficial to ask directly if the respondent participated in the riot and utilize a question of the type used here as an added check.

Violence Issues

The original assumption that rioters were more inclined to violence prompted the next question concerning violence as a means of making progress with civil rights problems. Again, however, the results were not significant, and the majority

of both samples felt violence was not the best means of making civil rights progress. The results of a 15-city study of Negro attitudes conducted for the Riot Commission presents the same evidence. Their conclusion was, "Most Negroes, . . . , though they speak in terms that seem to justify the riots, reject violence both as a general strategy and as an approach they would be willing to take part in themselves."(6)

The present data are consistent with this statement, most strongly for the nonrioters with 93.5 percent. As might be expected, the rioters are less in agreement with 70.4 percent but still clearly a majority. The 15-cities study states, "A somewhat larger number—but still very much a minority—indicate positive approval of violence as a possible strategy for gaining Negro rights."(6) It is noted here also that the percentage of rioters who advocate violence, 22.2 percent, closely agrees with the percentage of rioters who were tagged as militant, 25.9 percent. Table 15 provides the comparative percentages for violence advocacy.

TABLE 15.--Preference for Violence in Civil Rights

Lately, various opinions have been expressed about the use of force or violence as a means of advancing civil rights problems. No one, of course, is entirely right. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that violence is the fastest and most effective means of making progress with civil rights problems?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
22.2	Agree	6.5
70.4	Disagree	93.5
7.4	No opinion	0.0

Although no differences were obtained in the amount of violence each group watches on television, there was a significant difference in opinions about the presence of violence on television. The nonrioters with 64.5 percent were more likely to state that violence on television was bad and should not be shown. At the same time 48.1 percent of the rioters felt that violence on television was "ok" and was generally not harmful. Another distinction between groups was the rioter's tendency to feel that violence on television was needed to make the programs more interesting or appealing. Although only 14.8 percent of the rioters responded this way, there were no nonrioters who stated the same view. Table 16 presents respondents' opinions to the violence question with the Chi square values below the table.

TABLE 16.--Opinions on Television Violence

There has been a great deal of controversy over the amount of violence that is shown on television today. How do you feel about violence on television?

<u>RIOTERS</u> %		<u>NONRIOTERS</u> %
7.4	No response	0.0
29.6	Bad-shouldn't be shown	64.5
48.2	OK-not harmful	25.8
14.8	Needed to make program	0.0
0.0	Depends on person	9.7

$$\chi^2 = 15.130$$

$$\text{df} = 4$$

$$p < .01$$

The rioters more lenient views toward violence on television follow through in their perception of the effect of television violence on children. The rioters were less

likely to see television violence as having any effect on children although a majority of 51.9 percent still felt it did affect children. A clear majority of nonrioters, 74.2 percent, felt violence on television does affect children who view violent programs.

Both groups were in agreement as to what effect violent shows have on adults. The slight majority here felt no effect was evident. This close agreement appears consistent with the closeness of the violence index ratings for the two groups. Table 17 presents the data for both children and adults.

TABLE 17.--Effect of TV Violence on Children and Adults

Do you think the violence on television has any effect on children who view these programs?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
51.9	Yes	74.2
44.4	No	25.8
3.7	No response	0.0

Does it have any effect on adults?

44.4	Yes	45.2
51.9	No	54.8
3.7	No response	0.0

The similarity of responses for both groups appears again in their reaction to what they feel is the worse kind of violence that is presently shown on television. When asked why they felt that particular form of violence was the worst, responses were again similar with the exception of

the nonrioters' tendency to use reasons based on a concept of brotherhood. The results are presented in Table 18.

TABLE 18.--Worst Violence on Television

What do you think is the worst kind of violence shown on TV?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
14.8	Don't know	6.4
48.2	Shooting, killing, war	58.1
14.8	Riots, stealing, gang-fights	16.1
11.1	All violence	9.7
11.1	Miscellaneous	9.7

Why?

29.6	No response	41.9
33.3	People imitate	35.5
18.5	Utmost in violence	0.0
18.5	Too realistic	0.0
0.0	Against brotherhood	22.6

A further probe of perceived causes of the violence prominent in America produced a split in the responses obtained from the two groups. The initial probe was to obtain reactions to the major acts of violence evidenced by the assassinations of Senator Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and President John F. Kennedy. In this instance, reactions were quite similar with no major discrepancies evident. The second part of the same question asked the respondent if he thought the violent assassinations showed that America was a "sick society or just that it was the work of sick individuals". This probe was to be asked only if the respondent gave no response to the assassination inquiry. However, in some cases

the question was asked even if a response was given. For purposes of meaningful analysis both questions should have been asked of all respondents. As it now is presented, those not responding to the second question and thus classified as "no response" are those who answered the first question. This violates the assumption of mutual independence necessary in a statistical analysis based on random sampling. Thus, no test of significance is presented even though a Chi square analysis of the data thus grouped was significant at the .05 level. Table 19 presents both sets of data with the number of respondents beside the percentages in question.

