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ABSTRACT

LIFE STYLES AND ETHICAL VALUES

OF MEN AND WOMEN ON TELEVISION, 1960-1974

Criticism of the values associated with popular
culture has frequently assumed that: 1) the mass society
is "lowbrow" and demands media products of low value,
2) highly commercialized or "formula" literature and
media are inherently bad, or 3) the values contained
within the content of popular culture are of a low order,
a tragedy considering its popularity and assumed influ-
ence. Other critics, however, have studied the values
contained in popular media in order to understand
better individual works, popular art forms and the
cultures which produced these popular works and art
forms. The present study has as its goal to determine
the values contained in television in order to better
understand how TV functions as an art form and what TV
is indicating about the values of our culture.
Specifically, the purpose of the dissertation is to
determine, using Lawrence Kohlberg's scale of values
development, the values portrayed by television charac-
ters in dramatic style prime time programs.

Prior to Lawrence Kohlberg, philosophers
attempting to define "value" have claimed 1) that value is
located in the environment, merely awaiting discovery by

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the human mind; or 2) that values are the internal and subjective creation of the individual valuer. These approaches are mutually exclusive, and philosophers in both camps have failed to produce pratical tools for values analysis. Modern behavioral scientists, however, claim they can predict and even direct value changes. Since the assumption of many mass media critics that the media transmits and influences values is essentially behaviorist in nature, behaviorist theory seems a logical place to begin an analysis of values associated with television.

In the early 1970's, a large-scale behavioristic study of the relationship between televised violence and aggressive behavior in children and adolescents was conducted under the auspices of the United States Surgeon General's office. Though critics have succeeded in minimizing the study's public impact, findings of the study indicated that violence viewing and aggressive behavior are significantly correlated. This finding lends considerable support to the proposition that mass media both reflects and can influence human values and behavior. Since behavioristic studies can only account for a portion of the relationship between media and certain values associated with specific behavioral traits, however, a more comprehensive means of analyzing the values projected by television is needed.

Based on longitudinal, culturally unbiased studies, Lawrence Kohlberg has postulated the existence of a universal, hierarchical scale of values development. Kohlberg's scale of six stages was derived in part from Jean Piaget's earlier theory of the structural-developmental nature of human intelligence, which holds that <u>both</u> the human organism <u>and</u> the environment are mutually essential to the valuing process. Since each of Kohlberg's six stages is characterized by certain views of life, he has found it possible to interrogate subjects regarding their reasoning process and their approach to life and determine the stage of values development which a given subject has reached.

The dramatic nature of television programs has the effect of placing characters in situations which reveal their ability to assume various approaches to life (or sets of values). Since Kohlberg's model allows us to identify the stage of values development of a subject by observing his or her reaction to a hypothetical social dilemma, it is also deemed possible to similarly analyze a given character on some TV show by tabulating the stage levels of the character's responses to social situations he or she faces. Specific programs and characters to be studied are identified by selecting characters on the most popular prime time programs. Although the main focus is on the 1974

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television season, scripts and reruns of popular programs between the years 1960 and 1973 are also analyzed to give historical perspective to the analysis.

Characters from the three leading programs in each prime time program category are analyzed in detail to illustrate the technique. In comedy leader _All in the Family_, Archie Bunker represents the continuation of a long trend of popular Stage 2 (preconventional) comic characterizations. Kohlberg's "conventional" morality (or Stages 3 and 4 on his values development scale), portrayed on _All in the Family_ by Edith, Gloria, and Mike, provides the challenge to Archie's world view that produces comedy on the program. Family drama such as _The Waltons_, on the other hand, depends on an underlying Stage 3 conventional morality which is shared by all the principal characters. Drama/adventure programs feature a superhero (and rarely a superheroine) who embodies, inflexibly, the Stage 4 norms of our society. Steve McGarrett of the leading drama/adventure program _Hawaii Five-0_ is analyzed as typical of this group of characters.

As detailed in Chapters 6 and 7, the overall findings of this study indicate that TV portrays primarily conventional morality (Stage 3 and Stage 4 on the Kohlberg scale) which Kohlberg believes is the norm for our society. Frequency studies show that typically these conventional values are portrayed on drama and

drama/adventure programs by single, professional males
in their prime-of-life age range, though women in
comedy programs tend to portray conventional values as
well.

Since by combining Marshall McLuhan's analysis
of print versus electric values with Kohlberg's value
scale it appears that the values conveyed by the TV
medium itself are also conventional, television is
considered to be a strong force for conventional morality
in our society. In addition, since conventional values
are modal for TV, America's most popular art form,
Kohlberg's hypothesis that conventional morality is
modal for the U.S. population gains support from the
present study. Finally, the present study indicates
that analyzing the values of characters, using the
Kohlberg scale, can yield a rewarding new understanding
of dramatic art forms.

LIFE STYLES AND ETHICAL VALUES

OF MEN AND WOMEN ON TELEVISION, 1960-1974

by

Kathryn P. Paula Weibel

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
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Department of English (American Studies)

1975

This dissertation is dedicated to

Steven Merle Freeman

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The dissertation was expertly typed by The
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Michigan.

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CHAPTER 1

VALUES AND THE MASS MEDIA:
SOME PAST CRITICAL ASSUMPTIONS

As a recent surveyor of American media habits put it, "Television is still the number one 'spectator sport' of the American public." The average television consumer spends 1200 hours per year in front of his set, as compared to less than 400 hours per year spent reading all printed media combined. There are one hundred million television sets in the United States, with 95 percent of all homes having at least one.[1] Unquestionably, television is the number one mass medium of our mass society, and the facts of television consumption alone lead to the inescapable conclusion that television must be saying something about our society, and about artistic expression in general.

In particular, since television is the medium that is closest to the public, it seems logical to assume that the human values portrayed by television bear a significant relationship to the values of the viewing public. With the goal in mind of discovering this relationship, it will be the purpose of this study to analyze and measure the values contained in television content as they are revealed in the actions and attitudes of prime time TV characters. These values will then be compared to those of the viewing public, or "mass society."

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A serious study of the most popular art form seems appropriate at the present time. In his recent book, <u>Popular Culture and High Culture</u>, Herbert Gans explains that, particularly in times of low prestige for intellectuals, negative criticism of popular art forms has flourished. The focus of the criticism has varied, says Gans, but it is always leveled at the most popular new art form of any given period. In the 1950's and 1960's, criticism of this type was primarily directed against television, though in the late sixties, mass media critics turned away from the media per se to concentrate their attacks on the morals of the growing youth culture. With the prestige of the intelligentsia again waning in the wake of the Nixon administration, however, Gans predicts a revival of the mass society criticism for the later 1970's.[2] Since television continues to be the newest and most popular mass medium, it seems certain that, if Gans' predictions are correct, TV will come in for the brunt of the attack. The critique itself, how-ever, as this chapter will show, is as old as the history of popular culture.

A number of critics of literary forms of mass media, including Ian Watt, Leo Lowenthal, Raymond and Alice Bauer, Marshall McLuhan, Russel Nye and others, have emphasized the importance of the discovery of printing as a primary historical factor in creating both mass media and the mass society. As the Bauers note,

ever after this discovery, the economics of mass communi-

cation demanded that such media reach a successively

broader audience.[3] The attempt to reach a larger

audience, however, has always been subject to criticism

from the established artistic intelligentsia. This

criticism has taken place on essentially three fronts:

1) criticism of the mass society and the media products

it prefers, 2) criticism of the technological form of

mass media products, and 3) criticism of the values con-

tained in the content of various mass media products.

Although this last area of criticism is the primary

concern of this dissertation, the first two are closely

related to it, and a review of the issues involved in

the critique is important to an understanding of my

rationale in choosing to emphasize the values contained

in media content.

In the 1950's, David Bell surveyed twentieth

century criticism of the mass society to determine its

common perspective.[4] He identified several well known

critics of mass society, including Ortega y Gasset, Karl

Mannheim, Karl Jaspers, Paul Tillich, Gabriel Marcel

and Emil Lederer. Bell noted that all these individuals

brought an aristocratic, Catholic or existentialist

perspective to their criticism. In more general terms,

these critics of mass society operated out of a tradi-

tional, authoritarian perspective. They were concerned

with the mechanization of society, which they thought brought a kind of equality that leveled individuals to a lowest common denominator. According to Bell, these critics were concerned that not even a few persons (a cultural elite) would be able to achieve a sense of individual self in a mechanized age.

Central to this fear regarding loss of individualism was a belief that a general breakdown in cultural, moral and aesthetic values was in process.[7] Bell summarized the critics' view of the causes and present status of the "mass society" and the nature of its vulnerability in this manner:

> The revolutions in transportation and communnications have brought men into closer contact with each other and bound them in new ways; the division of labor has made them more interdependent; tremors in one part of society affect all others. Despite this greater interdependence, however, individuals have grown more estranged from one another. The old primary group ties of family and local community have been shattered; ancient parochial faiths are questioned; few unifying values have taken their place. Most important, the critical standards of an educated elite no longer shape opinion or taste. As a result, mores and morals are in constant flux, relations between individuals are tangential or compartmentalized rather than organic. At the same time greater mobility, spatial and social, intensifies concern over status. Instead of a fixed or known status symbolized by dress or title, each person assumes a multiplicity of roles and constantly has to prove himself in a succession of new situations. Because of all this, the individual loses a coherent sense of self. His anxieties increase. There ensues a search for new faiths. The

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> stage is thus set for the charismatic leader,
> the secular messiah, who, by bestowing upon
> each person the semblance of necessary grace,
> and of fullness of personality, supplies a
> substitute for the older unifying belief
> that the society has destroyed. 5

As Bell went on to point out, the criticism of mass society consisted of two broad parts. First, there was the judgment regarding the anxieties common in modern living, which Bell considered fairly accurate. Second, there was what he calls a "presumed scientific statement" about the causes of the mass society, which involved industrialization and the demand of the masses for equality. Though industrialization and the demand for equality by the masses are facts which cannot be denied, Bell rejects the notion that they are responsible for the particular quality of modern life that the critics find so frightening. In particular, he warns that "when one seeks to apply the theory of mass society analytically, it becomes very slippery." That being the case, Bell turns to an alternative explanation of the mass society theories, finding that they derive directly from the prejudices inherent within the critics themselves.

Bell notes the influence of the "dominant con-servative tradition of Western political thought" upon the critics. Beginning with Aristotle's Politics, democracy has been equated with the rule of the mob, which, it is assumed, is easily swayed by demagogues and

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must fall ultimately into the hands of tyranny. Thus,
the French Revolution "transplanted" the image of the
mindless masses into modern consciousness. Since then,
cries for social and political equality have created in
the minds of conservative (especially Catholic) observers
of society an almost paranoic fear that in an "equal"
society all established political, social and religious
dogma (what Bell calls "traditional values") must neces-
sarily be destroyed. Expanding the base of democracy
means for these critics increased public emotionalism,
which will surely unleash irrational, possibly revolu-
tionary forces. In other words, critics of the mass
society fear for the continuance of the established
order as they know it, no doubt from a simple concern
for self-survival.

As Leo Lowenthal convincingly argues in his case
study of the birth of the popular novel in eighteenth
century England, the first concern of the established
intelligentsia (including both authors and critics) was
their own self-preservation.[6] The concern was that the
newly literate masses, incapable of distinguishing between
good and bad art, would purchase only bad art, thereby
forcing the elite practitioner out of business. This
fear proved insubstantial, of course. As Ian Watt
points out, the capitalistic, open market in printing
and book selling supported far more artists of all levels

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of capabilities than patronage had ever been capable of.[7]
Although technology's capacity for mass production of
materials, with its correspondingly increased level of
influence upon readers, made the content of mass media
an issue of concern at a later stage in the debate over
mass media, the primary criticism was first leveled at
the society itself--the masses of society had no "taste."[8]

Though criticism of the mass society never
really lessened, an influential critical blow was struck
in the early thirties by Q.D. Leavis's Fiction and the
Reading Public. Ms. Leavis criticized the mass society,
the quality of the mass media and the level of morality
she felt it contained. Her primary concern, however, was
always clear. As a result of a long progressive process,
beginning with the invention of printing, Leavis argued
that "the general public--Dr. Johnson's common reader--
has now not even a glimpse of the living interests of
modern literature, is ignorant of its growth and so
prevented from developing with it, and the critical
minority to whose sole charge modern literature has now
fallen is isolated, disowned by the general public and
threatened with extinction."[9] In other words, the
general public is so ignorant in matters of taste that
it is about to commit the ultimate atrocity--to turn a
deaf ear to the critics.

In addition to her distrust of the general reading
public, Leavis also blamed technology and commercialism

for creating an artistically inferior type of literature.
Cheap novels, she believed (the paperback was just coming
into prominence in England in the 1930's) provided the
temptation for novelists to "specialize" that earlier
novelists were never subjected to. As commercializa-
tion increased, Leavis believed that novelists aimed
directly to saturate the book market with rote, formula
fiction aimed at the lower classes. By contrast, "it
could never occur to an 18th century novelist to write to
any but his peers," she claims.[10] In the 1920's and
1930's, this phenomenon, according to Leavis, turned the
term "best seller" into "an almost entirely derogatory
epithet among the cultivated."[11]

Recall that it was Leavis who coined the terms
"highbrow, middlebrow and lowbrow" as suitable for use
in describing the fiction of her period. The terms
referred to the quality of the reader, the artistic com-
petency of the writer and the level of morality embodied
in the novels. About the latter, Ms. Leavis is empha-
tically critical. She criticized lowbrow fiction for
provoking "warm, vague, emotional feelings" which she says
are associated with religion and religion substitutes.
Key words in the lowbrow emotional vocabulary include
life, death, love, good, evil, sin, home, mother, noble,
gallant, purity, honor and so forth. As far as Leavis
is concerned, these are "stock emotional responses"

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which "every self-aware person finds that he has to train himself ... in withstanding."[12]

Writing forty years later, Edward Shils followed Leavis in attempting to divide artistic products into wide, value-laden categories. Shils writes, "For present purposes, we shall employ a very rough distinction among three levels of culture, which are levels of quality measured by aesthetic, intellectual, and moral standards. These are 'superior' or 'refined' culture, 'mediocre' culture, and 'brutal' culture."[13] In an attempt to avoid condemnation of the mass society itself, however, he stresses that the levels refer only to the works and not to the consumers or authors of those works. Like Leavis, he describes "superior" culture in terms of established literary analysis: it "is distinguished by the seriousness of its subject matter, that is, the centrality of the problems with which it deals, the acute penetration and coherence of its perceptions and the subtlety and wealth of its expressed feeling." "Mediocre" culture is that body of works which, "whatever the aspiration of their creators, do not measure up to the standards employed in judging works of superior culture." Brutal culture is characterized, according to Shils, by the <u>absence</u> of symbolic content, depth of penetration, subtlety, and by the presence of "a general grossness of sensitivity and perception."[14]

Oddly enough, Shils fancies himself a defender of the legitimacy of mediocre and brutal culture. In championing his defense, however, Shils must resort to a discussion of the creators of and the audience of mediocre and brutal culture, which he precisely set out to avoid. In Shils' opinion, the redeeming virtue of "mediocre" culture is that "it is often earnestly, even if simply, moral." Shils goes on to say that works of mediocre culture "express something essential in human life, and expunging them would expunge the accumulated wisdom of ordinary men and women, their painfully developed art of coping with the miseries of existence, their routine pieties and their decent pleasures."[15] In other words, mediocre culture can be tolerated because it provides an outlet for the expression of the moral feelings of its authors and consumers. Though Shils does not identify the moral values that works of mediocre culture contain, it is plain that he considers them "good" values-- perhaps those that contribute to the maintenance of the status quo. It is also clear that he considers overt morality in literature "simple," however, and incompatible with aesthetic excellence.

Shils is harder pressed to defend brutal culture, stating that it would be "frivolous to deny the aesthetic, moral and intellectual unsatisfactoriness of much of popular culture or to claim that it shows the human race

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in its best light." Nonetheless, he finds a saving

grace; popular culture used to be much more brutal even

than it is today:

> The culture of these strata [the brutal
> culture], which were dulled by labor, illness
> and fear, and which comprised a far larger
> proportion of the population than they do
> in advanced societies in the twentieth cen-
> tury, was a culture of bear-baiting, cock-
> fighting, drunkenness, tales of witches,
> gossip about the sexual malpractices of
> priests, monks, and nuns, stories of murders
> and mutilations.[16]

In other words, the good news is that the brutal masses

are diminishing in numbers and progressing, though Shils

doesn't indicate where the progression is leading.

A recent article by Raymond Williams, "On High

and Popular Culture," furnishes some perspective on the

concept of mass society and its cultural products.

Williams argues that high culture represents the best

art, practices, and products from every culture in every

age. He warns, however, that this high culture is

dominated and controlled--in effect identified--in any

given period by the dominant culture and by the particular

institutions of that culture that are charged with

preserving the high culture. He writes:

> Thus high culture, the work of more than
> one's own class, society, period or even
> epoch, is commonly incorporated into a
> particular contemporary social structure--
> a social class or such institutions as
> universities or churches--that owes its

real contemporary existence to factors other
than high culture, and that indeed often
confuses its temporary, local or self-
interested features with the received and
selected high culture that it offers to
justify or to ratify them. 17

Williams argues that such a restrictive view of what

constitutes "high culture" inevitably leads to the

masking of the real meanings and values contained within

the art forms. "Abstract and pseudo-universal definitions

of high culture and popular culture," he warns, "lead

us to evade true cultural values and contemporary

reality."[18] In stating the need to recognize many

centers of meaning and value, Williams is arguing not

only for the legitimacy of serious popular culture

study, but is also urging that critics of both high and

popular culture attempt to minimize their cultural biases.

It becomes apparent, then, that the criticism of

the mass society contains both an implicit criticism of

the values of the non-elite classes as well as a criticism

of the mass media products they prefer. Bell notes that

a central tenet of the mass society criticism is fear of

a "general breakdown of values," and Leavis and Shils

illustrate this fear by their discussions of the "lowbrow"

or "brutal" culture. In addition, however, the critics

of mass society view mass media products not only as

morally dangerous but as artistically inferior, just as

the technology that made mass printing possible was

deplored by eighteenth century elite critics. Leavis
eschews formula fiction; film is only recently being
incorporated into academic curricula; broadcasting is
still rigorously excluded in all but "popular culture"
and "audio-visual aids" departments. In Shils'
definition of superior and mediocre culture, no broad-
casting media are included, though mediocre culture can
include "relatively novel genres not yet fully incor-
porated into superior culture," such as the musical
comedy, Shils says.[19]

The modern-day prophet of the mass media,
Marshall McLuhan, is concerned to locate the values that
are transmitted by the technological form of a given
medium itself.[20] He argues that the most influential
transmission of values takes place, not through content
at all, but through the very form of the media. That is,
"The medium is the message," as his famous phrase goes.

According to McLuhan, there is a very different
set of values associated with print and electric tech-
nology, each of which is related to the forms of the media
themselves. Furthermore, McLuhan believes that the values
associated with technological form cannot be understood
through content analysis. "The effects of technology
do not occur at the level of opinions or concepts," he
writes, "but alter sense ratios or patterns of perception
steadily and without any resistance."[21] McLuhan argues
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are taken for granted in the United States, that an
outsider (he notes that he is Canadian) can understand
these values and see how they work in the culture.
Accordingly, McLuhan thinks Alexis de Tocqueville's
perceptive comments about American life in the nineteenth
century grew out of his ability to detach himself from
the predominant American media form. McLuhan writes,
"De Tocqueville was a highly literate aristocrat who
was quite able to be detached from the values and
assumptions of typography. And it is only on those terms,
standing aside from any structure or medium, that its
principles and lines of force can be discerned."[22]

As an example of McLuhan's position, he argues
that the phonetic alphabet, alone, was responsible for
the creation of civilization as we know it. "Separateness
of the individual, continuity of space and of time, and
uniformity of codes are the prime marks of literate and
civilized societies," he writes.[23] Simply because of
its straight line formation on the page, print accustomed
individuals to thinking in terms of a linear perspective
and allowed us to develop the concept of point of view,
claims McLuhan.[24]

Literacy, which has prompted uniformity as a value,
has, in turn, per McLuhan, been responsible for the
development of the producer-consumer system in the United
States. It is a characteristic of both goods and consumers

in this country that they are standardized in appearance
and quality (or beliefs).[25] From the first, McLuhan
argues, America incorporated print technology into its
educational, industrial and political life and the formula
proved very rewarding financially because uniform, stan-
dardized work performance is highly efficient and highly
productive, hence highly profitable.[26] Thus, uniformity
and standardization are two values which McLuhan associ-
ates with the visual print culture.[27]

Tolerance is another value which McLuhan traces
to the linear perspective of the eye:

> The ear is hyperesthetic compared to the
> neutral eye. The ear is intolerant, closed,
> and exclusive, whereas the eye is open,
> neutral, and associative. Ideas of tolerance
> came to the West only after two or three
> centuries of literacy and visual Gutenberg
> culture. No such saturation with visual
> values had occurred in Germany by 1930.
> Russia is still far from any such involvement
> with visual order and values.[28]

Likewise, McLuhan asserts that respectability,
defined as "the ability to sustain visual inspection of
one's life," did not become dominant until after printing,
and that it still remains unimportant in non-visually
oriented Europe.[29] The analogy he uses to illustrate
his point is the difference in general appearance between
American women and European women. He claims that
American women have never been equaled in any culture

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for "visual turnout," (by which I presume he means visual attractiveness), but that to Europeans, women of our culture look like "abstract, mechanical dolls." The appearance of Europeans and of the European countryside, by contrast, "has always been shoddy in American eyes," says McLuhan. In related fashion, asexuality during an enforced and prolonged adolescence has been a visual value of Americans. This is a result of the printed media stress (which is compatible with middle class emphasis on education, training, and accumulation of wealth) on taking the long, straight look toward the future and sacrificing immediate pleasure for long term goals. McLuhan says that in Europe there is the direct passage from childhood to adulthood, and that since television, American adolescence has similarly disappeared.[30]

Although McLuhan is aware that the visual values of print technology are still important in American culture, he argues that they can not be prolonged indefinitely. He claims that this is not a "question of values," or a matter which can be dealt with by rational consideration and reasoned preference:

> If we understood our older media, such as roads
> and the written word, and if we valued their
> human effects sufficiently, we could reduce
> or even eliminate the electronic factor
> from our lives. Is there an instance of
> any culture that understood the technology
> that sustained its structure and was prepared

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> to keep it that way? If so, that would be
> an instance of values or reasoned preference.
> The values or preferences that arise from the
> mere automatic operation of this or that
> technology in our social lives are not
> capable of being perpetuated.[31]

In other words, since we don't understand (or even
understand the importance of understanding) the
technology of our media forms, we cannot act in such
a way as to preserve the values they embody.

What then are the values that McLuhan asso-
ciates with the new electronic media? Here McLuhan
is less certain, except insofar as he can tell us what
they are not. McLuhan considers that television is
the electronic medium which has been responsible for
a progressive disappearance of all "lineality in
living." Gone, he says, are the staff and line struc-
tures in management, the stag line, the party line,
the receiving line and "the pencil line from the backs
of nylons."[32] Electricity, argues McLuhan, is "instant
information," and the electric medium of television
demands the involvement of all the senses, as opposed
to the visually-oriented print media. Thus, a decline
in all of the values associated with the neutral
eye can be expected.[33] McLuhan sees evidence of this
in the move away from standardization in consumer
goods and the movement toward non-conformity in

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Since electricity is instant information, which can be transmitted virtually as fast as it is created, electricity gives primacy to "process," says McLuhan.[34] By process, McLuhan means to include both the process of creating media content and the process of experiencing it. But, in addition, he implies that attention to process is in itself an electric value. In fact, the term "mass media" takes on new meaning when one considers the effects of the electronic media, argues McLuhan. "In entertainment media," he says, "we speak of this fact as 'mass media' because the source of the program and the process of experiencing it are independent in space, yet simultaneous in time." Thus the term "mass media" comes to indicate not mass production, which is a characteristic of the print technology, but "instant simultaneous experience," since everybody becomes involved in it at the same time.[35]

Though he grants television much dignity in his analysis, and considers it in no way second class, McLuhan is obviously concerned about the effect that electronic values will have on our culture. Since television requires the intense participation of all our senses, he calls it a "tactile" medium, the sense

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of touch being most closely correlated with the coordination of overall sensory activity. He goes on, however, to pose a frightening analogy between electronic technology and the human central nervous system. Via this analogy, McLuhan tries to show the meaninglessness of content analysis of electric media. He states:

> Electric technology is directly related to
> our central nervous systems, so it is ridic-
> ulous to talk of 'what the public wants'
> played over its own nerves. Once we have
> surrendered our senses and nervous systems
> to the private manipulation of those who
> would try to benefit from taking a lease
> on our eyes and ears and nerves, we don't
> really have any rights left. Leasing our
> eyes and ears and nerves to commercial
> interests is like handing over the common
> speech to a private corporation, or like
> giving the earth's atmosphere to a company
> as a monopoly.[36]

McLuhan believes that electronic media forms, especially television, because of the total and inclusive involvement that they demand, are creating the need for intensive social involvement, external consensus (or personal concordance) and a docile and meditative approach to life among the viewing public.[37] In other words, McLuhan thinks that the print culture emphasis on long-term goals is no longer considered important by children of the electronic age, and that a countervailing emphasis on getting along in the present and on understanding one's own feelings and

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those of others has arisen. This, claims McLuhan, is a result solely of the media form, and would be the same no matter what the content consisted of.[38]

The previous discussion has shown three major ways in which critics have linked the transmission of values to the mass media: the first assumes that the inferior taste and morality of the mass citizenry demands media products of corresponding inferiority; the second directly attacks mass media products (such as formula fiction, movies and broadcasting) as being "specialized" and "commercial" rather than artistic. Finally, McLuhan's attempt to find cultural values in the technological forms of the media represents a significant modification and elaboration of other broad generic criticism of mass media products. In pointing out the importance of media form, McLuhan raises a challenge to subsequent media analysis. Any attempt to consider values in media content must also attempt to deal with the relationship between media content and the values transmitted by the media form.

So we come to the central question of this chapter--what about analysis of values in media content? Is such analysis legitimate and possible? Critics in general would probably argue "yes," though it is clear that such an analysis must take into

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account the media form, and that one must avoid being
blinded by one's own cultural mores. Leo Lowenthal,
an early critic of popular culture, writes, "By
studying the organization, content and linguistic
symbols of the mass media, we learn about the typical
forms of behavior, attitudes, commonly held beliefs,
prejudices, and aspirations of large numbers of
people."[39] Russel Nye, author of the most compre-
hensive text on the popular arts in America, affirms
that values are transmitted by both popular and elite
culture, though he claims they are different in kind:

> Popular art confirms the experience of the
> majority, in contrast to elite art, which tends
> to explore the new ... The popular artist
> corroborates (occasionally with great skill
> and intensity) values and attitudes already
> familiar to his audience; his aim is less to
> provide a new experience than to validate an
> older one.[40]

Richard Hoggart, fellow of the Center for
Contemporary Cultural Studies at London's University
of Birmingham, thinks that "works of literature at
all levels are shot through with--irradiated with--
values, with values ordered and values acted out."[41]
He further believes that it is legitimate to suspend
judgment about the aesthetic quality of the work and
concentrate on values internal to the work.

> So, one isn't at this point specifically
> asking questions about the value of the work,
> but is trying to understand better what Weber
> called 'the relationship of the object to
> values.' One is trying to find, from as inter-
> nal a reading as possible, what this kind of
> work tells you about its society, about what
> that society believes, about its self-iden-
> tity.[42]

Hoggart believes that "by creating orders within itself,
art helps to reveal the orders of values present within
a culture, either by mirroring or by resisting them
and proposing new orders."[43]

For example, Ian Watt was able to discover, in
his study of the birth of the English novel, that
the social transition from a patriarchal to an indi-
vidualist social and economic order was accompanied by
a crisis in marriage which bore particularly hard on
females. The fiction of the period reflected the
increased value placed on marriage and reflected its
increasing difficulty for females to obtain.[44] Within
a single novel such as Clarissa, more isolated values
might emerge, values that only make sense when viewed
in connection with other values in the novel and in
other novels of the period. Clarissa valued her
virginity and the approval of her parents; she also
valued her freedom of choice and independence of action.
Watt's analysis of changing marriage customs helps
explain Clarissa's seemingly contradictory values, and

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Richard Hoggart says that the aim of literary students who have a special interest in understanding their culture "is to find eventually what <u>field of values</u> is embodied, reflected or resisted, within the work."[45] I interpret Hoggart to mean that the various values portrayed by a work must be analyzed in terms of the preferences that characters place on them. In other words, given a choice between two attitudes or courses of action, which does a given character choose? How does the sum of these choices stack up into a system of preferences? In essence, this is the method of values analysis employed by Lawrence Kohlberg, whose theory of values development has been chosen for use in the present study.

In conclusion, then, this chapter has attempted to show that the relationship between human values and mass media products has been an important critical issue since the invention of printing and the subsequent birth of the popular novel. It has further intended to demonstrate that the most fruitful approach to identifying this relationship lies in a culturally unbiased analysis of values in mass media content; and which also attempts to deal with the values conveyed by the media form. Although the relationship

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between media values and those of the viewing public
is important to establish, criticism of the values of
mass society is bound to degenerate into elitist
generalities unless conducted by those trained in the
analytical tools of social research. As Richard Hoggart
points out, sweeping generic studies of popular culture
arrive too quickly and insubstantially at bold
generalizations. "Bad literature or mass literature or
process literature may be as corrupting as we often say.
But we have not made the claim convincing even to
sympathetic outsiders ..."[46]

As will become more apparent as this study
proceeds, the theory of values development developed by
Lawrence Kohlberg offers the benefits of a philosophi-
cally sound, practical, and culturally unbiased
approach to the analysis of human values. Since
Kohlberg's approach is structural as opposed to strict-
ly content-oriented, it offers the possibility of
apprehending at greater depth the meaning which lies
beneath judgments and actions of media characters.
In addition, the structural aspect of the theory
provides suggestions for analysis of values inherent
in the media form, which, of course, contributes to
the overall transmission of the value message. Before
proceeding to an explanation of the Kohlberg theory and

a discussion of its precise application to the present

research, it is appropriate to delve more deeply into

the question of what constitutes a "value." Also, from

a philosophical and historical perspective, major

competing approaches to the analysis of values need

to be explored in greater detail. This will be the

subject of Chapter 2.

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Notes to Chapter 1

[1] Figures quoted in _English Journal_ (December 1972), 1248.

[2] Herbert J. Gans, _Popular Culture and High Culture; An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste_ (New York, 1974), 4-7.

[3] Raymond Bauer and Alice Bauer, "America: Mass Society and Mass Media," _Journal of Social Issues_, Vol. 16 (1960), 4-5.

[4] David Bell, "The Theory of Mass Society," _Commentary_, XXII (1956), 75-83.

[5] Bell, 75.

[6] Leo Lowenthal, _Popular Culture and Society_ (Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1961), 74.

[7] Ian Watt, _The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding_ (Berkeley, 1957), 54.

[8] Lowenthal, 52-108. Lowenthal describes the process through which criticism of the popular novel came to center first on the taste of the readers, then on the lowbrow authors and most lately on the content of the novels and its potential effect on readers, particularly young girls.

[9] Q. D. Leavis, _Fiction and the Reading Public_ (London, 1932), 35.

[10] Ibid., 163.

[11] Ibid., 34.

[12] Ibid., 64-75.

[13] Edward Shils, _The Intellectuals and the Powers and Other Essays_ (Chicago, 1972), 232.

[14] Ibid., 232-233.

[15] Ibid., 234.

[16] Ibid., 261.

[17] Raymond Williams, "On High and Popular Culture," _New Republic_ (November 23, 1974), 14.

[18]Ibid., 16.

[19]Shils, 232.

[20]McLuhan's analysis of the meaning and impact of print versus electric technology is contained in Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man (New York, 1964).

[21]McLuhan, 33.

[22]Ibid., 30.

[23]Ibid., 86-87.

[24]Ibid., 33; 85-86; 141-142.

[25]Ibid., 281.

[26]Ibid.

[27]Ibid., 197.

[28]Ibid., 264.

[29]Ibid., 283.

[30]Ibidl, 282.

[31]Ibid., 93-94.

[32]Ibid., 280.

[33]Ibid., 108.

[34]Ibid., 301.

[35]Ibid., 301, 303.

[36]Ibid., 73.

[37]Ibid., 64-65.

[38]Ibid., 225.

[39]Lowenthal, xii.

[40]Russel Nye, The Unembarrassed Muse: The Popular Arts in America (New York, 1970), 4.

[41] Richard Hoggart, _Contemporary Cultural Studies: An Approach to the Study of Literature and Society_ (Center for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University, March 1969), 19.

[42] Ibid., 10.

[43] Ibid., 11.

[44] Watt, 148.

[45] Hoggart, 9.

[46] Ibid., 7.

CHAPTER 2

WHAT ARE VALUES?
SOME PHILOSOPHICAL DEFINITIONS OF VALUE

The previous chapter has shown that critics
of elite and popular culture have been concerned about
the relationship between values and the mass media. It
goes without saying, however, that the concept of "value"
is complex, and one which critics seldom attempt to
define concisely. Since I chose a particular definition
of values--Lawrence Kohlberg's--for use in this study,
it seems appropriate to review briefly how values have
been defined historically before discussing what I
believe to be the superiority of Kohlberg's approach.
Therefore, the purpose of this chapter will be to
review the historical development of value theory.

Before Kohlberg, attempts to define value took
either a <u>nomothetic</u> or <u>idiographic</u> approach.[1] In terms
of value theory, the nomothetic approach is based on the
belief that the locus of values is in the external
world, and that values are transmitted to the human
organism as always normative, obligatory, and legitimate.
The nomothetic approach may be either absolutist (all
values are the same for everyone, or at least everyone
in a given culture) or relativist (values depend on
unique experiences that happen to individuals), but in
either case, values are believed to come to the person

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from society and culture. The idiographic approach, on the other hand, takes the opposite view and postulates that values are a creation of the person's own mind. According to this approach, values are relative to the experience of each individual; therefore, it is not fair to judge them by any external or "objective" standard.

In the past, these two approaches to values have tended to be mutually exclusive, and theorists in both camps have failed to arrive at practical means for analysis of either individual or cultural values. To better understand the mutually exclusive and limited nature of the idiographic and nomothetic approaches, this chapter will briefly discuss the theories generated by major philosophers in each camp. The philosophical overviews will be followed by a look at the most modern practitioners of each approach. Since the idiographic philosophers' claims regarding the practical application of their theories for values analysis are modest in comparison to those of nomothetic theorists, the discussion will begin with them.

Early prominent idiographic philosophers were concerned with personal values as they affected social justice. Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) led a group of political humanitarians in England called the Philosophical Radicals (James Mill, father of Stuart Mill, was

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among the members), whose focus was the encouragement

of legislation favorable to poor people. In particular,

however, Bentham's great influence on nineteenth century

men and women of letters grew out of his doctrine of

utilitarianism. In terms of value theory, Bentham's

principle of the greatest good for the greatest number

is called "universal teleology." Teleologists, as a

subgroup of axiologists, or value theorists, are con-

cerned with the comparative amount of good that any

act will cause. In his belief that pleasure or satis-

faction is the source and measure of the good, Bentham

was in agreement with previous idiographic philosophers,

including the sophists, hedonists and epicureans, all

of whom advocated pleasure as the greatest good.

Bentham, however, denied that personal good always

equals universal good, believing instead that it is

necessary for individuals and society as a system to

act in such a way as to maximize the pleasure of the

many.[2]

The great popularizer of value theory in

nineteenth century Europe was Friedrich Nietzsche

(1844-1900). His primary tenet was that values are

man-made and only temporarily stable and useful.

Accordingly, Nietzsche interpreted history as the

continuous creation and annihilation of values.