TABLE 19.--Perceived Causes of National Violence

Over the past few years there have been several assassinations of leaders such as Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr., and President John F. Kennedy. Why do you think these assassinations have taken place in America?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
22.2	Organization behind it	29.0
26.7	Helping Negro & poor	35.5
14.8	Crazed people	9.7
4.3	Could happen anywhere	0.0
32.0	No response	25.8

IF NO RESPONSE: Do you think it shows that America is a sick society or just that it was the work of sick individuals?

40.7	Sick society	12.9
40.7	Sick individuals	51.9
18.6	No response	35.2

Demographic Items

The present study reveals that a strong majority of respondents in both samples have lived in the Detroit area five years or longer. The percentages were nearly equivalent for the two groups with 92.6 percent for the rioters and 93.6 percent for the nonrioters. Other categories registering respondents were 2-3 years and 3-4 years as evidenced by Table 20.

TABLE 20.--Length of Residence in Detroit

<u>How long have you lived in the Detroit area?</u>		
<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
0.0	0-1 years	0.0
0.0	1-2 years	0.0
7.4	2-3 years	3.2
0.0	3-4 years	3.2
92.6	5 years or more	93.6

These data agree with other findings to come out of Detroit. The "riffraff" theory assumed rioters more likely to be short term residents of the city; but as was pointed out earlier, this was not the case. One study reported that in Detroit 59 percent of the rioters and 35 percent of the nonrioters were born in the city.(7) Singer reports that of the 500 arrestees he investigated only 8.6 percent had lived in the city less than a year. At the same time, 78.8 percent had lived in the city six years or more.(29)

The marital status of the rioters vs. nonrioters revealed no significant differences. There appears to be

a greater number of nonrioters who are married and more rioters than nonrioters that are single. Fogelson and Hill conducted a study for the Riot Commission which revealed that 48.4 percent of the rioter sample were single and 38.4 percent were married. For the nonrioters, 19.2 percent were single and 60.1 percent were married.(11) The remaining percentages in each case were divorced, separated, or widowed. Singer reports the same percentages in his data.(29) These percentages are relatively close to the results obtained for the nonrioters in the present study while the rioters display a lower percentage of single persons. However, for their data Fogelson and Hill are careful to point out that " ... it is clear that single persons are over-represented among the arrestees, whereas married, separated, widowed, and divorced persons are under-represented."(11) With this allowance in mind and the high degree of consistency displayed thus far, the present marital data appear to be reliably acceptable. These data are presented in Table 21.

TABLE 21.--Marital Status

What is your marital status?

<u>RIOTERS</u>		<u>NONRIOTERS</u>
<u>%</u>		<u>%</u>
22.2	Single	16.1
66.7	Married	71.0
7.4	Separated or divorced	9.7
3.7	Widower	3.2

The results of the education question provided data consistent with evidence now available on the rioters' educational level. Originally it was thought the rioter would be less educated than the nonrioter. This thinking was consistent with the "riffraff" theory which has fallen before the masses of data to come out of the riots. Caplan and Paige state, "Although it is true that the rioter is likely to be a high school dropout, his nonrioting neighbor is more likely to be an elementary school dropout." (7) The data from the present study is consistent with this finding and is presented in Table 22.

TABLE 22.--Educational Level

<u>RIOTERS</u> %	<u>EDUCATION</u>	<u>NONRIOTERS</u> %
22.2	Grade School	39.0
59.3	High School	48.0
18.5	College	1.3

The findings that the rioter is actually better educated than the nonrioter has been a major refutable point against the "riffraff" theory. The percentages reported in Table 22 are for respondents reporting any level within the three major categories and does not necessarily mean that particular educational level was completed.

The area of employment reveals that the present data are consistent with the Caplan and Paige comparison of rioter vs. nonrioter employment. The specific percentages

do, however, vary. Caplan and Paige report that, "In Detroit the unemployment rate among the nonrioters was practically identical with that for the rioters, 32%.(7) The present data indicate that the unemployed nonrioters accounted for 16.1 percent of the sample while 18.5 percent of the rioters were in the same category. Similarly, 83.9 percent of the nonrioters reported being employed at the present time while 81.5 percent of the rioters reported the same. Due to the difference in time when the two studies were conducted, and the nature of the samples themselves, it is difficult to make a direct comparison of percentages. However, it is important that the relationships between the samples in each study do hold true.

Age and Violence Preference

The age of the respondents, particularly the rioters, proved consistent with available data. With a small sample it is difficult to talk about particular percentages for specific age groups; therefore, the most appropriate percentages to report would be those indicating the extent of participation by specific age brackets. By reporting bracket percentages it is possible to establish to what degree the sample represents the actual population. Hill and Fogelson in their ten-city study of rioters for the Riot Commission stated, "... the young people between the ages of 15 and 34 constitute an overwhelming majority of the arrestees; these proportions range from 70% in Detroit

to 93% in Buffalo."(11) The present study indicates that in the same 15-34 age category 71 percent of the rioters were represented.