Christianity, to him, represented an outdated set of

values, and he proposed that a new human culture based on more realistic contemporary values should replace it. His analysis of the values of the educated middle class as antiquated led many people to consciously seek more realistic ideals. Since Nietzsche was primarily concerned with evolving a philosophy of life, however, his theory was more concerned with prescribing values that seemed to work in contemporary society rather than analyzing a range of values or attempting to identify the most worthwhile values. As such, he advocated a self-centered, strong-willed approach to life which would be able to withstand the forces of political and economic competition that were in control of nineteenth century social structures.[3]

Though economic theories of value have been primarily nomothetic, some early twentieth century economists were consciously idiographic or subjective in orientation. Franz Brentano (1837-1917), Alexius Meinong (1853-1921) and Frieherr von Ehrenfels (1859-1932) found the locus of value in the motives (or intentions), pleasure and appetites, respectively, of the valuer. Along somewhat similar lines, the American axiologist Ralph B. Perry (1876-1957) believed that value came about as a result of the interest taken in any given object by the valuer. Perry's theory was in part nomothetic, since he thought that

value realistically resided in objects in the environment. He qualified this, however, with his theory that value only comes into existence at the moment when interest is taken in such objects. For example, "the silence of the desert lacks value until the moment when the wandering traveler finds it desolate and terrifying; this is also true in the case of the waterfall until human sensitivity finds it sublime," writes Perry.[4]

Of course, the idiographic approach to values largely avoids the necessity of ranking values and making judgements as to the correctness of a given individual's preferences. If value is not intrinsic, it cannot be experienced the same by everyone, so it is unfair to judge the motives, appetites or interests of another, since each person's experiences, and thus values, will be legitimately different. This, in effect, was the position taken by British philosopher/ scientist Bertrand Russell.

In his treatise on Religion and Science (1935), Russell stated that "the chief ground for adopting this view [subjectivist] is the complete impossibility of finding any arguments to prove that this or that has intrinsic value." Russell, however, was not content to leave the issue without further discussion. He acknowledged what he perceived as a "desire to be

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'good'" on the part of most people. This desire to
be good, however, according to Russell, "generally
resolves itself into a desire to be approved, or
alternately, to act so as to bring about certain general
consequences which we desire." Regardless, Russell
accused some people of having "improper" or "petty"
desires.[5] As one critic of Russell's theories has
noted, if he truly believed there were no such thing
as intrinsic value, he could not have made this accu-
sation, since he could not be completely confident that
his tastes or values were more proper or less petty.
Russell was plainly convinced of "the existence of
justice, decency and dignity. . ." though he refused
to admit it since he could not make a scientific case
for it.[6]

More recently, some social scientists have
attempted to measure the existence of subjective values.
Rollo Handy, in his survey The Measurement of Values:
Behavioral Science and Philosophical Approaches, presents
L. L. Thurstone as typical of this group.[7] Thurstone
has conducted a number of studies of preferences dis-
played by certain subjects for particular nationalities,
moral values, consumer goods, menu items, handwriting
styles and so on. Thurstone's primary measurement
technique has been self-reporting, usually via survey-
questionnaire. He does not measure behavior since he

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> A man may be entirely consistent in
> what he says and in what he does about a
> controversial issue, and yet both of these
> indices may be dead wrong in reflecting his
> attitude . . . His personal attitudes may
> or may not agree with what he says and what
> he does. Here again, attitudes are essen-
> tially subjective experiences which may or
> may not conform with overt action.[8]

Although Thurstone argues that understanding and

predictability of certain values can be gained by

his method, the problem of how one <u>ought</u> to value,

given conflicting social or moral claims, remains

untouched by his approach.

The unwillingness to attempt a ranking of

values, or to acknowledge the superiority of some

values over others is, in my opinion, the major

failing of other modern idiographic philosophers.

These groups of philosophers, who usually speak of

themselves as "relativists," can be divided into two

broad groups. One group maintains that values are

culturally relative, but that the values of (in par-

ticular, this) culture are obligatory on all who wish

to remain a part of the society. Choosing one's culture

(which, of course, almost nobody really does) becomes

the means by which the free will selects a set of values.

The other branch of relativism, which has several

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self-conscious subgroups--including existentialists,
humanists, and values-clarificationists--believe that
all values are relative. Every individual is judged
responsible for the formation of his or her own values,
and it is considered unfair for another individual,
who has not had the same set of experiences and cannot
be in possession of the same knowledge and perspective,
to pass judgment on those values.[9]

The most clearly defined relativistic values
movement in the United States today is the values
clarification movement. Louis E. Raths, its founder,
and his principal disciple, Sidney Simon, now considered
the movement's leader, are humanists with a concern
for what they perceive as the lack of values among
school children. In their classic textbook on values-
clarification, Values and Teaching: Working with Values
in the Classroom, Raths, Simon and co-author Merrill
Harmin, say that "too many children in the schools
today . . . do not seem to learn as well as they might
because they simply are not clear about what their lives
are for, what is worth working for."[10] Implicit in
the procedure of the clarificationists is the idea that
any purpose is better than no purpose at all, certainly
in terms of motivating students to learn in the class-
room.

In their attempt to focus on the process of valuing and to provide practical guidance for the teacher, Raths, Simon and Harmin focus on seven selection criteria which they posit as necessary for something to be considered a value. These are: choosing 1) freely, 2) from alternatives, 3) after thoughtful consideration of the consequences of each alternative; and 4) cherishing, being happy with the choice; 5) being willing to affirm the choice publicly; 6) action, or doing something with the choice; and 7) making the choice a part of some pattern of life. The authors also identify eight indicators of values, which they say are like values in many respects, but which do not possess all of the above seven criteria. These are: goals or purposes; aspirations; attitudes; interests; feelings; beliefs and convictions; activities; and worries, problems, or obstacles.[11]

The problem with the values-clarification approach, however, is revealed in the following interchange between a teacher and her students, used as an example of the technique in Raths, Simon and Harmin. The teacher has asked the class for possible alternative ways to view honesty.

> Teacher: . . . Well, then, let's list the
> four possibilities that we have on the board
> and I'm going to ask that each of you do two
> things for yourself: (1) see if you can
> identify any other choices in this issue of

honesty and dishonesty, and (2) consider
the consequences of each alternative and
see which ones you prefer. Later, we will
have buzz groups in which you can discuss
this and see if you are able to make a choice
and if you want to make your choice part of
your actual behavior. This is something you
must do for yourself.

Ginger: Does this mean that we can decide
for ourselves whether we should be honest on
tests here?

Teacher: No, that means that you can decide
on the value. I personally value honesty;
and although you may choose to be dishonest,
I shall insist that we be honest on our tests
here. In other areas of your life, you may
have more freedom to be dishonest, but one
can't do anything any time, and in this class
I shall expect honesty on tests.

Ginger: But then how can we decide for
ourselves? Aren't you telling us what to
value?

Sam: Sure, you're telling us what we should
do and believe in.

Teacher: Not exactly. I don't mean to tell
you what you should value. That's up to you.
But I do mean that in this class, not else-
where necessarily, you have to be honest on
tests or suffer certain consequences. I
merely mean that I cannot give tests without
the rule of honesty. All of you who choose
dishonesty as a value may not practice it here,
that's all I'm saying. Further questions
anyone?[12]

It is obvious here that the teacher is talking
out of both sides of her mouth. She has set up a
situation whereby students "choosing" dishonesty
freely, from alternatives, after thoughtful consideration
of the consequences of each alternative, and happily,
could not then go on to affirm the choice publicly, act

it out or incorporate it into a life pattern ("you can
cheat elsewhere, but not here"). Had the students
really been alert, a logical outgrowth of such an inter-
change might have been to question the value of
testing, or any other means of examination that would
require the "rule" of honesty. In other words, it is
clear that the teacher values both testing and honesty
and that she considers not valuing them, invalid.
Under the Kohlberg method of teaching values development,
it would be the teacher's role to discover the stage
level of those students valuing dishonesty, and by
answering their arguments with logical consistency at
the next higher stage, impress them with the superior
logic and morality of honesty. Surely this is a more
"honest" approach for the teacher who values honesty
to take.

In marked contrast to idiographic theorists,
nomothetic philosophy has been full of prescriptive
judgments regarding how people ought to value and which
values are higher than others. Recall that the nomo-
thetic view contends that values are contained a priori
in the environment, merely waiting to be apprehended.
As such, philosophers and social scientists of this
persuasion have believed it is possible to identify
and occasionally rank values by deductive reasoning
and/or some type of objective measurement. Their

methods, however, have been tenuous and subject to criticisms of various sorts, and their results have been very limited in scope.

The first discipline to deal overtly with theories of value was economics. Early economists were nomothetic, defining value as that which is contained within goods which renders them valuable. During the ancient and medieval periods, goods were exchanged directly for other goods and for services, with little use being made of money as a symbolic carrier of value. Later, in the mercantilist period (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries), money was considered valuable in its own right. Growing out of the belief of the time that one nation's gain, in terms of wealth, was of necessity another's loss, economists believed it was crucial to sell more goods and services than were bought, in order to stockpile bullion. Bullion, in turn, was used to enrich the personal coffers of the sovereign and to purchase military forces and supplies to protect and enlarge the sovereign's territory. Such economic value theories were said to seek a "favorable balance of trade."[13]

John Locke (1632-1704), David Hume (1711-1776), David Ricardo (1772-1823), and Karl Marx (1818-1883) were among the best known economists to talk in terms of

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labor, as opposed to goods, as the primary source of value. These men varied greatly, however, regarding what claims they believed the laborer had to the fruits of his labor.[14]

Beginning with Adam Smith (1723-1790), human nature itself began to be viewed as a source of economic value. Living through the first decades of England's Industrial Revolution, an era which witnessed a major leveling of class status and income, and the birth of wide scale consumerism, Smith observed that people seemed to possess an innate desire to better themselves (Smith meant financially) which in turn was a driving force in the economy. Individual competition, according to Smith, automatically bettered the society as a whole, even if it led to a change in the form of government.[15] Of course, modern interpretations of Smith's doctrine of laissez faire capitalism continue to influence policy makers in Europe and the United States today. In more modern times, however, economists have talked increas- ingly in terms of supply and demand, price systems, utility, marginal productivity, business cycles and other analytical concepts such as "function," "marginal propensity," and "multipliers." "Value" as an empirical concept, because of its theoretical generality, is not functional in the age of computerized economics.

Individual philosophers have argued for the existence of intrinsic value at least since the beginning of the recorded history of Western thought. Plato assumed that a priori forms of existence, called "essences," imposed order and values on life. Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), usually spoken of as the father of the discipline of axiology itself, also reasoned the existence of a priori forms such as space, time and causality, the facts regarding which cannot be derived from our experience, and which are independent of our perception of them. Kant's Critiques established the relationship between knowledge and moral, aesthetic and religious values that has remained the focal point of modern value theory. In his Critique of Practical Reason (1788), Kant elaborated upon his "categorical imperative." According to Kant, duty is an a priori form that dictates the single law that free beings are bound to follow. This self-imposed rational law, which follows from the freedom and dignity of the human will is "act only on that maxim through which you can at the same time will that it become a universal law."[16]

Partly in reaction against Kant, European axiologists of the nineteenth century were largely idiographic in orientation. In England and the United States, however, where value theory was just coming

into its own, the principal theorists were nomothetic.
In England the neo-realist movement was begun by G. E.
Moore (1873-1958), whose basic belief was that things
quite simply possess the properties that they are
normally experienced to have.[17] In the United States,
objectivism was called pragmatism, and its leading
exponent in the area of moral values was William James
(1842-1910). "The pragmatic method," according to
James, "tries to interpret each notion by tracing its
respective practical consequences . . . If no practical
difference whatever can be traced," between alternatives,
they "mean practically the same thing, and all dispute
is idle." Unlike other pragmatists, James was interested
primarily in moral philosophy. For James, if morality
and religion work, they are sufficiently true to be
believed in. On pragmatic principles, he argued in
the Lowell Lectures, "if the hypothesis of God works
satisfactorily in the widest sense of the word, it is
true." Though James' ideas have had great impact on
American thinking, the course of value theory itself
diverged from his neo-realism shortly after the turn of
the century, at the same time that the modern school of
behavioral science was working its way into prominence
in this country.[18]

Meanwhile, nomothetic value theories were
returning to prominence in Europe. In particular,

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some comments on the theory of Max Scheler (1874-1928)
are rewarding. Scheler attempted to synthesize pre-
vious value theories, and he derived philosophically
a theory which bears many similarities to Kohlberg's
theory, which is derived from cross-cultural research
in values development. Scheler acknowledged a consid-
erable debt to Kant. It will be remembered that Kant
believed that duty cannot be derived from experience,
so that duty, or awareness of ethical law, precedes
value. Scheler turned this formula around, coming to
the conclusion that since essences or values cannot
be deduced from reality, value itself must precede
duty and serve as a basis for moral law.[19]

Scheler's primary concern was the establishment
of a hierarchy of values and the establishment of
criteria for distinguishing between high and low values.
Although Scheler postulated that values themselves
are independent and immutable, he recognized that the
knowledge of values is relative. Values, however, are
not end-states of existence for Scheler; they are rather
embedded in the "objectives of the tendency" towards
certain ends. On the relationship between ends and
objectives, Scheler had the following to say:

> Nothing can ever become an end without
> first having been an objective. The end
> is based on the objective. Objectives can
> be given without ends, but ends can never

> be stated without objectives which antecede
> them. We cannot create an end out of noth-
> ingness, nor can we 'propose' one without
> a 'tendency toward something' which precedes
> it.[20]

Scheler believed that values are revealed to us in the course of sentimental perception, which he conceived of as a third domain of understanding, distinct from both the affective and logical domains. He pro-claimed the existence of a hierarchical order of values in which superior values become apparent to the individ-ual valuer only in the process of valuing itself. The superiority of one value over another, according to Scheler, is apprehended by means of "preference," which is a special act of cognition separate from judgment-- the judgment, or innate positioning of the value on the hierarchical scale, is a priori to the act of preference. Though Scheler maintained that this hierarchical arrangement of values cannot be deduced logically, but only through the intuitive act of preference, he devised five criteria to be used in determining the position of certain types of values on the hierarchy. He called the following five criteria "characteristics of laws" of preferring. In order, they are:

> 1) Duration--Lasting goods are preferred.
>
> 2) Divisibility--"The height which values
>   achieve is in inverse ratio to their

divisibility, that is, the greater their height, the less they have to be divided, on account of the participation by the many therein." For example, food has to be divided many ways, so it is less valuable than the beauty of nature, which can be enjoyed equally by the many without its division. Likewise, Scheler stated that spiritual values are high values since they can be had by all equally without division.

3) Foundation--If one value is the foundation of another, it is higher than the other value.

4) Depth of Satisfaction.

5) Relativity--Scheler postulated that relativity of value is immediately apparent, and independent of judgment and reflection. The less relative a value, the higher it is. The highest values are absolute.

Scheler's "characteristics" led him to arrange his value hierarchy into three groups of values:

Lowest--values corresponding to affective states of pleasure and sensible pain.

Second place--"vital values;" that is, values which cannot be reduced to pleasure and pain, such as values of well-being, including values relating to health, exhaustion, sickness, old age and death.

Third group--The highest value category--of "spiritual values." He further breaks this category down into three groups, arranged in hierarchical order from lowest to highest. At the low end, he places values of the beautiful and ugly and other purely aesthetic values. Next come values of the just and unjust, which he claims are independent of the idea of right and wrong as posited by any State or any positive legislation. The highest values are those of "pure knowledge of the truth," which philosophy attempts to realize. He carefully notes that these

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> values do not include values of positive
> science which aspires to knowledge for
> the purpose of controlling events. The
> very highest of these values, according
> to Scheler, correspond to religion and
> consist of ecstasy and desperation, which
> measure the proximity to or distance
> from that which is holy.

Scheler's hierarchy, like Kohlberg's, places

moral versions of justice above laws of the state;

values moral justice over hedonistic pleasure; and

stresses cognitive understanding, in Scheler's case,

by placing "pure knowledge of the truth" among the

highest values. Scheler's positioning of religious

values at the top of his hierarchy corresponds well

with Kohlberg's description of his highest stage

(Stage 6) of values development and with his use

of Jesus and certain religious leaders as examples of

individuals who reached that stage. That superior

values are acknowledged only in the process of preferring

them also anticipates the developmental component of

Kohlberg's theory.[21]

Some recent social scientists and philosophers

have talked in terms of needs, as opposed to preferences,

as intrinsic to human values. Perhaps the best known

philosopher of this school of thought is Abraham Maslow.[22]

Maslow's theory of motivation says that there are at

least five basic needs, including physiological,

safety, love-belonging, self-esteem and self-actualiz-

ation needs, which are largely responsible for

motivating human behavior. The needs are hierarchical

(as listed above, the most basic or "prepotent" needs

appear first), according to the theory, and the lower

needs must be significantly satisfied before the indi-

vidual will be motivated by a desire to meet the higher

needs. Effectively, a higher need only comes into being

when the next highest need is well on the way to satis-

faction, since gratified needs are not active moti-

vators in Maslow's view. Maslow emphasizes, however,

that various intellectual disadvantages and negative

environmental conditions, particularly as experienced

by a young child, can make it unlikely that an indivi-

dual will ever _feel_ that his lower needs are satisfied.

As a result, he will continue to be motivated by

meeting the lower needs and will never seek out ful-

fillment of higher needs. Though "needs" tend to

equal "values" in Maslow's theory, he does claim that

some people possess "ideals, high social standards,

high values and the like" and that these people "become

martyrs," giving up everything, even the satisfaction

of basic physiological needs, for the sake of their

values.

Though Maslow acknowledges that his theory

deals with the individual, as opposed to group or

society needs, he does imply that there are implications

in his theory for the "good" society. Such a society

would be defined as "one that permitted man's highest purposes to emerge by satisfying all his prepotent basic needs."[23] In addition, Maslow believes his theory has important practical relevance for child development, psychology, sociology, cultural history and numerous specific clinical and academic research problems.

Though Maslow's theory does not assign a lower moral level to his lower needs and a higher morality to his higher needs, it is interesting that Maslow's need hierarchy and Kohlberg's stages of values development contain some parallels from stage to stage. Without advancing at this time to a full-scale treatment of Kohlberg, it is possible to say that both men rate hedonistic and less-reciprocal needs or values lower than those which involve social interaction with and approval by another person or group of persons. Also for both men, approval by the society or larger system, called "self-esteem" in Maslow's case, is ranked higher than approval by the family or in-group (called "love-belonging" in the Maslow scheme). Finally, both men see the highest values as very complex, involving a deep self-knowing on the part of the individual.