The Hill and Fogelson study compared area residents but limited their selection to people 59 years old or younger. They stipulated this limitation because no one in their arrestee sample was over 59. No such limitation was made in the present study since the sample drawn was a random sample of the area. As a result, there were nine respondents between the ages of 60 and 69. This difference in the samples prohibits a meaningful direct comparison of percentages. However, Hill and Fogelson do report that, "... the similar proportions of those between 15 and 34 among the potential rioters (area residents)—with the exception of one city (New Haven)—are all under 50 percent."(11) The age percentages for the present study are presented in Table 23.

TABLE 23.--Age of Respondents

<u>RIOTERS</u> %	<u>AGE</u>	<u>NONRIOTERS</u> %
71.0	15-34	22.6
29.0	35-59	48.4
0.0	65-68	29.0

The rioter age data is consistent with other rioter data; however, it is difficult to ascertain nonrioter representation without comparative data. If anything, the

65-69 age group may be over-represented, and it would be expected that the groups showing would tend to be somewhat more conservative. If this were the case, it would be easier to achieve significant differences on such items as the violence index. However, as has been shown, this was not the case.

It was pointed out earlier that a comparison of the smaller samples matched on age, sex, marital status, and race produced average violence indices for the groups that were almost identical. At the same time there was a 3.02 to 2.87 difference between rioters and nonrioters for the total groups. Since race and sex were constant throughout the study, the difference could be due to either marital status or age. The age component did show variance that could be attributed to the difference in question. There were no rioters over 59 years of age while there were nine from 59-69 for the nonrioters. The average violence index for those over 59 was 2.70 while the AVI for nonrioters excluding those over 59 was 2.94. The age difference does then appear to account for a good deal of the AVI variance.

In comparison to the present AVI system, experimental studies of perceived violence have been undertaken through the use of a stereoscope viewer. The subject is presented two pictures or fields and through natural binocular fusion the images are fused into one unit. Binocular fusion, then, provides a unitary response to the combined fields.(31)(32) Thus, by presenting a nonviolent image and a similar violent image, it has been found that, "People with a history of

involvement in violence and people who eventually become involved in violence, perceive violent scenes in the stereoscope."(25) It has been established also that a linear relationship exists for an individual's age and his perception of violence. This held true in an ascending linear relationship for students in grades 3 through 13.(22)

A similar relationship exists for the AVI ratings of the two groups in the present study. However, it is noted that between the ages of 35 and 45 there is a slight decrease in the AVI ratings followed by a marked increase for the 45-58 age group and an even more marked decrease from 58-68.

Since the AVI ratings of the two groups are so similar, except for the 59-68 age group as pointed out earlier, and since these exceptions do not overlap across samples, it is possible to combine the data for purposes of visualizing the prominent decrease for the 58-68 age group. Figure 1 presents the resulting curvilinear relationship. Since the AVI ratings are preference indices it is apparent from Figure 1 that the preference for violent shows increases in the mid 50's and drops rapidly after age 58.

For comparative purposes the Nielsen top ten programs in the nation for various age groups were utilized to compute AVI ratings for those age groups. The Nielsen programs reflect program tastes from October 23 to December 3, 1967.(16) The results indicate that the 6-11 year olds have an AVI of 1.59 for 10 programs. The 12-17 year old group rated a

2.81 AVI for 9 programs, the tenth being a movie. The 18-34 age group rated a 3.61 AVI for 4 programs, since six were movies. Although the 18-34 rating is exaggerated, the increasing trend is evident. The final Nielsen age group of 50+ years old rated a 2.70 AVI for 9 programs, the tenth being news. Thus, the AVI ratings for the Nielsen age groups appear to support the stereoscope linear increase findings, at the same time support the present findings of a decrease for the older respondents in the sample. No Nielsen ratings were provided for the 35-49 age group so no comparison can be made.

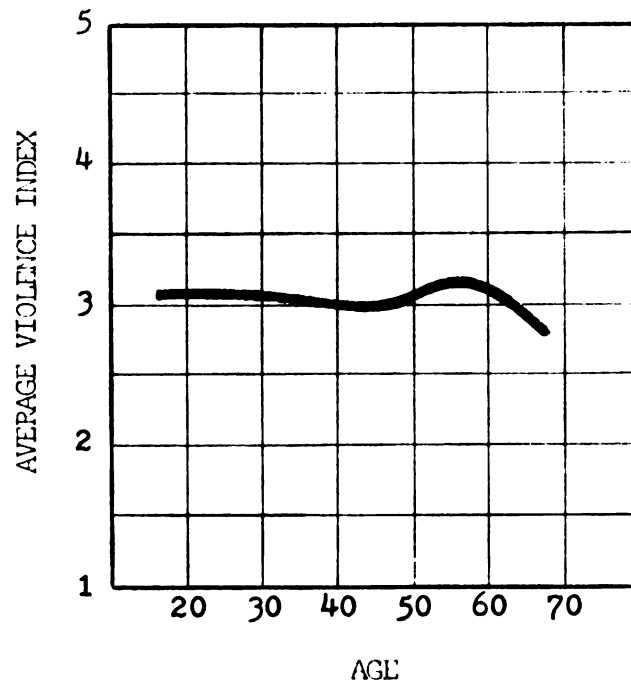


Figure 1.--Average Violence Indexes and Age

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

The Present Study

The data in this study appear to be highly consistent with other research data to come out of the Detroit area. This consistency for both rioters and nonrioters crosses the areas of refusal rate, education, news preference, choice of civil rights leaders, opinions on inner-city problems as well as civil rights problems and spokesmen, advocating violence as a solution to civil rights problems, residence, and age. From the consistency of these comparisons it is fair to assume that the rioter-nonrioter distinction originally sought was attained.