Comments on Scheler and Maslow have been presented at some length since these philosophers developed hierarchical theories in some respects like

Kohlberg's. Since both Scheler and Maslow maintained that some values are higher than others, each implicitly suggested how one ought to value. Maslow, however, thought that environmental constraints beyond the individual's control could get in the way of higher need satisfaction. In fact, in his various references to environmental determinants, Maslow revealed himself not too far distant from the most influential group of value theorists in the United States at the present time--the behavioral scientists.

For over fifty years, "behaviorism," as it is called, has had the type of multi-discipline influence in this country that existentialism enjoyed in most of Europe.[24] In some respects, behaviorism is a uniquely narcissistic philosophy, which no doubt owes much of its success to the climate of optimism and prosperity which has long been the trademark of American living. Nomothetic in the extreme, behaviorism relies on the idea that human development in general is a function primarily of the environment. The fundamental principle of behaviorism is that the human mind is a reflection of the external world.

Although behavioral scientists do not view themselves as cultural relativists, the fact that behaviorism has "taken off" in this country to an extent not matched in any other (with the exception,

interestingly enough, of the U.S.S.R.) suggests that

behaviorism is, in fact, socially normative, and that

it is the goal of behaviorists, whether acknowledged

or not, to transpose the forms of the environment onto

the individual. It is significant, I believe, that the

prime targets for behavioristic studies are children,

deviant adolescents, the mentally retarded, those with

learning disabilities, the incarcerated, and other

groups of individuals considered potentially patho-

logical by the society. (Recently, this includes

college students.) For the prime directive of behavior-

ism is to change people.

The branches of behaviorism in this country

are myriad, but all of them have as their goal to

change individual values and behavior, or to better

understand how human values and behavior are changed.

The fact that the general educated public is not

threatened by this is due, I believe, to the culturally

normative aspect of behaviorism mentioned above. Most

behaviorists are system-oriented, interested in pushing

people toward the norms of our society, not away from

them.[25] Behaviorists in psychology, for example,

largely have as their goal the "adjustment" of indi-

viduals to the society's view of right and proper. A

particularly fruitful branch of the movement, called

the social learning theory branch, is a merger of

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psychoanalysis and behaviorism which relies on guilt
(including remorse, pain and anxiety) to motivate "moral"
behavior. Likewise in education, behaviorists are
primarily interested in procedures that will motivate
children to respond better to the behavior patterns
expected by the school, especially the discipline con-
sidered necessary for an atmosphere in which the teacher
can best function.

An impressively large body of literature by
behaviorists has been concerned with understanding
"attitudes" and attitude change. Although recently there
has been some concern to distinguish between "attitudes"
and "values," for my purposes, the "attitude" literature
can be considered to be about values as well. The
literature reveals the difficulty behaviorists have in
measuring the existence of certain attitudes, and their
even greater difficulty in proving that subjects under-
went meaningful attitude change as a result of some
experience generated by researchers. The "self report"
method, which utilizes a written or oral examination,
is commonly used but it is considered unreliable by many
social scientists. In addition, studies using this
measure are often open to the charge of triviality,
especially when subjects are required to choose between
or rank fairly distinct and unrelated items, without any
opportunity to explain their reasoning process. The
only indication of attitude change which is given high

credence by many behaviorists is prolonged change in the
subject's behavior.

The difficulty in proving attitude change apart
from behavior has led "radical behaviorists" of the
B.F. Skinner persuasion to assume that neither values nor
attitudes exist.[26] According to Skinner, behavior is
completely determined by environment and there is nothing
that the individual can do about it, since the forces
that will direct his life have been set in motion before
he was ever born. Values, for Skinner, have no reality
apart from behavior; they are merely a form of rational-
ization we have developed to help us feel that we under-
stand the environmental forces that direct our lives.
Few behaviorists are as extreme as Skinner in their view
of values, but most behaviorists believe that one of the
best ways to change beliefs is to first force a change
in behavior.

To summarize briefly, previous theories have
taken either a nomothetic or idiographic approach toward
values, maintaining in mutually exclusive terms that
value is an aspect of the environment, or a creation of
the mind of the valuer, respectively. Some idiographic
theories have claimed that although value does exist in
the environment, it only comes into being when it is
invested with interest/appetite/desire, etc., on the part
of the valuer. By denying the existence of intrinsic

value, idiographic theories, however, have in general
failed to suggest how one ought to value, or which
values are in any sense better than others. As a result,
meaningful analysis of values based on their theories is
impossible. Nomothetic theorists such as Max Scheler
and Abraham Maslow, who have attempted to set up hier-
archies of personal values, have provoked much discussion
and some additional research. Since their theories were
not empirically derived in the first place, however, it
is difficult to validate them without being subject to
the charge of loading the dice. Therefore, values
analysis based on such allegedly absolute scales is
highly questionable.

Finally, the claim has been made that values
analysis conducted by behavioral scientists has been
limited, of questionable validity and that it has been
more concerned with behavior, and specifically behavior
change, than with values for their own sakes. Since
the assumption of many critics that the mass media
reflect and influence values is essentially behavior-
istic in nature, however, a review of behaviorist
research on the impact of TV viewing seems a logical
starting point for an analysis of values associated with
television. A case study of the behavioristic method,
as it has been applied to television, is therefore the
subject of Chapter 3.

Notes to Chapter 2

[1]See John S. Stewart, Toward a Theory for Values Development Education, Ph.D. dissertation (Michigan State University, 1974), 25-26. The terms "nomothetic" and "idiographic" are used by Stewart in his descriptions of the modern-day values philosophies which the Kohlberg theory synthesizes and partially incorporates. The present analysis extends these definitional terms to apply to value theories of the past. The Stewart terms were used primarily to avoid wordy repetitions of the concepts they are defined to represent.

[2]See Jeremy Bentham, The Principles of Morals and Legislation, ed. Laurence Lafleur (New York, 1948). A good biography of Bentham is Mary Peter Mack, Jeremy Bentham: An Odyssey of Ideas (New York, 1963).

[3]Nietzche's critique of Christianity and his proposed alternative in self-conscious strength of will are outlined most comprehensively in Friedrich W. Nietzsche, The Will to Power, translated and edited by Walter Kaufmann and R.J. Hollingdale (New York, 1968). The Will to Power was first published in 1901.

[4]A good critique of Brentano, Meinong, von Ehrenfels and Perry in terms of their contributions to value theory is found in R. Frondizi, What Is Value? An Introduction to Axiology, 2nd ed. (La Salle, Ill., 1971), 33-47.

[5]Bertrand Russell, Religion and Science (New York, 1935), 137-143.

[6]Frondizi, What Is Value?, 111.

[7]Rollo Handy, The Measurement of Values: Behavioral Science and Philosophical Approaches (St. Louis, 1970). Handy also recognizes the mutually exclusive characteristic of "subjective" versus "objective" approaches to values analysis; he recommends a "transactional" approach.

[8]Ibid., 52.

[9]Cultural relativism is not too different from nomothetic philosophy, since cultural values are obligatory for the members of a society. Underlying the beliefs of many cultural relativists in this country one suspects, is the conviction that American society represents a peak in cultural evolution, so that violation of U.S. norms is absolutely "wrong." The native in Africa, however, can be forgiven if he or she chooses to convert to Western standards.

[10]Louis E. Raths, Sidney B. Simon, and Merril Harmin, Values and Teaching: Working with Values in the Classroom (Columbus, Ohio, 1966), 10.

[11]Ibid., 28-30.

[12]Ibid., 114-115.

[13]A good discussion of mercantilism is found in Robert Lekachman, A History of Economic Ideas.

[14]Ibid. Other good sources of general information on economic theories of value include Joseph Dorfman, The Economic Mind in American Civilization, Vol. I-III (New York, 1946-1949) and Robert Heilbroner, The Worldly Philosophers (New York, 1953).

[15]Ibid. Smith's The Theory of Moral Sentiments (London, 1911), which was first published in 1759, is also interesting in the present context. A rewarding comparison could perhaps be made between Smith's theory of morality and Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of values development since Smith specifically dwells on apprehensions regarding "approbation" and "duty" as central to moral perceptions. Such terms are very suggestive of the language Kohlberg uses in describing the characteristics of his Stages 3 and 4 of values development.

[16]The reasoning involved in Kant's categorical imperative is discussed in Lewis White Beck, A Commentary on Kant's Critique of Practical Reason (Chicago, 1960). Further formulations of the imperative, including the familiar maxim to "treat humanity in every case as an end, never as a means only," are discussed in Harry Burrows Acton, Kant's Moral Philosophy (London, 1970).

[17] George E. Moore, Principia Ethica (Cambridge, 1956), especially 131 ff. and 197 ff.

[18] Quotes are from William James, "What Pragmatism Means" in John K. Roth, ed., The Moral Philosophy of William James (New York, 1969), 276; and James, "Pragmatism and Religion," ibid., 339. These essays were originally given as lectures at the Lowell Institute in Boston in 1906. Classifying James as a "nomothetic" philosopher will perhaps meet with some objection since many scholars have previously labeled him a "relativist," considering pragmatism and radical empiricism to be relativistic doctrines. It is true that James' theories, like John Dewey's, are on the borderline between nomothetic and idiographic philosophy, as herein defined. In fact, James' ideas bear many similarities to structuralist-developmentalist thought. It seems to me, however, that James is primarily concerned to transpose the locus of value away from intangible absolutes (like Plato's "essences" and Kant's "categorical imperative") to concrete absolutes, which he calls "pure experience" in the world. In the essay which kicked off the pragmatism movement in America, "Does Consciousness exist?" (reprinted in Essays in Radical Empiricism, ed. R.B. Perry, New York, 1922), James explains his theory that consciousness and objective reality are not two substances with qualitative differences but rather that they form two parts of a whole, best understood in terms of their relationships with each other. The permutations of the argument lead frankly to the conclusion, however, that the whole of which consciousness and objective reality are parts is really just objective reality, in James' opinion. James is concerned with the practical consequences of actions precisely because he is most certain of external reality. He is less sure about how or if individual minds vary (restructure) this reality.

[19] Scheler violently rejected both Kantian formalism and the various forms of relativism which were popular in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. His doctrine of the hierarchy of moral values appears in Max Scheler, The Nature of Sympathy, trans. Peter Heath (London, 1954). In a companion book, Scheler accuses all those who hold subjective theories of value of being motivated by what he calls "ressentiment." See Scheler, Ressentiment, trans. William W. Holdheim (New York, 1961). Both books were originally written as essays in the 1910's.

[20]From *The Nature of Sympathy*, quoted in Frondizi, 81.

[21]The information on Scheler's hierarchy is summarized from Frondizi, 81-101.

[22]See especially Abraham H. Maslow, "A Theory of Human Motivation," *Psychological Review*, Vol. 50, 370-396 for a basic discussion of Maslow's need hierarchy.

[23]Ibid., 393.

[24]In the introduction to the revised edition of his book *Behaviorism* (New York, 1930), John B. Watson, the movement's founder, summarized some of the history of behaviorism in America. At first, the movement was very unpopular with the established elite in psychology and with moralists and religious idealists in general. Watson tries to explain why "behaviorism has had to weather such a continuous storm." He writes: "Behaviorism, as I tried to develop it in my lectures at Columbia in 1912 and in my earliest writings, was an attempt to do one thing--to apply to the experimental study of man the same kind of procedure and the same language of description that many research men had found useful for so many years in the study of animals lower than man. We believed then, as we do now, that man is an animal different from other animals only in the types of behavior he displays.... I think the forcing of this conviction caused most of the storm."(ix)

Watson goes on to brag, however, that "without being overtly accepted," behaviorism's influence had nonetheless become profound during the first 18 years of its existence: "To be convinced of this, one needs only to compare the contents of our journals title by title for 15 years before the advent of behaviorism and during the past 15 to 18 years. One needs only to compare the books written before and after. Not only have the subjects studied become behavioristic but the words of the presentations have become behavioristic. Today no university can escape the teaching of behaviorism. In some its methods and hypotheses are accepted, in others it is taught ostensibly for the purpose of criticism. The truth is that the younger generation of students demands at least some orientation in behaviorism."(xi)

[25]The following statements from the opening
chapter of best seller <u>Beyond Freedom and Dignity</u>
(New York, 1971), by leading behaviorist B.F. Skinner,
illustrates the normative aspect of the discipline.
     "In trying to solve the terrifying problems
that face us in the world today, we naturally turn to
the things we do best. We play from strength, and our
strength is science and technology. To contain a
population explosion we look for better methods of
birth control. Threatened by a nuclear holocaust, we
build bigger deterrent forces and anti-ballistic-
missile systems. We try to stave off world famine
with new foods and better ways of growing them.
Improved sanitation and medicine will, we hope, control
disease.... But things grow steadily worse and it is
disheartening to find that technology itself is in-
creasingly at fault.
     "What we need is a technology of behavior. We
could solve our problems quickly enough if we could
adjust the growth of the world's population as pre-
cisely as we adjust the course of a spaceship.... "
(1-3)

[26]Ibid., especially 98-99.

CHAPTER 3

BEHAVIORISM AND MEDIA ANALYSIS:
THE SURGEON GENERAL'S REPORT ON TELEVISION
AS A CASE STUDY OF THE BEHAVIORISTIC APPROACH

As stated at the end of Chapter 2, the claim

that the mass media can affect the values of its

audience is essentially behavioristic in origin. To

date, research into the effects of television viewing

has been limited to behavioristic studies, the great

majority of which have been concerned with the impact

of TV violence viewing on children and adolescents.

This concern with media violence could have been antici-

pated. Beyond its impact on the individual, violence

is seen as ultimately harmful for the life of the

society as a whole. As is amply demonstrated on

"crime drama" programs on television, violence is

associated with theft, larceny, fraud, embezzlement,

blackmail and a host of other crimes that are dangerous

to the functioning of a capitalistic society.

Since behaviorists claim they can <u>change</u>

values and behavior, which they believe are regulated

entirely by the environment, it seems logical to assume

that considering the advisability of media regulation

is one goal underlying such studies of TV violence.

Furthermore, it is no doubt fear of media regulation

which has been responsible for the cool and qualified

reception that even the strongest behaviorist studies have received from personnel representing both broadcasting and nonbroadcasting media. The present chapter will review the claims of the most recent and most exhaustive such behaviorist study, completed in early 1972 by the United States Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior.[1]

The Surgeon General's study represents the culmination of a slowly growing concern over the impact of television violence, which began in the early years of the medium's popularity. Some of the earliest studies of television were content analyses which attempted to document the extent of violence on TV. An early study conducted in New York City in 1952 discovered that 3,000 acts of violence had been portrayed in a single week.[2] In 1956, a subcommittee of Senator Kefauver's Crime Investigation Committee reported, amidst general committee findings of rising urban crime, that juvenile deliquency might well be related to viewing of violent programs on television. Although TV violence continued to increase during the late fifties and early sixties, national concern over the relationship between violence viewing and aggression remained essentially dormant until the youth riots of the middle and late sixties.[3] Desperately searching for causes of widespread teenage violence, President Johnson's National Commission on

the Causes and Prevention of Violence concluded in 1969 that television was in part responsible, especially in precipitating violence by children from poor and broken homes.[4]

Finally, President Nixon, elected on a "law and order" ticket, accepted the suggestion of Senator Pastore that a full scale investigation be conducted by the Surgeon General's office to determine exactly what, if any, harmful effects TV has on children and adolescents. After a careful screening procedure, in which the TV networks themselves participated (this was greatly resented by the Committee members when it came to their attention) a group of well-known behavioral scientists, together with a sprinkling of media rep-resentatives, was appointed by the Surgeon General.[5] In an attempt to move as quickly and efficiently as possible, the Committee subcontracted its studies to a number of researchers across the country, many of whom had projects in progress at the time the Committee was formed. In early 1972, the Committee was ready with its results--contained in a summary document written by Committee members and five lengthy supporting volumes of papers, recording the findings of each individual project conducted.

The Committee's first problem, it revealed, was in coming to a consensus as to what constitutes

"violence" and what a "violent act." Even regarding

certain specific acts, they felt that circumstances and

the age, sex and social role of participants made a

difference. Nonetheless, they used the following as a

working definition: "the overt expression of physical

force against others or self, or the compelling of

action against one's will on pain of being hurt or

killed."[6]

This definition of violence is in complete

accord with the primary characteristic, namely orienta-

tion to punishment, of Kohlberg's lowest stage (Stage 1)

of values development. The Committee recognized, how-

ever, the ease with which personalized violence against

a particular victim can be confused with violence

justified in order to maintain society as a system:

> Almost every society, including primitive
> societies, legitimizes for the sake of its
> own maintenance some aggression and violence
> against internal and external threats. Every
> society has inconsistent norms and mores.
> Every society talks a better, purer, more
> noble game than it plays. Aggression and
> violence are always the legitimized privi-
> leges of authority, whether it be within the
> setting of the family, within a tribe, or
> within a nation.[7]

The possibility of screening violent acts and programs

based on the motives of particular characters was

apparently considered by the committee, but was evi-

dently dismissed as not worth the effort. One study

conducted under the auspices of the Committee, more-
over, showed that only older adolescents had a high
capacity for understanding the motives behind various
violent acts. Young children displayed little or no
ability to distinguish motives.[8]

The actual research contracted by the Committee
can be divided into two broad groups: studies of chil-
dren and studies of adolescents. Since the techniques
and measures used for these age groupings differ
somewhat, it is best to discuss them separately, begin-
ning with the research on children. Many studies have
shown that children are capable of imitating any act
viewed on the screen, so the Committee did not contract
for any additional imitation studies. As the Committee
put it, "The fact that children can mimic film-mediated
aggressive behavior is perhaps the best-documented
finding in the research literature on the effects of the
pictorial media."[9] The group selected instead projects
which had as their goal to investigate "media instig-
ation of aggressive behavior." When the research was
completed, the Committee reported the general finding
that "The majority of studies, covering various age
levels, share the conclusion that viewing violence
increases the likelihood that some viewers will behave
aggressively immediately or shortly thereafter."[10] Two

specific studies will be briefly described below to illustrate the techniques that were used.