The main conclusions to be drawn from these data are first, that the rioter does not attend to any more violent television entertainment programming than does his nonrioting neighbor. Second, age seems to be an important factor in determining how much violent programming an individual in either sample will watch. Third, the rioter is less preoccupied with television than is the nonrioter, although television is still the dominant medium in his life. This preoccupation with television includes entertainment as evidenced by a significant difference in the number of

programs watched regularly, television as a source of news, and television as a perceived source of influence upon society, particularly children. Fourth, the rioter displays a significantly greater tendency to follow militant civil rights leaders than does the nonrioter. Fifth, the rioter is significantly less likely to react to the first sight of the riots with surprise or shock.

The present study has instituted two distinct research innovations. The first is the violence index used to determine the relative degree of violent content for each program. The second is the program checklist used to determine the respondents overall viewing preferences. The two instruments worked well together to distinguish the programs the respondent prefers above all others offered in his area and to provide a system for ranking all programs as to their degree of violence.

The rating of the programs by the panel of judges displayed remarkable consistency, so much so that a test of inter-judge reliability was deemed unnecessary. The use of a large number of judges produced a rating stability that would not be possible using a smaller number of judges. After the present study was completed, a study of the demographic characteristics of viewers who are heavy viewers of violent programs was reported in Media/scope.(33) The program rating system utilized in the study was similar to the one developed for the present study in that a five point bipolar scale was used to rate the programs as

violent or nonviolent. However, the rating was made by three television critics and the criteria of rating was not stipulated in the study report. An attempt made by James Smith, co-developer of the present rating system, to contact the study directors to ascertain the criteria used for rating received no reply.

The program checklist used in the present study overcomes difficulties the respondents may have had in attempting to recall programs which they watch regularly. Greenberg reports that what tends to happen in a recall situation is that the respondent recalls the programs he watched the previous evening.(12) As reported earlier, if respondents could be held to yes-no answers the list was completed in five to seven minutes without losing the respondent's interest. There is also the advantage of being able to cover all program listings of a specified time period without having the respondent check through a program schedule as is often done in a face-to-face interview. The difficulty remains with combining the violence rating system and the checklist of not being able to effectively deal with movies, specials, or news.

The first conclusion that the rioter does not attend to any more violent television entertainment is now not surprising in light of the fallacies that have been pointed out in the "riffraff" theory. This conclusion, of course, is based on the assumption that the violence index developed for this study is a valid measure of the violent content of

the programs rated. Since the ratings obtained from the panel of judges were based on a specified definition the question arises as to the objectivity of the ratings. Even if the ratings are objective, can it be assumed that the objective rating relates to the individual's perceived violence? In essence, the question becomes, does an individual's preference for a violent program (objectively rated) correspond to the amount of violence he actually sees in that program? The problem of selective perception is too large to deal with effectively in this exposition; however, studies with the stereoscope appear to provide important evidence along these lines.

As pointed out earlier, studies with the stereoscope indicate that an individual's perception of violence increases in a linear fashion with his age. These studies then are studies in selective perception which cover the ages of 8-19. At the same time, the AVI ratings computed for various age groups in the present study revealed similar characteristics. This comparison makes two points. First, if the correlation between perceived violence and the AVI ratings of preferred violence hold true, the AVI system could prove to be a fruitful tool for researching both areas. Second, since the correlations do appear to hold for the present data, a cutoff point around the ages of 55-58 has been located for maximum attendance to violence in television entertainment. The task remains to determine what psychological processes account for the change. Is the change due to preference

only or perception, or more likely, some combination of the two? Why the prominent increase in attendance to violent entertainment just before the dramatic decrease?

One possible explanation for the AVI increase before the final decrease may be offered in the frustration-aggression theories. It is noted here that the frustration-aggression theories bear striking similarities to the "blocked opportunity" theory which appears to be the most accurate for explaining the rioter's behavior. If the rioter can see the goals he is striving for, but discrimination blocks his path, then frustration results. Similarly, as frustration increases, aggression also increases.(7) It has been pointed out by Berkowitz that in the frustration-aggression theories the element of hope must be considered. The individual must see the goal as obtainable.(5) In the case of the increased AVI ratings before the final decrease it may be that the Negro respondents at the 55-58 age range are asserting their final hopes at achieving certain goals, thus feeling the greatest frustration which results in attendance to more aggressive television content.

There are interrelationships in the last three conclusions which merit further elaboration. The conclusion that the rioter is generally less preoccupied with television than is the nonrioter is a difference which extends throughout the data. This difference comes through first in the attention paid to world and national news and then more strongly in local news. Although television is the dominant news source

for both groups, the rioter consistently rates lower in usage of television for news. This difference could be partially dependent upon the rioters slightly higher educational level.

The nonrioters greater preoccupation with television is most evident in the number of shows checked as being watched regularly. In this category the nonrioter averages almost ten percent more programs than does the rioter. Similarly, the nonrioter sees television violence as having an effect on children while the rioter is less likely to see any such relationship. Caplan and Paige report that the rioter is somewhat more active than is the nonrioter, as evidenced by membership in organizations and social interaction with neighbors.(7) If this is the case, the rioters' greater activity would utilize more of his time and he would naturally have less time to devote to the television medium. The rioters' activity appears to be somewhat politically oriented as evidenced by his greater tendency to follow militant leaders. If the rioter is more active and more militant, this could explain his lesser degree of shock and surprise at the riots. At the same time, considering all these factors which result in less preoccupation with television, it is not unusual to find that the rioter would feel television violence has less effect on our society, particularly on the children.

The rioters' tendency toward militancy is a significant finding that also merits further consideration. The present finding that the rioter is more inclined toward militancy is

perhaps not as revealing or important as the indication that the rioter is much more able to state an opinion and choose a leader without prompting than is the nonrioter. This factor could be used in future research as an indicator of personal involvement in civil rights issues and potential involvement in riot activity. There is a question which remains unanswered—is the greater interest of the rioter and his ability to name civil rights leaders a result of his past involvement in the riots or a precondition for his involvement?

Future Research

There are several angles from which to approach the two major areas of violence and civil disturbance covered in this exploratory study. To explore the area of violence on television in general two distinctions must be made. The first is the actual, objective, strictly defined violent act present in the program. A content analysis of a sampling of programs similar to the analysis by the Riot Commission could be used to establish this objective rating. The second is the perceived violence. In actuality, it is the perceived violence we are most interested in since it could be argued that if a stimulus is to become part of an individual's behavioral repertoire it must be perceived and internalized by the individual. How the stimulus is perceived will vary according to the individual's past experiences and current behavior; also, if the question of how violence affects an individual is to be investigated, it is essential to know how the violence is perceived.

The stereoscope studies mentioned earlier have demonstrated an ability to examine violence perception in an experimental setting. It is proposed here that an investigation of various violent and nonviolent programs could be studied with the stereoscope by utilizing scenes from the specified programs as the image presented to the subject. The scenes might have to be transferred to drawings to reduce the stimuli but the subjects could be told which program the scene was taken from to further set his frame of reference. The same subjects could be given the preference checklist and assigned an AVI rating as was done in the present study. Over time, a correlation between the stereoscope ratings of perceived violence and the AVI ratings of preferred programs could be established for various age groups, races, socioeconomic classes, sexes, educational levels, or whatever variable was deemed relevant. Allowances, of course, would have to be made for the inability of the stereoscope to account for verbal violence. Once the correlation was established the AVI system could be taken to the field on a large scale and the resulting preference ratings easily transferred to perceived ratings.

Another approach to the perceived violence problem would be to draw a smaller random sample from the target population and train these individuals to use the semantic differential for rating the programs. They would then be instructed to rate the programs solely on how violent they thought the programs generally were. This method should

approach a perceived rating. The AVI system based on the trained subjects' ratings could then be used on the target population.

These proposed studies are based on the assumption that a relatively homogenous class of respondents will have similar past experiences and current behaviors, both are major factors in determining the individual's selective perception. The Media/scope study of demographic characteristics of heavy viewers of violent programs bears out this assumption.(33) With the assumption of similar background experiences and current behaviors accepted, a phenomena as personal as selective perception attains greater generalizability.

The area of urban unrest also commands various avenues of approach to the problem. There has been a great deal of research on rioting and the attitudes of the Negro population in riot cities as well as the nation. To date, an acceptable theory of "why" the Negro riots has been advanced as a result of this research. This "blocked opportunity" theory illustrates the Negroes frustration and impatience at discrimination which prevents him from doing or having the things entitled to all Americans. The theory is reflected in the Riot Commission's conclusion that white racism has lead to a nation headed toward "... two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."(26)

Now that the causes of riot behavior are beginning to be understood the answer to the "why" question is being

supplied. The next area of concern is the solution to the problem. The Riot Commission has called for national action to obtain the following objectives:

1. Opening up opportunities to those who are restricted by racial segregation and discrimination, and eliminating all barriers to their choice of jobs, education and housing.
2. Remove the frustration of powerlessness among the disadvantaged by providing the means for them to deal with the problems that affect their own lives and by increasing the capacity of our public and private institutions to respond to these problems.
3. Increasing communication across racial lines to destroy stereotypes, to halt polarization, and distrust and hostility, and create common ground for efforts toward public order and social justice.

These are large orders which require time to fulfill but as communication specialists it is the last objective which should be of immediate importance. The Commission concluded their recommendations for national action with what appears to be a general goal. "The major goal is the creation of a true union—a single society and a single American identity." (26) The choice of the term "identity" suggests an important approach to the integration problem in that the identity concept provides a starting point for development of a broad communication approach to the third objective above.