One study monitored the nursery school behavior of a group of 3-1/2 to 5-1/2-year-old boys and girls. Some of the children were shown aggressive programs, some neutral programs, and some pro-social programs. The study found that the greatest change in behavior was toward pro-social behavior in children from low socio-economic backgrounds who had viewed the pro-social material. In another study, aggressive and neutral programs, respectively, were shown to two groups of young children. In a laboratory experiment that followed, the children who had viewed the aggressive episode were more prone to "hurt" rather than "help" an alleged child victim. In these and other studies of young children, direct observation of behavior in either a laboratory or nursery school setting was the most common technique used to monitor change. Although this technique can be criticized as posing an artificial situation for children, behaviorists using this method claim that the children are given time to acclimate to the environment before testing. As a result, they say, the laboratory conditions are very close to school and other social environments that children normally experience.[11]

For adolescents, the technique of self-reporting was used to draw correlations between violence viewing and aggression. Sometimes, evaluations made by a subject's family and peers were used instead of the self-reports. The various measures that were used included 1) total time spent viewing television, 2) preference for violent programs, and 3) amount of time spent viewing violent programs. Although little correlation was observed between the measure of total time spent viewing and aggressive behavior, almost all the correlations between violence viewing and aggressive behavior were positive, most of them ranging from nil to .21.

Significantly, the highest correlation coefficients, both at about .30, involved studies in which earlier viewing was correlated with later aggressive ratings. In one study, mothers were asked to report on the viewing habits of their third grade sons. Then, ten years later, peer ratings of aggression were taken on these same boys. A .31 correlation was found between earlier exposure to TV violence and the peer ratings of aggression at age 18. Another study asked high school students "how frequently they had watched each of thirteen shows that were on television three or four years ago." This measure was then correlated with current aggression, also measured by self-report. The

measure of past violence viewing correlated to aggression at .33, slightly above the correlation between the measure of current violence viewing and the measure of aggression (.30).[12]

Some interpreters of the Surgeon General's study, especially those connected with the media, have been quick to point out that the correlation factor in all the studies was at about .30, in the .20's or below. This, they claim, is not very convincing evidence that violence on televison is a significant factor in causing violent behavior. Other interpreters of the study, including some of those whose reports compose the technical sections of the document, argue that the recurrent appearance of positive correlations is significant and should not be overlooked.[13] In evaluating the findings, the Committee itself is cautious and circular, presenting the case for both interpretations. It does concede, however, that "These data are supportive of the interpretation that viewing leads to aggression, within the parameters of a relationship at the .30 level."[14]

What is the significance of a correlation at the .30 level? As the Committee points out, correlation is not the same as causation, nor does correlation necessarily imply that a causal sequence exists. According to the Committee, causal inference requires:

1. Association--the variables must be shown
    to covary;

2. Time order--change in the specified cause
    must occur prior to change in the specified
    effect; and

3. Reasonable explanation or functional rela-
    tionship in a non-mathematical sense.

The Committee explains that correlation coefficients

satisfy the first requirement and that those that link

changes from earlier to later measurements also meet

the second. But the third requirement, that of

"reasonable explanation or relationship" can never be

definitive, they say.[15]

Because of their association and time order,

however, certain assumptions regarding the causal rela-

tionship of two measures are standardly made by scien-

tists. These assumptions are not discussed by the

Committee. Specifically, taking the two variables,

violence viewing and aggressive behavior, it can logi-

cally be assumed, based on the tests administered by the

subcontractees to the Surgeon General's Committee, that

thirty per cent of the phenomenon "aggressive behavior"

can be attributed to the factor "violence viewing." In

addition, of course, about seventy per cent of the

phenomenon aggressive behavior must be explained by

other factors. Also, it is no doubt possible that the

factors are related in complex, yet undiscovered, ways.
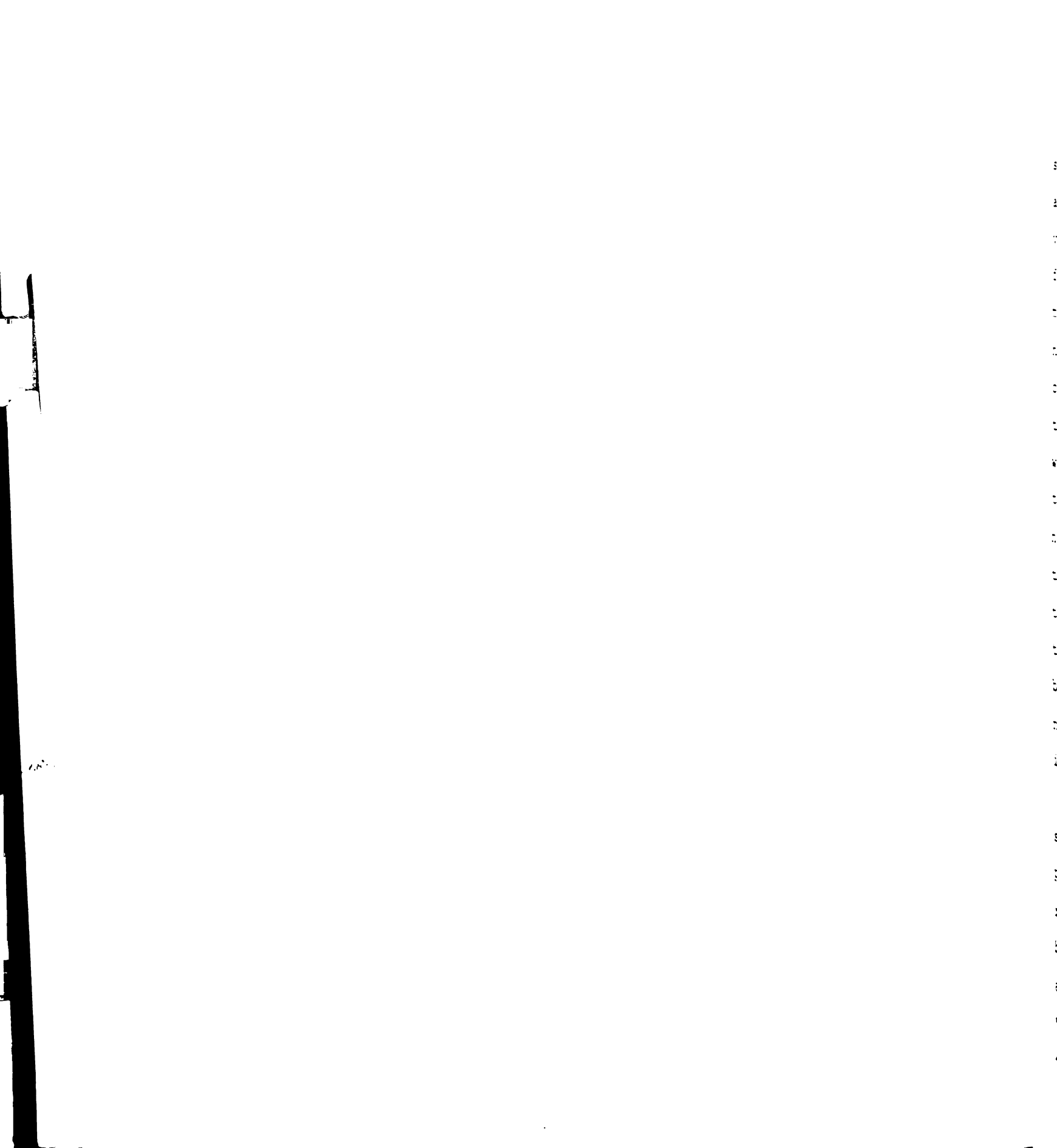
If it were the goal of the Committee to con-
struct a model that would explain all the causes of
aggressive behavior in children and adolescents,
violence viewing, in itself, would obviously be insuf-
ficient. However, considered as only one factor, it
must be considered a very significant one. It is a
naive view of cause and effect to consider that a single
cause must account for all or even a major portion of
the effect described in order to be significant.[16] It
was clearly the Committee's assigned task to describe
television's contribution toward aggressive behavior,
not to supply a check-list of all the causes and rank
them according to their impact. In such a study,
television might be comparatively less important. In
the present study, however, it is television that has
been indicted, and the indictment is strong whether or
not media officials and the general public wish to admit
it.

In an attempt to qualify the results of the
studies, the Committee explored at some length the
possibility that a "common origin variable" might be
responsible for both violence viewing and aggressive
behavior. Three potential candidates for such a vari-
able emerged, in the Committee's opinion. One was
"restrictive" (as opposed to physical or verbal) paren-
tal punishment. In one study restrictive punishment

correlated to aggressive behavior at the .41 level, whereas violence viewing correlated with aggressive behavior at only the .17 level.[17]

According to the COmmittee, parental emphasis on nonaggression emerged as an even stronger candidate for a third variable, since children whose parents were definitely anti-violence were rated significantly lower in both biolence viewing and aggression. In a relation study, the failure of families to demonstrate disapproval was found to be more strongly related to aggressive attitudes than was exposure to television violence.[18] The third candidate for a common origin variable discussed by the Committee was "family communication patterns," but much additional research is needed in this area, according to the Committee.[19]

One of the questions which apparently plagued the Committee had to do with the mechanism whereby violence viewing allegedly leads to aggression. This question was investigated by one of the research teams. It found correlations at about the .30 level between both violence viewing and aggression and three factors: 1) Identification with violent characters, 2) learning about aggression, and 3) linkage of television to real life. The second factor, however, "learning of aggression" was further broken down into three categories:

1. Acquisition of knowledge about techniques, e.g., how to hit someone.

2. Acquisition of knowledge of pertinent facts of life, such as that hitting someone is in fact one way of gaining ends.

3. Acquisition of values, e.g., that hitting someone is a _preferred_ way of gaining ends.

The assumption was made by the researchers that aggressive behavior could not be stimulated by violence viewing unless values favorable to violence were either learned in the process or had already been acquired. The correlations linking "approval of aggression" to violence viewing and to aggressive behavior, however, were the weakest found in the study. What this lower correlation (at about the .21 level) means is unclear, and the Committee suggests that further research into questions of value is called for.[20]

The Surgeon General's Committee took it for granted, however, that the mass media is one of many institutions that transmits values:

> We have noted and deplored the paucity of research about the manner in which values with respect to many areas of behavior, including violence, are transmitted, and about the role played by television and other mass media in this communication.[21]

The Committee also declared that "it is taken for granted that television programming is on the whole consonant with modal interests and values." This

assumption was made because television is a successful medium dependent upon a voluntary audience, but also because studies undertaken for the Committee clearly indicated that network personnel, including producers and writers of TV programs, consciously attempt to give the people what they want.[22]

This is the case because of the networks' desire to make money and to do it with as little risk as possible.   Paul Monash, interviewed as part of a symposium of TV writers, stated that almost all TV shows are derivative of others. Even coming up with a suggestion for a different program scheme doesn't guarantee that the network will buy it, according to Monash. Networks prefer to remain with the tried and true.[23] In the specific context of violence on television, one finding of the Surgeon General's staff was that there is a .49 correlation between the average Nielsen rating of programs classified as violent in any given year and the number of such programs broadcast in the following year. Another study found a .53 correlation between percent of programs classified as violent in any given season (prior to 1972) and the mean Nielsen ratings for all evening programs in that season.[24] In other words, the public tends to reward violent programming by increased viewing--a difficult incentive for a profit-oriented industry to resist.

The Committee leveled a more direct indictment at the broadcasting industry itself, however. It noted that given the voluminous amount of potential material, decisions must be continually made about what will be presented and:

> The values reflected in these decisions are
> no less relevant because they are generally
> unarticulated. The decisions made take on
> importance because all these varieties of
> television fare can structure the audience
> member's relationship to reality. To varying
> extents and in various ways, they can engage
> conscience, modify or mobilize opinion, and
> challenge or confirm beliefs.[25]

The Committee here very clearly holds out television's potential for encouraging values development. That TV does not do this is largely a matter of inertia and the profit motive, the Committee believes, but they isolate other factors as well. "In general, the powerful, influential, and elite have opportunity to initiate and control the content and uses of television in ways that the powerless, the poor, and the non-elite do not," they state.[26] Recognizing that television has grave potential for perpetuating stereotypes about groups such as females, blacks, the poor, the elderly and so on, one of the goals of the present study is to determine what differences in values are attributed to men and women and to various age groups according to their representation by television characters.

In summary, the Surgeon General's report is provocative and deserving of much greater public exposure than it has received. With regard to the limited task assigned the Committee, the findings are quite specific. To repeat, "These data are supportive of the interpretation that viewing leads to aggression, within the parameters of a relationship at the .30 level." Clearly, a .30 correlation should not be dismissed lightly, and in my opinion, the reason that it has been is largely due to fear of media regulation on the part of media officials and others.[27]

In terms of a more general analysis of values portrayed by televison, however, the type of procedure employed by the Surgeon General's Committee and its staff clearly has its limitations. To begin with, the amount of money, research and writing time that went into the analysis of a single aspect of television content, namely televised violence, is overwhelming. Consider magnifying such a study by the number of potentially isolable values and behavioral traits that television could portray, assuming the level of thoroughness employed by the Surgeon General's Committee. The resulting project would take a team of researchers the size of the Committee's staff decades to complete. Perhaps such ongoing analysis of our most popular medium would be

beneficial, but to suggest it at the present time is clearly not feasible.

In addition, the technique of self-report measures used by the Surgeon General's staff in the studies of adolescents has been seriously questioned by critics.[28]   This is so despite the fact that the staff was measuring such relatively concrete behavior as "violence viewing" and "aggression." The difficulties of constructing a credible self-report measure would increase dramatically if abstract values such as instrumental reward, peer approval, loyalty to the society, etc., or their associated behaviors, were to be considered.

In terms of the present study, though, there are more profound, if more obvious, limitations to the behavioristic approach. Specifically, the method emphasizes behavior, rather than underlying values, and socially malignant behavior at that. That is, behavioristic measures are designed to pick up behavior that stands out as different, somehow deviant from the group or norm. Normative behavior and normative values are not questioned by behaviorists. As such, the whole issue of growth or personal development beyond the norm is not considered.

Lawrence Kohlberg's studies indicate that input from the environment, which includes the mass media, can

(not _must_) influence behavior and personal growth, especially when it provides opportunities for role-taking, or taking on the perspectives of other people. Television, of course, provides constant opportunities for role taking on the part of viewers. Thus, in addition to its potential for negative influence, television has the capability to portray strong positive value models. Although the Surgeon General's Committee recognized television's potential for encouraging values development, it thought the profit motive prevented conscious utilization of this potential. I therefore consider it important to determine, according to Kohlberg's scale, the actual level of values development portrayed by the most popular television characters of recent years and to see how these levels compared with Kohlberg's estimates for the viewing population. An explication of Kohlberg's theory will be the subject of Chapter 4.

Notes to Chapter 3

[1]The findings of the study are summarized and
critiqued in: The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory
Committee on Television and Social Behavior, Television
and Growing Up: The Impact of Televised Violence
(Washington, D.C., 1972). Five volumes of technical
documents were reviewed by the Committee in preparing
the summary document. The five volumes are published
separately as: U.S. Department of Health, Education and
Welfare, Television and Social Behavior: A Technical
Report to the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory
Committee on Television and Social Behavior (Washington,
D.E., 1972). It should be emphasized that the Surgeon
General's study represents the most comprehensive study
of televised violence using behavioral science methods.
There are numerous books, pamphlets and dissertations on
the subject as well. In part, the findings of a majority
of these earlier studies that television violence can
affect behavior prompted the massive government project
coordinated by the U.S. Surgeon General.

[2]Dallas W. Smyth, New York Television: January
4-10, 1952 (New York TV Monitoring Study No. 4, Urbana,
Illinois: N.A.E.B., 1952).

[3]The Kefauver findings are referenced and the
increase in televised violence during the late 1950's
and early 1960's is documented in U.S. Senate Committee
on the Judiciary, Hearings Before the Subcommittee to
Investigate Juvenile Delinquency (Washington, D.C.; 1962,
1964), Parts 10 and 16.

[4]David M. Rein, "The Impact of Television
Violence," Journal of Popular Culture, 7 Part 4 (Spring
1974), 934.

[5]The Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory
Committee, Television and Growing Up, 21-24.

[6]Ibid., 5.

[7]Ibid., 50, 190.

[8]Ibid., 96, 114-116.

[9]Ibid., 103.

[10]Ibid., 106.

[11]See Aletha H. Stein and Lynette K. Friedrich with Fred Vondracek, "Television Content and Young Children's Behavior," U.S. Dept. of NEW, Television and Social Behavior, Vol. II, 202-317; and Robert M. Liebert and Robert A. Baron, "Short-term Effects of Televised Aggression on Children's Aggressive Behavior," Ibid., 181-201. A laboratory playroom is described in Television and Growing Up, n. 63.

[12]See Monroe M. Lefkowitz, Leonard D. Eron, Leopold O. Walter and L. Rowell Huesmann, "Television Violence and Child Aggression: A Followup Study," Television and Social Behavior, Vol. III, 35-135; and Jac, M. McLeod, Charles K. Atkin and Steven H. Chaffee, "Adolescents, Parents, and Television Use: Self-Report and Other-Report Measures from the Wisconsin Sample," Ibid., 257, 299.

[13]Rein, 943.

[14]Television and Growing Up, 161.

[15]Ibid., 143-144.

[16]Often the mere absence of negative correlation as was the case with all the reported studies, is considered "significant" relationship between two variables.

[17]Television and Growing Up, 169-170. The study referenced is Jack M. McLeod et al., cited above.

[18]Ibid., 170-171. Four studies cited include two by McLeod et al.; Steven H. Chaffee and Jack M. McLeod, "Adolescent Television Use in the Family Context"; and Joseph R. Dominick and Bradley S. Greenberg, "Attitudes Toward Violence: The Interaction of Television Exposure, Family Attitudes, and Social Class," all in Television and Social Behavior, Volume III.

[19]*Television and Growing Up*, 171-172.

[20]Ibid., 159.

[21]Ibid., 189.

[22]The studies referenced include George Gerbner, "Violence in Television Drama: Trends and Symbolic Functions"; Muriel G. Cantor, "The Role of the Producer in Choosing Children's Television Content"; and Thomas F. Baldwin and Colby Lewis, "Violence in Television: The Industry Looks at Itself," all in *Television and Social Behavior*, Volume. I.

[23]A. William Bluem and Roger Manvell, eds., *Television: The Creative Experience; A Survey of Anglo-American Progress* (New York, 1967), 67.