Research data lends support for the identity viewpoint. Caplan and Paige conclude their report for the Riot Commission with the statement:

Our data suggest that Negroes who riot do so because their conception of their lives and their potential has changed without commensurate improvement in their chances for a better life. In addition to abandoning the traditional stereotype that made nonachievement and passive social adaptation seem so natural, they have developed a sense of black consciousness and a desire for a way of life in which they can feel the same pride and sense of potency they now derive from being black.(7)

"Black consciousness" and "pride" as well as the sense of one's place in society are what identity is about. Campbell and Schuman in their study of racial attitudes in 15 cities state:

We must mention one other significant note in these data. There seems to exist in the Negro community a desire for cultural identity that is neither violent nor separatist in character. It expresses itself in the desire for knowledge of Negro history, in an interest in African culture and language, and in the concern to be openly and proudly black. While it may sometimes occur in forms that seem impractical, on the whole it appears to be a positive impulse toward racial identity which may in the long run contribute substantially to a more genuinely equal relationship between the races.(6)

This statement provides evidence of the importance of the Negroes' sense of identity as a precursor to achieving equality. Luby's research in Detroit for the National Institute of Health came to the same conclusion. Luby states that the Detroit riot was an expression of the Negroes

"... growing identity, growing pride, growing esteem and an indication that the black man no longer is measuring himself in terms of the white man Black people ... are now developing a sense of identity, a feeling of self-determination and feelings that they are able now to control their own community."(24)

If indeed establishing a positive self-identity is essential to achieving Negro equality; and if identity is the sense of self and one's place in society, and if the Negro spends as much time with television as previous research indicates (particularly the low-income Negro), then it is probable that the Negro may be obtaining some information about society and his own place in it from television. Studies by Greenberg and Dominic and by Gerson indicate this is the case with Negro teenagers.(13)(15) In actuality television may be the most effective short range approach to the identity problem for both races. The Riot Commission stated:

The absence of Negro faces and activities from the media has an effect on white audiences as well as black. If what the white American reads in the newspapers or sees on television conditions his expectation of what is ordinary and normal in the larger society, he will neither understand nor accept the black American.(26)

It may be interesting to note an analogy between the behavior of human beings of different color and the behavior of chickens in a laboratory. Chicks, yellow and black, were raised together and mingled in playing and feeding. There were no discriminations made in mating behaviors of the combined group. At the same time chicks raised only with their same color when later put together tended significantly to segregate in mating behavior. Control groups for both colors raised separately and the experiment repeated showed no discrimination in mating due to the fact they were raised apart.(19) Although a gross simplification, this experiment

gives emphasis to the strong visual character of the integration problem and further suggests the importance of television in our visually oriented society.

The present research also hints at the identity problem, primarily in items dealing with the amount of time which television devotes to Negro problems. These indications are strongest for the rioter in that he would like to see more time given to his own inner-city problems and to the entire area of civil rights. As was mentioned, previous research indicates that the entire Negro community is searching for "their" place in society, and it is the rioter who feels this lack of identity most strongly.

Recognizing the need for research in the identity area there are two major avenues of attack with emphasis on a mass communication approach. The first area is that of understanding the role television does play in the socialization processes of both Negroes and whites. The pioneer works of Greenberg and Dominic and of Gerson in the area of television influence have proven encouraging and should be expanded. At the same time, more data is needed as to Negro attitudes toward television. If, as the Riot Commission points out, the Negro has become disenchanted with television news it may be that the entertainment function of the medium is having the greatest influence. With the apparent increase in the appearance of Negroes in situation entertainment this possibility becomes even more plausible.

The second area of immediate research need is into the identity formation process itself. McLaughlin has undertaken a respectable exploration into the area through the development of a computerized dictionary used with the General Inquirer system. This dictionary analyses responses to the "Who am I" question which has proven insightful into identity formation processes over time.(21) The General Inquirer system holds other possibilities for examining Need-Achievement which appears to be related to the identity question.

As these areas of research begin to produce usable results then innovative suggestions relevant to identity formation processes can be made to the broadcasting industry for the benefit of both races. The Negro problem in America is too complex to be solved by the implimentation of a single research approach. However, the communication problem has been recognized by both sides and the identity approach could provide a necessary guideline to fractional communication research efforts, efforts which could contribute substantially to the formation of "a single American identity".

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I

PROGRAM VIOLENCE RATING FORM

The following includes the definition and list of television programs used by a panel of graduate students to determine a violence index for each program.

Below is a working definition for a Violent Television Program. The attached sheets contain a list of television programs.

Would you please read the definition and mark those programs with which you are familiar as either violent or nonviolent on the scales provided.

Definition of a Violent Television Program—A program where usually at some point the action results in injury or destruction to some object, animal or human. The injury may be psychological or physical...a result of verbal or motor action.