[24]See David G. Clark and William B. Blankenburg, "Trends in Violent Content in Selected Mass Media," *Television and Social Behavior*, Vol. 1, 188-243.

[25]*Television and Growing Up*, 42-43.

[26]Ibid., 44-45. See also p. 79. The Committee writes, "Although many among network personnel express interest in reducing violence in thier programs, they feel constrained by the economic realities of broadcasting."

[27]It is possible, in addition, that "violent" characters on television, particularly the law enforcers, exhibit the values of network executives in another form. Network officials may privately laud such aggressiveness, when associated with professional expertise, tenacity in problem solving, "getting the jump" on the other guy and so forth. As will be explained in Chapter 7, the most violent regular characters on television are also the most "professional" and the most conventionally moral, using the Kohlberg scale.

CHAPTER 4

LAWRENCE KOHLBERG'S THEORY OF VALUES DEVELOPMENT

Throughout each of the preceding chapters, I have
stressed the need for a philosophically sound but scien-
tifically derived theory of value which can be prac-
tically applied to the study of television characters.
Chapter 2 discussed a number of philosophers who attempted
to define and analyze values based on theories conceived
apart from scientific investigation into the nature of
human preferences and needs. I decided, however, that
such hypothetical structures are shaky tools for analysis
of the values of real individuals or for those of people
as they are portrayed by the media. Since the claim
that the mass media can reflect and influence values is
behavioristic in origin, Chapter 3 then examined the
behaviorist approach to values measurement as it has
been applied to the study of television. The United
States Surgeon General's analysis of the relationship
between violence viewing and aggressive behavior was
used as a case study of this approach. Although the
Surgeon General's report contained provocative findings,
I concluded that only the effect of media-reflected
values associated with concretely observable behavior,
such as aggression, can be efficiently measured by the
behaviorist method. This is so because of the behaviorist

need to prove that actual changes in behavior have occurred in subjects as a result of some previous attitude or value change.

Having eliminated other theories of value and approaches to values analysis as impractical and inadequate for the present study, I now wish to turn to an explication of Lawrence Kohlberg's Theory of Values Development. The present chapter will explain the Kohlberg theory in detail, thus providing both the rationale for its selection and the background information prerequisite to an understanding of its application to the analysis of the values of television characters.

The Theory of Moral Judgment (Values Development) advanced by Lawrence Kohlberg is the only current theory of values development that is based on longitudinal, cross-cultural studies of nondeviant adolescents and adults. Kohlberg theorizes that there are certain principles (different from rules or laws) that are cental to "right" human values and behavior. His studies showed that subjects in different societies move sequentially through each of three levels, including six hierarchical stages of moral development. The levels and stages of values development according to Kohlberg's theory are summarized in Table 1.[1]

Kohlberg's research indicates that individuals pass through stages sequentially, without the possibility of skipping any stage except "Stage" 4½. In addition,

TABLE 1

From L. Kohlberg's Theory of Moral Judgment:
Classification of Moral Judgment into Levels
and Stages of Development

Levels	Basis of Moral Judgment	Stages of Development
I	Goodness and badness are seen in terms of their physical con- sequences as determined by those concrete persons who enunciate the rules and labels of good and bad	<u>Stage 1. The punishment and obedience orientation.</u> The physical consequences of action determine its goodness or badness. Avoidance of punishment and unquestioning deference to power are values in their own right, not in terms of respect for an underlying moral order <u>sup- ported</u> by punishment and authority (the latter is Stage 4).
		<u>Stage 2. The instrumental relativist orientation or the "business ethic."</u> Right action consists of that behavior which satisfies one's own needs and ocassion- ally the needs of others. Fairness, reciprocity, and equal sharing are valued by the Stage 2 individual, but they are always interpreted in a physical, pragmatic way. Reciprocity is a matter of "you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours," not loyalty, gratitude or justice.
II	Maintaining the expecta- tions, rules and standards of the family group or nation are seen as valuable in their own	<u>Stage 3. The interpersonal concordance, or "good girl/good boy" orientation.</u> Good behavior is what pleases or helps others and is therefore approved by them. There is much conformity to stereo- typical images of what is majority or "natural" behavior.

Table 1 (continued)

Levels	Basis of Moral Judgment	Stages of Development
II cont.	right. There is a concern not only with conforming to the individual social order but also in maintaining, justifying and supporting this order.	Imitation and identification are common. Society as a whole is viewed somewhat vaguely, and the perspective is dyadic, oriented toward the small group or toward a small community of peers. Stage 4. The "law and order" orientation. The individual is oriented toward authority, fixed rules, and the maintenance of the social order. Right behavior consists of doing one's duty, showing respect for authority, and maintaining a stable social system and one's own character. The individual at Stage 4 sees things from the perspective of the public or the generalized member of society who belongs to several groups or mutual dyads, and who has developed a perspective toward that which is common to all groups, i.e., to society as a system. Stage 4½. The stage of cynical ethical relativism. This is not a true stage, since not everybody goes through it on the way to principled thinking. At Stage 4½, the person has developed the Stage 4 capacity to take society's point of view, understands the nature of society, but now rejects the claim of Stage 4 to priority and validity. Seeing society's point of view as not necessarily valid, the Stage 4½ individual goes on to question the validity of all moral views and concludes that everything is relative.

Table 1 (continued)

Levels	Basis of Moral Judgment	Stages of Development
III	Major thrust is toward autonomous moral principles that have validity apart from the authority of the group or concrete individuals. The principled thinker is able to evaluate the moral validity of concrete social rules and norms, through tests of more general justice principles.	Stage 5. The social contract orientation. Laws that are not constitutional, that violate human rights or that are not in the general interest are judged to be invalid. Since there are two distinct substages of Stage 5, their descriptions follow. Stage 5-A. The process orientation. This stage corresponds closely to Bentham's notion of the "greatest good for the greatest number." There is a clear awareness that personal values and opinions are relative and a corresponding emphasis upon procedural rules for reaching consensus. Stage 5-B. Human liberty orientation. Self-development and perfection of individuals as human beings are the highest priorities. The rights of individuals take precedence over the societal perspective. Stage 6. The universal ethical principle orientation. Orientation is towards ethical principles appealing to logical consistency, comprehensiveness and universality. The principles are abstract, and at Stage 6, the individual evaluates, in terms of ideal reciprocity, the rights, welfare and dignity of all individuals. That course of action which benefits the least advantaged person(s) is seen as most just

his data shows that subjects tend to act out the highest stage of moral development they can understand, although they have the capacity to be taught the principles of the next highest stage. Since there are relatively few models of principled thinking in the United States or in any other culture (Kohlberg believes that less than fifteen percent of the population of the United States reaches Stage 5, with perhaps only five percent reaching Stage 6), Kohlberg thinks it likely that most individuals reach Stage 6 only through the intense stimulation provided by personal crisis and sustained responsibility for the welfare of other people.[2]

Kohlberg's theory explicitly rejects as incomplete and partially incorrect both the nomothetic and idiographic approaches discussed in Chapter 2. It will be recalled that the nomothetic approach conjectures that values are located in the external world. On the other hand, the idiographic approach claims that values are the internal and subjective creation of the individual valuer. In preference to the mutually exclusive nomothetic and idiographic theories of value, Kohlberg, his mentor Jean Piaget and other members of their school, have adopted a philosophy and methodology which they describe as structural-developmental. The structural-developmental approach to values involves views of the human organism which stand in contrast to both

behaviorism and relativism, modern-day nomothetic and
idiographic disciplines, respectively, while at the
same time mediating between them.[3]

As a result of cross-cultural research, the
structural-developmentalists have discovered that there
is an underlying universality to the way humans organize
thought, use logic, define situations and take social
perspectives. They recognize that the superficial
aspects of human behavior are relativistic, being to a
great extent culturally and situationally determined.
The great discovery is that underneath overt behavior
there is an underlying structure which is responsible
for the fact that individuals in all cultures think,
act out and evaluate given situations using the same type
of reasoning process when they are at corresponding stages
of mental and moral development.

Of prime importance to the structural-develop-
mental approach is the view of humanity as "organismic."[4]
The organismic view supposes that one of the basic axioms
of existence is that motivation is intrinsic to living
organisms. In other words, the organism is not a
machine, which requires some external force to set it
in motion; the source of and force motivating its activity
is internal to it. Some further characteristics of
the organismic approach include:

- the study of man as a functional whole

- the study of man in the healthy state rather
  than basing views on pathological states
  (a propensity of behaviorism)

- a stress on man as intrinsically active and
  motivated, which includes the premise that
  man transforms any external reality in
  the process of perceiving and assimilating
  it. 5

On its surface, of course, this view stands in
sharp contrast to behaviorism. As John Stewart, a
leading interpreter of Kohlberg puts it:

> It is the view than an organism plus life is
> the foundation for understanding human
> behavior that leads to the incomplete,
> inadequate, and partially erroneous con-
> ceptualization of man, motivation, and social-
> ization in behaviorism. It is, for example,
> from this idea that the notion of external
> motivation and the need for the transmission
> of the structure of the external world
> to the child originates. The holistic
> (organismic) view leads to the idea that
> the organism participates in the growing
> and learning process. It is the difference
> between values acquisition versus values
> development. 6

In other words the organism both acts upon and is acted
upon by its environment. This proposition provides the
sought-for linkage and amalgamation of the two seemingly
mutually exclusive idiographic and nomothetic theories of
value.

As a foundation for his research into values
development, Kohlberg began with the theory of human

intelligence first enunciated by the famous Swiss
psychologist and structuralist, Jean Piaget.[7] Piaget
theorizes that human intelligence consists of three
prts: function, structure and content. Each of these
aspects of intelligence interrelates with each other
and with the environment. Function is the biologically
invariant, genetically-determined part of intelli-
gence; content is the most external and observable
aspect of intelligence (including thought, language and
behavior); and structure lies between. Although it is
the structural aspect of human intelligence which most
directly concerns Kohlberg, further explanation of func-
tion and content is a necessary prerequisite in order to
fully illuminate the notion of structure.

  According to Piaget, there are two broad functions
which are genetically-determined parts of intelligence--
organization and adaptation. As the word would imply,
organization is the underlying systematic pattern of
relationships that makes it possible for the mind to inter-
pret and process the information it receives. Adaptation
is subdivided into two parts--assimilation and accommo-
dation. Since "adaptation," "assimilation," and "accomo-
dation" are common words in the English vocabulary,
often used synonymously, it is necessary to pay careful
attention to Piaget's technical definitions of these
terms. By _assimilation_, Piaget means the process whereby

the mind receives data from the world in terms of already existing knowledge and familiar patterns. It is the aspect of <u>adaptation</u> by which the world is transformed to fit the organism. Broadly speaking, it involves registering of new data into previously existing categories of the mind which make sense of the new data. <u>Accomodation</u>, on the other hand, is the process responsible for creating new cognitive categories into which raw data can be assimilated. In other words, it is the process by which the environment operates on the organism and forces the mind to change in order to accommodate to the world. The process whereby the mind keeps input balanced between assimilation and accommodation is called equilibrium.

The example commonly used to illustrate the difference between assimilation and accommodation has to do with the manner in which children learn to name and classify animals. After a child has learned the word "dog," she will try it out on all the house and lawn pets she sees and, by gaining the adult nod of approval, will learn to identify several types of animals as "dogs." In performing this task, she is using the process of assimilation, since she is learning a variety of types of the same class of animals, all of which fit into a previously learned category. The first time the child sees a cat, however, she will call <u>it</u> a "dog" as well. When her parent corrects her, however, she will

create an entirely new category of animals--those called "cat."

As opposed to the genetically-determined functions, organization and adaptation, content is the superficial manifestation of structure in the world. Content consists of thought, language and behavior, all of which are environmentally determined in the sense of being limited by the options provided by any given culture. The difference between content and its underlying structure can best be illustrated through an example. Consider stealing. Now, even though stealing is thought to be wrong in almost every culture, nonetheless, some people continue to steal. They do so, however, for a variety of reasons. By referring to Kohlberg's six stages of moral development, outlined in Table 1, it is possible to see how the logic, or structure, of any of the six stages could be employed in considering stealing the "right" thing to do.

The individual who steals because he is fearful of being punished if he does not is operating at Stage 1, the lowest stage of moral development. The individual who steals because he "needs" a given item or in order to "even the score," as when employees leaving a company take extra office supplies to make up for "long hours of overwork," is operating at Stage 2. The individual who steals because it is helpful to and reinforced by his peer group is operating at Stage 3. It is unlikely that

a Stage 4 individual would steal since it is against the law, but if he did, it would be because some official of the society ordered him to do so in the best interests of the society. (This was the alleged orientation of most of the defendants in the Watergate political scandal of 1973-74.) A Stage 5 or 6 individual would steal in order to preserve or gain constitutional or human rights of individuals or in order to fulfill a human responsibility for an individual not able to act on his own behalf. For example, a Stage 5 individual might steal a high-priced drug from an uncompromising pharmacist in order to save the life of an impoverished loved one--or of a stranger for that matter. Thus it can be seen that whereas the content of each of these acts, namely stealing, was the same, the structure, or rational thought process behind the action varied.

In their emphasis on structure or the underlying logic behind language and behavior, structural-developmentalists are again distinguished from behaviorists, who focus only on the content, or most superficial if most easily measured aspects of human action and intelligence.

This leads directly to a discussion of structure. Piaget's general theories of structure grew out of his work with the structure of human intelligence. He startled the scientific world in the 1930's with his

discovery that children are not mini-grownups, slowly

learning all the adult wisdom of the world, but that

rather they are structural organisms in the process of

transformation, who think qualitatively differently from

adults.[8] After extensive research with infants, children

and adolescents, Piaget set forth his discovery of

"stage development," the process whereby the structure

of the human mind undergoes transformation so as to

attain successively higher (more complex) levels of

intellectual capability. A summary of Piaget's stages

of cognitive development together with a summary of the

characteristics of each stage appears in Table 2.[9]

It is a significant property of human intel-

ligence that, as the individual passes through the life

span, the functions, organization and adaptation, remain

the same but the structures change. The functions, in

constant interaction with the environment, gather and

process the data which makes intellectual/moral develop-

ment a possibility. When development occurs, it does

so according to the genetically-determined transformation

laws of invariance, sequence and hierarchy. In them-

selves, the laws are not responsible for the timing of

structural change (development), though they determine

the order of the change. The structures, on the other

hand, are the logical reasoning processes contained

within (and defining) each stage of intellectual or moral

TABLE 2

Piaget Stages of Cognitive Development

Stage Name	General Definition of Stage
I. Sensorimotor	Lasts from birth to approximately 18 months to 2-1/2 years. The child is born with reflexes which he coordinates into motor habits and perceptions. He then learns to repeat and vary acts. He discovers new means of behavior through experimentation. At the end of this stage, symbolic representation, or language, begins.
II. Preoperational	Lasts from 2 or 3 years of age to 7 or 8 years. The child's reasoning is <u>transductive</u>, that is, he reasons from particular to particular, not from general to particular (deduction), or particular to general (induction). The child's thinking is also <u>syncratic</u> in that the sequence of events is interpreted as having causal significance. If A happened just before B, then A caused B. The child's thinking is further characterized by <u>realism</u>, or the belief that his point of view is also everyone else's point of view; <u>artificialism</u>, or the belief that all things and events are caused by people; and <u>animism</u>, or the belief that inanimate objects are alive.
III. Concrete Operations	Lasts from 7 or 8 years of age to 11 or 12 years. Child can perform concrete operations, involving <u>logical reasoning</u>. These include classification, seriation, numbering, combining, separating, repeating, dividing and substituting--but these can be applied only to objects considered real, not to hypothetical objects. The child is no longer dominated by egocentrism

Table 2 (continued)

Stage Name	General Definition of Stage
III. Concrete Operations (continued)	and can take the view of others. The child becomes truly social and can cooperate in a truly reciprocal way. A development of primary importance during this period is conservation, or the ability to hold constant certain features, dimensions, qualities and characteristics of an object or situation when another aspect changes.
IV. Formal Operations	Generally begins about 11 or 12 years of age and may be well developed by 15 or 16, though some people never reach the formal operational stage at all. The person can perform operations upon operations, considering the form of an argument rather than only its content (the abstract rather than the concrete). Hypothetico-deductive reasoning, or reasoning about possibilities with conclusions drawn about the probable outcome, is possible. The person understands causation and can deal with proportion, analogy and inference. This period of development takes place relatively slowly and probably passes through at least three substages.

development. An individual is "in" only one stage at a given time, however, though all the capabilities of the previous stages are retained. Thus, structure changes throughout life, although the functions (organization and adaptation) and the laws (invariance, sequence, hierarchy) which generate structure remain unchanged.

Kohlberg can truly consider his moral development stages as separate structures, not only as a result of his deliberate coordination with the Piaget stages, but also because, as Stewart puts it, "they define and represent deep, underlying structures of thought patterns, logic, and perspective that are used by people in the resolution of moral conflicts and dilemmas ... they are not content, they are not attitudinal, they are not choices. They reflect and manifest the core of one's moral nature."[10]

Kohlberg's laboratory method for determining the moral development level of subjects involves the posing of certain dilemmas, designed to arrive at their underlying reasoning for considering a certain course of action as "right" or "better" than another. Subjects are questioned extensively to prove their rationale. The following is one of the dilemmas used by the Kohlberg staff.

> Joe is a 14-year-old boy who wanted to go
> to camp very much. His father promised him
> he could go if he saved up the money for it

himself. So Joe worked hard at his paper
route and saved up the $40 it cost to go to
camp and a little more besides. But just
before camp was going to start, his father
changed his mind. Some of his friends decided
to go on a special fishing trip, and Joe's
father was short of the money it would cost.
So he told Joe to give him the money he had
saved from the paper route. Joe didn't
want to give up going to camp, so he thought
of refusing to give his father the money.11

After being told the basic dliemma, each subject

is asked a series of questions designed to test his

level of values development with regard to certain

issues. In the case of the above dilemma, the issues

tested for include a) the basis of the father-son

relationship and b) the basis for contract formation or

"promising." The questions asked include the following:[12]

1. Should Joe refuse to give his father
    the money? Why?

2. Is there any way in which the father has
    a right to tell the son to give him the
    money? Why?

3. What is the most important thing a good
    father should recognize in his relation
    to his son? Why that?

4. What is the most important thing a good
    son should recognize in his relation to
    his father? Why that?

5. Why should a promise be kept?

6. What makes a person feel bad if a promise
    is broken?

7. Why is it important to keep a promise to
    someone you don't know well or are not
    close to?

In evaluating the answers of the subject, the following activity is looked for:

- Demonstration of the making of a moral choice by employing a particular kind of structural logic genuinely representative of the characteristics of a particular stage.

- Demonstration of the rejection of the logic of the earlier stages.

- Focus on salient concerns for a particular stage.

- Understanding and implementation of the justice concepts consistent with a particular stage. 13

Major concerns and characteristics associated with each stage of values development together with the specific structural logic associated with 1) justice, 2) concept of rights and 3) value of life appear in Table 3. Also included are the general age ranges associated with each stage.[14]

Although Kohlberg stresses that only one accurate observation is necessary to place a subject at a particular stage, several are usually made to account for the fallibility of the examiner. In scoring, a subject is considered to be at the highest stage of development that he is capable of understanding and discussing. In practice, each person is more likely to have a modal stage, that is, one at which at least 50 percent of judgments are being made.[15] The remaining judgments

TABLE 3

Major Concerns and Characteristics
of Kohlberg's Stages of Values Development

Stage 1 -- The Punishment and Obedience Orientation

Concern:	Consequences of actions.
Characteristics:	Avoids bad acts to avoid punishment.
View of Justice:	"An eye for an eye." Retaliation automatic, regardless of other's intentions or motives.
Concepts of Rights:	"Being right" same as "having a right." (Because authority figure says so.)
Value of Life:	Moral value of life is the same as physical or social status value.
General Age Distribution:	No earlier than 5 or 6. Prominent throughout the grade school years; dominant in grades one through three.

Stage 2 -- The Instrumental Relativist Orientation

Concerns:	The person's own needs and desires.
	Property rights of the individual.
Characteristics:	Self-centered need satisfaction.
	Naive (as opposed to philosophical) pleasure seeking.
	May sacrifice own ego needs for use and control of others.
View of Justice:	"Coming out even." There is some concern for the other, but mostly of the sort "You scratch my back and I'll scratch yours."
Concept of Rights:	Person can do what he wants to with himself and his property, even if this conflicts with the rights of others.

Table 3 (continued)

Stage 2 -- The Instrumental Realtivist Orientation (cont.)

Value of Life:	Value of life is equal to its worth to its possessor.
General Age Distribution:	7 or 8 earliest; 9 or 10 likelier. Dominant in later grade school years, and many people become fixated instrumental egoists, remaining at this stage all their lives.

Stage 3 -- The Interpersonal Concordance Orientation

Concerns:	Harmonious in-group relationships. Approval by family or in-group.
Characteristics:	Person is "nice" to gain approval from in-group.
	The intentions of self and others are considered very important; they are overworked.
	Person is "good" to maintain mutual expectations.
	Uses adult moral cliches and stereotypes.
	Imitates and identifies with others.
	Person is "nice" to get along with others and to maintain the status quo of the small group.
View of Justice:	Fairness means making everyone directly involved happy.
	There is an attempt to "balance things out" in terms of love, affection, gratitude and immediate social relationships.
Concept of Rights:	Person can do what he wants, but he has no right to do "evil" as defined by the group.

Table 3 (continued)

Stage 3 -- The Interpersonal Concordance Orientation (cont.)

Value of Life:
Value of life equals the value of empathy or affection given to it by family members and others.

General Age Distribution:
10-11 earliest; 11-12 likelier. Becomes predominant about 12 or 13 and is very important throughout junior high and high school years. No upper limit.

Stage 3-A Prime -- The Authoritarian Orientation

Concerns and Characteristics:
Same as Stage 3 except that there is great concern about following the letter of the law to maintain order and respect for legitimate authority. Stage 3-A Prime differs from Stage 4 in that there is no clear concept of society as a system at 3-A Prime. Chains of command are viewed somewhat as small groups, and the feeling is that if any link fails or if any law is broken, all law and order may break down. The person is more concerned with chaos than with the disintegration of the system, per se.

Stage 4 -- The Law and Order (or Conscientious) Orientation

Concerns:
A smoothly running society.

Doing one's duty (and whether or not the other guy does his duty).

Characteristics:
Seeks to maintain social order for its own sake.

Does his "duty," defined in terms of responsibilities doled out by the social order.

Expects respect and other rewards of the society in return for doing duty.

Opposes giving society's rewards to those who don't do their duty to the system.

Table 3 (continued)

Stage 4 -- The Law and Order (or Conscientious) Orientation (cont.)

Believes it necessary to "follow the rules" (norms of the society) in interpersonal relationships to maintain firmly established mutual expectations.

View of Justice: In resolving competing claims, believes should do what's best for the society.

Retributive justice is applied to "balance the scales."

Equality equals uniform and regular administration of the laws.

Any offender must pay his "debt to society."

The individual's situation should be considered in the context of the larger system ("What if everyone...?").

Concept of Rights: Rights equal legitimate claims earned by contribution to the society.

Value of Life: Believes "Thou shalt not kill" but this is a negative rule, since the positive value of life is not recognized.

Human life is considered more important than property, but the life of the society comes before the life of the person.

The value of life is somewhat dependent on the value of that life's service to the group.

Human life is categorically higher and better than animal life.

General Age Distribution: 12-14 earliest; 14-16 likelier. Very important in high school and the modal stage for the U.S. population.

Table 3 (continued)

Stage 4½ -- The Stage of Cynical Ethical Relativism

Concerns and
Characteristics:

Same as Stage 2 except that under-
standing and rejection of Stages 3 and
4 is displayed. Also, since the
validity of the moral view is being
questioned at this stage, the person
may consciously argue for the rela-
tivity of all values, claiming that
terms such as "good," "bad," "right,"
and "wrong" should not be used at all.

Stage 5 -- The Social Contract Legalistic Orientation

Concerns:

Safeguarding the rights of all people
regardless of their socio-moral
affiliation.

Generating systems (both personal and
in society) based on equality and
formal liberty of human beings.

Characteristics:

Believes that society is designed to
protect the rights of individuals.

Seeks the greatest good for the
greatest number.

Consciously examines society's claims,
but to be valid, they must reconcile
with a view which everyone should take.

Believes that a freely chosen "social
contract" should be the basis of
relationships, though once contract
has been agreed to, its terms take
precedence over the liberty of the
contractees.

Beyond the social contract, duty is
considered to be a matter of personal
moral choice in terms of self-chosen
values.

View of Justice:

Believes that the only purposes of
punishment are to:
a) rehabilitate the offender, or
b) maintain law and order to maintain
   society.

Table 3 (continued)

Stage 5 -- The Social Contract Legalistic Orientation
            (cont.)

Rejects expiation and retribution,
and believes that punishment is not
punitive.

In determining what is fair, balances:
a) what is right for the individual with
b) the greatest good for the greatest
   number.

Concept of Rights:	Person recognizes both: a) rights associated with status and role, and b) unearned, universal rights.
Value of Life:	Believes in a universal human right to life, regardless of the person's socio-moral affiliation. Life is also valued in terms of its contribution to community welfare.
General Age Distribution:	Early 20's; mid-late 20's likelier. Kohlberg believes only 15% of the U.S. population ever reaches this stage.

Stage 6 -- The Universal Ethical Principle Orientation

Concern:	Equality, freedom, dignity for all persons.
Characteristics:	Sees worth of all individuals as intrinsic and universal. Sees self as part of all humanity and of history (consequences of personal actions are seen in historical per-spective). Thinks that trust is important for itself, for its role in maintaining principled relationships.

Table 3 (continued)

Stage 6 -- The Universal Ethical Principle Orientation
                (cont.)

View of Justice: Considers all claims; action to benefit
                    the least advantaged person(s) is
                    considered most just.

Concept of   Every right implies a duty.
Rights:

Value of Life: Life is a universal human right and
                    a duty to save it.

General Age   Late 20's, early 30's if at all.
Distribution: Kohlberg thinks less than 5 percent
                    of the U.S. population reaches this
                    stage.

will likely be made at various times according to the
logic of each of the lower stages, though as the modal
stage increases, there is a tendency for fewer and fewer
judgments to be made at the lowest stages. During
periods of transition between stages of values develop-
ment, however, the highest stage and the modal stage
will be different.

In addition to structure and stage, Kohlberg
postulates that five additional factors are directly
involved in values development. These are:

1.   Egocentrism-Perspectivism, as a dimension
      of self and other understanding

2.   Genetic emergence, organismic growth,
      organic maturation

3.   Equilibration process and cybernetic
      factors

4.   Experience

5.   Social transmission, socialization,
      education. 16

Of these factors, egocentrism-perspectivism is a process
linked directly to structure and stage, whereas the
other four are associated with development. Experience
and social transmission are factors derived from the
environment; genetic emergence and equilibration are
functional factors. All of these factors require some
further explanation.

Perspectivism, the opposite of egocentrism,
refers to an increasing state of personal awareness

which enables the individual at each successive stage

of cognitive and moral development to take the point of

view of ever larger numbers of people. The newborn

infant is totally egocentric, without being aware that

he is. Even in the first few months of his life,

however, the process that Piaget calls "de-centering"

begins. Piaget writes:

> ... on the plane of knowledge (as, perhaps,
> on that of moral and aesthetic values) the
> subject's activity calls for a continual
> "de-centering" without which he cannot become
> free from his spontaneous intellectual ego-
> centricity. This "de-centering" makes the
> subject enter upon, not so much an already
> available and therefore external universality,
> as an uninterrupted process of coordinating
> and setting in reciprocal relations. 17

Piaget goes on in this passage to say that "it is the

latter process, the process of reciprocal relations,

which is the true 'generator' of structures as constantly

under construction and reconstruction." In other words,

expanding perspectivism is directly correlated to the

passage from one stage to another.

Kohlberg has translated Piaget's statements on

egocentrism/perspectivism into a more directly quanti-

fiable and progressive developmental pattern for use with

his moral development stages.[18] At Stage 1, the indi-

vidual's personal point of view is the only one under-

stood and the only one valued. At Stage 2, the individual

is able to take the perspective of the other person and

to view himself as others view him. The Stage 3 indi-
vidual steps outside the two-person situation and
achieves a third-person perspective on dyadic relation-
ships. He realizes that both he and the other individual
can consider each other's point of view simultaneously
and mutually. The individual at Stage 4 sees things
from the perspective of the public or the generalized
member of society who belongs to several groups and who
has developed a perspective toward that which is common
to all groups; i.e., to society as a system. At
Stages 5 and 6, the individual's perspective is essen-
tially analytical. Aware of the relativity of individual
and social group perspectives, the principled thinker
(Stages 5 and 6) weighs and orders certain social data
(that which is available to him) to predict his own
behavior and that of others in complex social situations.

Of the functional factors responsible for develop-
ment, the set of factors including genetic maturation
and organic growth is most closely tied to the physio-
logical development of the individual's central nervous
system. Genetic maturation is necessary but not suffi-
cient for cognitive development, which is a necessary
prerequisite to perspectivism, which in turn permits
employment of the moral judgment structures at any given
stage. As Piaget puts it:

> ... this does not mean we can assume there
> exists a hereditary program underlying the
> development of human intelligence: there
> are no "innate ideas".... Thus the effects
> of maturation consist essentially of opening
> new possibilities for development, that is,
> giving access to structures which could not
> be evolved before these possibilities were
> offered. But between possibility and actual-
> ization, there must intervene a set of other
> factors such as exercise, experience, and
> social interaction. 19

Equilibration is closely linked to the process

of equilibrium, whereby the functions of assimilation

and accommodation are maintained in balance in the human

intelligence, but it transcends this process as well.

According to Piaget and Kohlberg, equilibration is almost

synonymous with self-regulation. By a series of steps

which Piaget outlines, the individual senses conflict

at not understanding a particular concept or task.

One dimension or approach to solution is then considered

and tried, followed by others until a type of resolution

occurs.[20] Inherent within the concept of equilibration

is the notion that at each successive stage of intellectual/

values development, the individual can more totally under-

stand concepts and problems of all types. Thus resolu-

tions are more "equilibrated," or satisfying to the

individual. Since equilibration is related in large part

to the individual's internal capacity to deal with con-

flict, and since conflict seems to be a necessary pre-

requisite to discovering the superiority of the logic of

successive stages, it is key to values development.[21]

The environmental factor of _experience_ refers both to direct contact with objects and actions in the material world and to logico-mathematical experience, or exposure to analytical thinking.[22] Kohlberg believes that a cognitively and physically enriched environment, including a high level of formal education and exposure to a variety of direct physical experiences with objects in the real world, supplies the type of experience that allows for development. A less rich environment provides less opportunity for development.[23]

Social transmission, also a factor of the environment, refers to the opportunities provided by the institutions of the society for role-taking or assuming the perspectives of other people. There must be examples in the culture of individuals at higher levels of moral development so that individuals can role-play their experiences and judgments and come to understand the logic of the higher stages.[24] Kohlberg's research has indicated that although the complete range of stages is to be found in the United States, most U.S. adults fixate at either Stage 3 or Stage 4.[25] Although Kohlberg states that Stage 4 is the most frequently observed or modal of our society (at least theoretically),[26] he thinks that socialization practices for women have, until very recently, been oriented toward Stage 3 of values

development,[27] whereas men more uniformly exemplify the mode. Some cultures contain no Stage 5 or 6 individuals, or Stage 3 or 4 individuals, either, for that matter.[28]

Within the range of environmental factors that contribute to creating the possibility for values development, it is obvious that the mass media, and particularly television, is one institution that provides ample opportunity for role-taking. As noted above, it is role-taking that is so crucial to the development of a perspectivist dimension of self which in turn allows moral development to proceed from stage to stage. In order for role-taking to be an effective force in values development, however, the individual must have available to him models of the higher stages. What remains uncertain is the level of values development portrayed by television, or any mass medium for that matter. With regard to the stages of values development portrayed by television characters, this dissertation aims to in part answer that question. Chapter 5 will describe in greater detail how the Kohlberg theory will be applied to an analysis of the values of TV characters.

Notes to Chapter 4

[1]Accounts of Kohlberg's work have thus far been limited to his dissertation (The Development of Modes of Moral Thinking and Choice in the Years Ten to Sixteen, University of Chicago, 1958) and to numerous articles on moral judgment in academic journals, some of which have been collected to form Laurence Kohlberg's Collected Papers (Laboratory for Human Development, Cambridge, 1973). Though the most detailed information on the stages is found in Kohlberg's dissertation, that information has undergone considerable reevaluation and change as a result of Kohlberg's continuing interviews of his longitudinal subjects and of his ongoing research with greater numbers of subjects. Since Kohlberg's writing fails to keep up with his research, the most up-to-date clarifications of the characteristics of the stages are currently found in the writing of his interpreters. The information contained in the table is extracted from John S. Stewart, Values Development Education (E. Lansing, 1973), 83-103. The paragraphs under the heading "Basis of Moral Judgment" are from Kohlberg and Peter Sharf, "Bureaucratic Violence and Conventional Moral Thinking," first published in American Journal of Orthopsychiatry (April 6, 1972).

[2]Kohlberg, "A Cognitive-Developmental Approach to Moral Education," in The Humanist (November/December 1972). See also Stewart, Values Development Education, 100. Stewart summarizes Kohlberg's view that the Stage 6 individual must have faced "sustained responsibility for the welfare of others; irreversible moral decisions in actual life situations; and high level cognitive stimulation, conflict, and reflection."

[3]Stewart, Toward a Theory for Values Development Education, Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1974, p. 173.

[4]In addition to Piaget, Kohlberg and Stewart, other proponents of the "organismic" view and their pertinent works include:
    a. John Dewey, "The Unity of the Human Being," (a 1937 speech to the College of Physicians) in J. Ratner, Intelligence in the Modern World: John Dewey's Philosophy, New York, 1939.
    John Dewey, Theory of the Moral Life, New York, 1960 (originally published as Ethics in 1932, with co-author J.H. Tufts).

      b.   Jan Christian Smutz, <u>Holism and Evaluation</u>,
New York, 1926.
      c.   H. Werner, "The Concept of Development from
a Comparative and Organismic Point of View," in D.
Harris, Ed., <u>The Concept of Development</u>, Minneapolis,
1957.
      H. Werner and B. Kaplan, <u>Symbol Formation: An</u>
<u>Organismic-Developmental Approach to Language and the</u>
<u>Expression of Thought</u>, New York, 1963.
      d.   K. Goldstein, <u>The Organism</u>, New York, 1939.
      e.   Abraham Maslow, <u>Toward a Psychology of Being</u>,
New York, 1968.

[5]Stewart outlines these three features of the
organismic view in <u>Values Development Education</u>, 17-19.

[6]Steward, <u>Toward a Theory for Values Development</u>
<u>Education</u>, 185.

[7]Piaget's theory has been widely published and
is a primary theme reappearing throughout his many
works on psychology, epistemology, education and child
development. The bases of the theory are conveniently
available in Jean Piaget, "Piaget's Theory," P. Mussen,
ed., <u>Carmichael's Manual of Child Psychology</u>, 3rd. ed.
(New York, 1970), 703-732.

[8]Piaget's seminal works include:
      a.   <u>The Language and Thought of the Child</u> (New
York, 1926).
      b.   <u>Judgment and Reasoning in the Child</u> (New
York, 1928).
      c.   <u>The Child's Conception of the World</u> (New
York, 1929).
      d.   <u>The Origins of Intelligence in Children</u>
(New York, 1952).

[9]Table 2 is a condensation of John Stewart's
Tables 4.1A through 4.1D in <u>Toward a Theory of Values</u>
<u>Development Education</u>, 282-330.

[10]Steward, <u>Values Development Education</u>, 65.

[11]L. Kohlberg and staff, <u>Standard Scoring Manual</u>,
<u>Form A-1</u> (Laboratory for Human Development, Harvard
University, Cambridge, 1974), 4.

[12]Ibid., 4-5.

[13]Stewart, Values Development Education, 65.