TELEVISION PROGRAMS

1. Rowan and Martin

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

2. Operation Entertainment

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

3. Gentle Ben

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

4. Dream House

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

5. The Saint

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

6. Hollywood Palace

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

7. Avengers

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

8. Lost in Space

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

9. Provincial Affairs

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

10. Nations Business

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

11. Country Music Hall

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

12. Traffic Court

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

13. Judd for the Defense

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

14. Tommy Hunter

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

15. Guns of Will Sonnett

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

16. Hollywood Squares

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

17. Star Trek

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

18. Gomer Pyle USMC

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

19. Off to See the Wizard

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

20. Tarzan

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

21. Wild Wild West

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

22. Horse Racing

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

23. Batman

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

24. Daniel Boone

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

25. Michigan Outdoors

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

26. Untouchables

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

27. Dean Martin

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

28. Telescope

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

29. Dragnet

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

30. That Girl

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

31. Bewitched

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

32. Ironside

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

33. Flying Nun

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

34. Cimarron Strip

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

35. The Second Hundred Years

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

36. Festival

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

37. Juvenile Court

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

38. Run for Your Life

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

39. Jonathan Winters

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

40. He and She

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

41. Kraft Music Hall

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

42. Green Acres

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

43. Beverly Hillbillies

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

44. Bob Young News

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

45. Huntly-Brinkly News

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

46. Walter Cronkite News

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

47. The Virginian

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

48. Daktari

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

49. Weekend

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

50. Public Eye

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

51. Newsmagazine

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

52. The Invaders

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

53. N.Y.P.D.

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

54. Good Morning World

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

55. It Takes a Thief

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

56. Red Skelton

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

57. Jerry Lewis

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

58. Garrison's Gorillas

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

59. I Dream of Jeannie

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

60. F Troop

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

61. Don Messer's Jubilee

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

62. George Piersot

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

63. Front Page Challenge

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

64. Big Valley

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

65. I Spy

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

66. Carol Burnett

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

67. Peyton Place

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

68. Family Affair

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

69. Felony Squad

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

70. Danny Thomas

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

71. Andy Griffith

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

72. Rat Patrol

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

73. Lucille Ball

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

74. Cowboy in Africa

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

75. The Monkees

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

76. Gunsmoke

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

77. Gilligan's Island

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

78. Dennis the Menace

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

79. The Way It Is

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

80. Man at the Center

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

81. Smother's Brothers

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

82. Flashback

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

83. High Chaparral

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

84. Mission Impossible

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

85. Bonanza

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

86. Lowell Thomas

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

87. F. B. I.

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

88. Mothers-in-Law

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

89. Ed Sullivan

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

90. Walt Disney's Wonderful
World of Color

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

91. Truth or Consequences

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

92. Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

93. Lassie

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

94. Opportunity Line

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

95. G. E. College Bowl

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

96. Maya

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

97. Pro Hockey

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

98. Newlywed Game

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

99. Sports Profile

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

100. My Three Sons

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

101. Hollywood and the Stars

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

102. Dating Game

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

103. Rawhide

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

104. Robin Seymore

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

105. In Person

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

106. Mannix

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

107. Petticoat Junction

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

108. Hogan's Heroes

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

109. Lawrence Welk

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

110. Get Smart

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

111. Jackie Gleason

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

112. Anniversary Game

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

113. Death Valley Days

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

114. Michigan Sportsman

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

115. Grand Ole Opry

Violent __: __: __: __: __: Nonviolent

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE AND PROGRAM CHECKLIST

Hello, my name is _____, and I am with a research team from Michigan State University. We are taking a television viewing survey of the people in the Detroit area. Your name was drawn at random from the phone book, and I would like to ask you a few questions about what you think about TV, if I might

All of our information is just to give us a general look at how people feel about TV, so don't hesitate to express your honest opinion.

TELEVISION PROGRAMS CHECKLIST

1. Grand Ole Opry
2. Michigan Sportsman
3. Death Valley Days
4. Anniversary Game
5. Jackie Gleason
6. Get Smart
7. Lawrence Welk
8. Hogan's Heroes
9. Petticoat Junction
10. Mannix
11. In Person
12. Robin Seymore
13. Rawhide
14. Dating Game
15. Hollywood and the Stars
16. My Three Sons
17. Sports Profile
18. Newlywed Game
19. Pro Hockey
20. Maya
21. G. E. College Bowl
22. Opportunity Line
23. Lassie
24. Voyage to the Bottom of the Sea
25. Truth or Consequences
26. Walt Disney's World
27. Ed Sullivan
28. Mothers-in-Law
29. F.B.I.
30. Lowell Thomas
31. Bonanza
32. Mission Impossible
33. High Chaparral
34. Flashback
35. Smother's Brothers
36. Man at the Center
37. The Way It Is
38. Dennis the Menace
39. Gilligan's Island
40. Gunsmoke
41. The Monkees
42. Cowboy in Africa
43. Lucille Ball
44. Rat Patrol
45. Andy Griffith
46. Danny Thomas
47. Felony Squad
48. Family Affair
49. Peyton Place
50. Carol Burnett
51. I Spy
52. Big Valley
53. Front Page Challenge
54. George Piersot
55. Don Messer's Jubilee
56. F Troop
57. I Dream of Jeannie
58. Garrison's Gorillas
59. Jerry Lewis
60. Red Skelton
61. It Takes a Thief
62. Good Morning World
63. N.Y.P.D.
64. The Invaders
65. Newsmagazine
66. Public Eye
67. Weekend
68. Daktari
69. The Virginian
70. Walter Cronkite News
71. Huntly-Brinkly News
72. Bob Young News
73. Beverly Hillbillies
74. Green Acres
75. Kraft Music Hall
76. He and She
77. Jonathan Winters
78. Run for your Life
79. Juvenile Court
80. The Second Hundred Year
81. Festival
82. Cimarron Strip
83. Flying Nun
84. Ironside
85. Bewitched
86. That Girl
87. Dragnet
88. Telescope
89. Dean Martin
90. Untouchables
91. Michigan Outdoors
92. Daniel Boone
93. Batman
94. Horse Racing
95. Wild Wild West
96. Tarzan
97. Off to See the Wizard
98. Gomer Pyle USMC
99. Star Trek
100. Hollywood Squares

TELEVISION PROGRAMS CHECKLIST
(Continued)

- | | | | |
|------|----------------------|------|-------------------------|
| 101. | Guns of Will Sonnett | 108. | Lost in Space |
| 102. | Tommy Hunter | 109. | Hollywood Palace |
| 103. | Judd for the Defense | 110. | Avengers |
| 104. | Traffic Court | 111. | The Saint |
| 105. | Country Music Hall | 112. | Dream House |
| 106. | Nations Business | 113. | Gentle Ben |
| 107. | Provincial Affairs | 114. | Operation Entertainment |
| | | 115. | Rowan and Martin |

TELEVISION VIEWING QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Do you have a television set at home? (a) Yes, (b) No.
2. I have a list of television programs here that I will read off to you; please answer yes or no as to whether you watch the program every week or almost every week.
3. What are your three most favorite television shows?

Are there any others you especially like?

4. Do you pay much attention to world and national news?
(a) Yes, (b) No.
IF YES: Where do you get most of your world news?

Where do you get most of your national news?

5. Do you pay much attention to local news? (a) Yes, (b) No.
IF YES: Where do you get most of your local news?

IF TELEVISION IS NOT THE SOURCE: Do you ever watch local news on television? (a) Yes, (b) No.

6. How well do you feel the problems of the inner-city are covered on TV?
 - (a) Very well
 - (b) Fairly well
 - (c) Not very well
 - (d) Poorly

Do you have any criticism of television news coverage of inner-city problems?

Is enough time given to inner-city problems on television?
(a) Yes, (b) No. IF NO: Why do you think there is not enough time given to inner-city problems?

7. How well do you feel the problems of civil rights are covered on television?
 - (a) Very well
 - (b) Fairly well
 - (c) Not very well
 - (d) Poorly

Do you have any criticism of television news coverage of civil rights problems?

Is enough time given to problems of civil rights on television? (a) Yes, (b) No. IF NO: Why do you think there is not enough time given to civil rights problems?

Do spokesmen for civil rights problems have enough time on TV to make their views clear? (a) Yes, (b) No. IF NO: Why do you feel this is so?

8. Which spokesman for civil rights do you think is doing the best job?

IF NO RESPONSE:

- (a) Whitney Young
- (b) Stokely Carmichael
- (c) Roy Wilkins
- (d) H. Rap Brown
- (e) Ralph Abernathy

9. Do you recall where you first saw the Detroit riots of last summer, was it in person or on television?

10. What was your first reaction when you did see the riot?

IF NO RESPONSE: Was it to see for yourself or to stay at home?

11. Where did you get most of your information during the riot?

IF NO SPECIFIC RESPONSE: Was it

- (a) Radio
- (b) Newspapers
- (c) Television
- (d) Other people you know

IF TV: What do you remember best about the television coverage?

Do you have any criticism of the way television handled or covered the riots last summer?

12. This is a yes-no answer next: Many people in the Detroit area were able to watch some of the riot action in person as it progressed over the week long period. Yes, or No, did you spend any time on the street observing or watching when the rioting was taking place?

13. Lately, various opinions have been expressed about the use of force or violence as a means of advancing civil rights problems. No one, of course, is entirely right. Do you agree or disagree with the statement that violence is the fastest and most effective means of making progress with civil rights problems?
14. There has been a great deal of controversy over the amount of violence that is shown on television today. How do you feel about violence on television?
15. Do you think that the violence on television has any effect on children who view these programs?

Does it have any effect on adults?

16. What do you think is the worst kind of violence shown on TV?

Why?

17. Over the past few years there have been several assassinations of leaders such as Senator Robert F. Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Jr. and President John F. Kennedy. Why do you think these assassinations have taken place in America?

IF NO RESPONSE: Do you think it shows that America is a sick society or that it was just the work of sick individuals?

18. How long have you lived in the Detroit area?
 - (a) 0-1 year
 - (b) 1-2 years
 - (c) 2-3 years
 - (d) 3-4 years
 - (e) 5 years or longer

19. What is your marital status?
 - (a) single
 - (b) married
 - (c) separated or divorced
 - (d) widower

20. How old are you?

21. How many years of formal education have you had?
22. Are you presently employed? (a) Yes, (b) No.

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