[14]Condensed from Stewart, Toward a Theory, 326-372. Kohlberg acknowledges that Stewart's dissertation (1974) makes him one of Kohlberg's most up-to-date interpreters. The Values Development Education Program at Michigan State University is one of two centers (in addition to the Laboratory for Human Development at Harvard, where Kohlberg is Director) which is actively working toward practical applications of the Kohlberg theory. As such, one of Stewart's concerns as co-director of the Program, has been to compile, classify and simplify Kohlberg's various pronouncements on stage characteristics. For this reason, his work is especially helpful when compiling concise summaries is called for. Such summaries, however, are no substitute for readings directly from Kohlberg (the collected papers are especially helpful) and for first-hand practice with the scoring manual, and they are not presented as such here.

[15]Stewart, Values Development Education, 78.

[16]Stewart, Toward a Theory, 299.

[17]Jean Piaget, Structuralism, New York, 1970, 139.

[18]See Stewart, Values Development Education, 37-42; also 83-103. Also see Robert Seeman, "The Relation of Role-Taking to the Development of Moral Judgment in Children," in Child Development, 42 (1971), 79-92. (Selman is an associate of Kohlberg's at Harvard.) Kohlberg's piece, "Moral Development," written for the International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (New York, 1968), 489-494, and reprinted in Kohlberg's Collected Papers, is also helpful.

[19]Piaget, "Piaget's Theory," 719-720.

[20]Ibid., 725.

[21]See Stewart, Toward a Theory, 308-312.

[22]"Piaget's Theory," 721.

[23]Stewart, Toward a Theory, 302-306.

[24]Ibid., 306-308.

[25]Kohlberg, "A Cognitive-Developmental Approach," 15.

[26]Stewart, Values Development Education, 91.

[27]Ibid., 89.

[28]Ibid., 68-69. See also Kohlberg, "Stage and Sequence" in D. Goslin, Ed., Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research (New York, 1969).

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY FOR APPLYING KOHLBERG'S THEORY
TO AN ANALYSIS OF TELEVISION CHARACTERS

The previous chapter has explained Lawrence

Kohlberg's Theory of Values Development in some detail,

but it remains to be shown how the concepts generated

by the theory were applied to an analysis of the values

of television characters. Section I of the present

chapter will therefore describe the procedure by which

particular programs and characters were selected for

analysis. Section II will then describe the technique

of analysis used. This description will consist of:

1) a demonstration based on the scoring technique used

by Kohlberg to determine the values of actual subjects,

and 2) an explanation of how this process was applied

to television characters, including an example of a

TV character at each stage of values development.

Section I: Selection of Programs and Characters

Characters were chosen for study on the basis of

the popularity of the programs in which they appeared.

Primarily, the measure used to assess popularity was

the size of the viewing audience in any given season,

based on Nielsen ratings. The primary interest of this

study is to make a comparison, over a specific period of

time, of the values of television characters, based on

sex, age, occupation and on the type of program in which the character appeared. I used the most popular programs since:

a) they reach the greatest number of people, and a subsidiary goal of this research is to compare the values of televison characters to those of the viewing public, according to Kohlberg's prognosis, and

b) they tend to portray characters with values most representative of those portrayed on television dramatic-type programs as a whole.

It is possible to assume that characters on popular programs are representative of TV characters in general because of the desire for a secure profit on the part of network officials, discussed in Chapter 3. The fact is that popular television programs tend to be continued for a number of seasons, and they are widely imitated.[1] Some of the imitations are in turn popular, and some only ride the bandwagon, so to speak, since they never achieve better than mediocre ratings and are discontinued after a season or two. In combination, however, even these mediocre imitators represent a substantial part of the TV program diet at any given time.

Ratings published by the A. C. Nielsen television rating service were used to measure popularity of programs. Technically, the Nielsen reports are confidential, released only to those who subscribe to the service, although summary ratings are regularly released to trade publications by network officials and others.

Legitimate subscribers include large commercial businesses, advertising agencies and occasionally independent purchasers, as well as the networks themselves.[2]

Summary Nielsen's, as they appear in trade publications, typically give both a "rating" and a "share" for each program. The "rating" represents, in millions, the total number of households which, on an average basis, viewed the program during a given report period. As an example, top-rated All in the Family received an average rating of 29.4 for the period September 9 through October 20, 1974. This means that, on an average weekly basis, 29.4 million families watched the program. The "share" equals the percent of the total tuned-in viewing audience that the program captured. In All in the Family's case, the share for the first half of the 1974-75 season was 51, or 51% of the total audience watching television between 8:00 and 8:30 on Saturday nights.

Nielsen ratings for this study were taken from Variety, a weekly trade magazine of the entertainment industries. Although there was no particular schedule on which Nielsen ratings appeared in Variety, a "top-20" or "top-30" listing generally appeared at least once a month during the main viewing season, beginning with October and ending with May. Articles analyzing or further summarizing the ratings as well as special

ratings for particular cities or for rerun editions of programs also appeared on an unsystematic but fairly regular basis. Since it was necessary to page through individual issues of the magazine in order to locate ratings, I focused on the months of October and November both for the sake of convenience and to gain some consistency over the years covered. These particular months seemed desirable choices because the excitement generated by the new season and the resulting interest in the new ratings led to the publication of a larger number of lists and articles than appeared in other months. After locating a summary Nielsen, however, I checked at least one subsequent list to make sure that special programming had not pre-empted or down-rated normally popular programs. I considered this to be a particularly likely occurrence in national election years, but it turned out to be of fairly minimal importance. In general, as Table 6 below indicates, the most popular programs not only tended to be ranked consistently high during the season, but they also tended to thrive for several seasons.

Selecting Current Season Programs

The prime focus of the present study is the fall, 1974 viewing season. Accordingly, the seven most popular programs in each category were selected for analysis,

with the exception that there are only five programs in

the drama category for this season, and all of them were

included. This seemed a reasonable number of programs

to cover in the time period employed. Titles chosen

for the 1974 season analysis, together with their Nielsen

ranks and ratings, appear in Table 4. It should be

noted that with the exception of the two lower-ranked

drama programs (including previously top-ranked

Marcus Welby, M.D.) all of these programs received

Nielsen ratings of 20.0 or above. Television critics

consider this a safe range of popularity, guaranteeing

network interest in continuing the program. The ranks

and ratings for all prime-time programs aired during the

fall, 1974 season are presented in Table 5 for purposes

of comparison.

Selecting Past Programs

In addition to the 1974 season analysis, I wanted

to examine past programs beginning with the year 1960

to determine what, if any, changes in characters'

values have occurred during the past fifteen years. It

is well known that during this period of American his-

tory dramatic social changes took place, including the

beginnings of a new era of American feminism which

resulted in renewed evaluations of male and female roles

in this country. Accordingly, I was especially interes-

ted to discover what, if any, changes have taken place

TABLE 4

1974-75 Season Programs Selected for Analysis,
by Nielsen Rank and Nielson Rating

Program Category	Program Title	Rank (Nielsen)*	Rating (Nielsen)*
Situation Comedy	All in the Family	1	29.4
	Sanford and Son	2	28.7
	Chico and the Man	3	28.4
	Rhoda	4	26.6
	M*A*S*H*	6	25.2
	Maude	7	24.8
	Mary Tyler Moore Show	8(tie)	23.6
Drama	The Waltons	5	25.6
	Little House on the Prairie	8(tie)	23.6
	Medical Center	17(tie)	21.7
	Lucas Tanner	39	18.1
	Marcus Welby, M.D.	44	17.5
Drama-Adventure	Hawaii Five-0	13(tie)	22.4
	Streets of San Francisco	15	22.0
	Rockford Files	17(tie)	21.7
	Kojak	19	21.6
	Rookies	20	21.0
	Gunsmoke	21	20.9
	Police Woman	25	20.2

*From Variety, 30 October 74, p. 57. Ratings are for
the period September 9 through October 20, 1974.

TABLE 5

Programs in the Fall 1974 Television Season*
by Rating and Program Category

Rank	Program Title	Program Category**	Rating
1	All in the Family	SC	29.4
2	Sanford and Son	SC	28.7
3	Chico and the Man	SC	28.4
4	Rhoda	SC	26.6
5	The Waltons	D	25.6
6	M*A*S*H*	SC	25.2
7	Maude	SC	24.8
8	Little House on the Prairie	D	23.6
	Mary Tyler Moore Show	SC	23.6
10	Good Times	SC	23.4
11	Disney	V	23.2
12	Movie***		22.9
13	Bob Newhart Show	SC	22.4
	Hawaii Five-0	DA	22.4
15	Streets of San Francisco	DA	22.0
16	Friends and Lovers	SC	21.8
17	Medical Center	D	21.7
	Rockford Files	DA	21.7
19	Kojak	DA	21.6
20	Rookies	DA	21.0
21	Gunsmoke	DA	20.9
22	Movie		20.7
23	Movie		20.7
24	Movie		20.4
25	Police Woman	DA	20.2
26	NFL Football		19.9
	The Manhunter	DA	19.9
28	Emergency	DA	19.8
	That's My Mama	SC	19.8
	Movie		19.8
31	Police Story	DA	19.7
	Movie		19.7
33	Carol Burnett Show	V	19.4
	Mannix	DA	19.4
35	Movie		19.2
36	Cannon	DA	19.1
37	Movie		18.9
38	Movie		18.2
39	Lucas Tanner	D	18.1
40	Happy Days	SC	17.9
41	Apple's Way	D	17.9

Table 5 (continued)

Rank	Program Title	Program Category**	Rating
42	Barnaby Jones	DA	17.6
	Born Free		17.6
44	Marcus Welby, M.D.	D	17.5
45	Harry O	DA	17.2
	Movin On		17.2
47	Get Christie Love	DA	16.8
48	Adam-12	DA	16.2
49	Planet of the Apes	DA	16.1
	Petrocelli	DA	16.1
51	Sons and Daughters	SC	15.6
52	Paper Moon	SC	15.1
53	Sierra		15.0
54	Ironside	DA	14.4
	Sonny Comedy Revue	V	14.4
56	Odd Couple	SC	14.2
57	Nakia	DA	12.7
58	Six Million Dollar Man	DA	12.1
59	Night Stalker	DA	12.0
60	Kung Fu	DA	11.9
61	Texas Wheelers		11.0
62	Kodiak		9.9
63	The New Land		7.9

*Ratings are for the period September 9 through October 20, 1974. From Variety, 30 October 74, p. 57.

**SC = Situation Comedy; D = Drama; DA = Drama/Adventure; V = Variety.

***Movies had specific titles (such as NBC Friday Night Movies) but these were omitted since they are irrelevant to the present study.

in recent years regarding the values of male and female television characters.

Like 1974 season programs, past programs were also selected primarily on the basis of popularity. For each year between 1960 and 1973, the top five to seven shown in each program category (sitcom, drama, drama/ adventure) were selected from Nielsen's list of "top twenty." The selected programs were then charted (Table 6) and a composite list for each category was drawn up (Table 7). Finally, the availability of the programs, either in rerun or in the Michigan State University script collection, was ascertained. As Table 4 shows, this yielded: ten situation comedies, spanning the years 1960-1974; ten drama-adventure programs, also spanning the years 1960-1974, and one drama program.

The selection of past programs presented several logistical problems not associated with the selection of 1974 season programs. First, both reruns and scripts are in limited distribution at the present time. Fortunately, many of the most popular past programs, measured both by Nielsen ratings and length of original run, are currently available in rerun or script editions.

Number of Programs Viewed

A minimum of ten per cent of the episodes (or appearances per principle character, whichever was

TABLE 6

Top Nielsen-Rated Programs for 1960-1973, by Program Category*

Year	Program Category	Comedy	Drama	Drama/Adventure
1960 (9 Nov.)		Andy Griffith My 3 Sons Bringing Up Buddy Pete & Gladys Dennis the Menace (Mar.)** Danny Thomas	Real McCoys Perry Mason Father Knows Best (Mar.)**	Gunsmoke Wagon Train Have Gun, Will Travel Untouchables 77 Sunset Strip
1961 (8 Nov.)		Andy Griffith Danny Thomas My Three Sons Hazel	Perry Mason Real McCoys	Wagon Train Bonanza Gunsmoke Car 54 Defenders Have Gun, Will Travel
1962 (7 Nov.)		Beverly Hillbillies Lucille Ball Danny Thomas Andy Griffith Dick Van Dyke Hazel	Ben Casey Dr. Kildare Perry Mason	Bonanza Gunsmoke Wagon Train (Mar.)
1963 (30 Oct.)		Beverly Hillbillies Dick Van Dyke Lucy Show Andy Griffith Petticoat Junction Danny Thomas	Perry Mason Dr. Kildare Ben Casey	Bonanza Virginian Gunsmoke Wagon Train (31)*** Rawhide (35)

Table 6 (continued)

Year Program Category	Comedy	Drama	Drama/Adventure
1964 (11 Nov.)	Bewitched Beverly Hillbillies (Feb.) Petticoat Junction Dick Van Dyke My Favorite Martian Gomer Pyle Andy Griffith	Lassie Peyton Place I Peyton Place II Perry Mason	Bonanza Fugitive Combat Gunsmoke
1965 (10 Nov.)	Beverly Hillbillies Gomer Pyle Lucy Andy Griffith Get Smart Petticoat Junction Hogan's Heroes		Bonanza Virginian Man from UNCLE Daniel Boone
1966 (9 Nov.)	Andy Griffith Lucy Beverly Hillbillies Green Acres Bewitched Get Smart		Bonanza Daktari Rat Patrol Virginian I Spy
1967 (25 Oct.)	Andy Griffith Gomer Pyle Lucy Show Bewitched Family Affair Green Acres My Three Sons	Gentle Ben Peyton Place Lassie	Bonanza Virginian Gunsmoke Ironsides Dragnet Daniel Boone Daktari

Table 6 (continued)

Year	Program Category	Comedy	Drama	Drama/Adventure
1968 (23 Oct.)		Mayberry R.F.D. Gomer Pyle Julia Family Affair Here's Lucy Beverly Hillbillies		Bonanza Ironside Mission Impossible Gunsmoke Daniel Boone Virginian
1969 (22 Oct.)		Family Affair Mayberry R.F.D. Doris Day Show My 3 Sons Beverly Hillbillies Bewitched Here's Lucy	Marcus Welby, M.D. Room 222 Medical Center	Gunsmoke Bonanza F.B.I. Ironside Mod Squad Adam-12
1970 (11 Nov.)		Lucy Mayberry R.F.D. Family Affair Doris Day Show Danny Thomas Eddie's Father Partridge Family	Marcus Welby, M.D. Medical Center Room 222	Gunsmoke F.B.I. Hawaii Five-0 Mod Squad Bonanza Ironside Adam-12
1971 (13 Oct.)		All in the Family Here's Lucy Partridge Family Funny Face Dick Van Dyke Odd Couple Doris Day Show	Marcus Welby, M.D. Medical Center Room 222	Mannix Gunsmoke Adam-12 Hawaii Five-0 Cade's County Bonanza Longstreet (Nov.)**

Table 6 (continued)

Year	Program Category	Comedy	Drama	Drama/Adventure
1972 (8 Nov.)		All in the Family Sanford and Son Here's Lucy Maude Bridget Loves Bernie Mary Tyler Moore Show Doris Day Show	Marcus Welby, M.D.	Mannix Hawaii Five-0 Cannon Gunsmoke Ironside Adam-12 Rookies
1973 (19 Dec.)		All in the Family Sanford and Son M*A*S*H* Maude Mary Tyler Moore Show Bob Newhart Show Here's Lucy	The Waltons Marcus Welby (Apr.)** Apple's Way (Apr.) Medical Center (35, Apr.)***	Hawaii Five-0 Cannon Gunsmoke Adam-12 Kojak Rookies Barnaby Jones

*Programs came from "top 20" or "top 30" Nielsen ratings, as summarized in Variety magazine on the date shown for each year.

**A program added from a monthly ranking other than that shown for the year as a whole.

***Number refers to the rank of the program on the Nielsen list. Only rankings below 30 are given, since programs ranking above 30 are considered to be in a "safe" popularity range by TV critics.

TABLE 7

Composite Listing of Top Nielsen-Rated
Programs, 1960-1973, by Program Type,
and Availability of Reruns or Scripts

Program Category	Program Title	Availability of Reruns or Scripts
Situation Comedy	Danny Thomas	
	Dennis the Menace	
	My Three Sons	
	Hazel	
	Andy Griffith	In rerun
	Beverly Hillbillies	In rerun
	Lucy Show	In rerun
	Dick Van Dyke Show	In rerun
	Gomer Pyle	In rerun
	Get Smart	
	Petticoat Junction	In rerun
	Hogan's Heroes	In rerun
	Green Acres	
	Here's Lucy	
	Bewitched	In rerun
	Family Affair	In rerun
	Mayberry R.F.D.	
	Julia	
	Doris Day Show	
	Eddie's Father	
	Partirdge Family	In rerun
	All in the Family	
	Funny Face	
	New Dick Van Dyke Show	
	Odd Couple	
	Sanford and Son	
	Maude	
	Bridget Loves Bernie	
	Mary Tyler Moore Show	
	M*A*S*H*	
	Bob Newhart Show	
Drama	Father Knows Best	
	Real McCoys	
	Perry Mason	
	Ben Casey	
	Dr. Kildare	
	Lassie	
	Gentle Ben	
	Peyton Place	

Table 7 (continued)

Program Category	Program Title	Availability of Reruns or Scripts
Drama	Marcus Welby, M.D.	
	Room 222	In rerun
	Medical Center	
	The Waltons	
	Apple's Way	
Drama/ Adventure	Gunsmoke	
	Wagon Train	Script-1
	Have Gun, Will Travel	
	Bonanza	Scripts-3
	Car 54	
	Defenders	
	Virginian	Scripts-2
	Man from UNCLE	
	Daniel Boone	In rerun
	Daktari	
	Rat Patrol	
	I Spy	
	Drganet	
	Ironsides	
	Mission Impossible	Scripts-6
	F.B.I.	Scripts-2
	Mod Squad	In rerun
	Adam-12	
	Hawaii Five-0	
	Mannix	Scripts-2
	Cade's County	Scripts-2
	Longstreet	Script-1
	Owen Marshall	
	Cannon	
	Tookies	
	Kojak	
	Barnaby Jones	

greater) were viewed for the 1974 season analysis.

The limited number of scripts both at the Michigan State University Library's Special Collections Department and in distribution in general, necessitated using a fewer number of examples per program than was desired. In some cases, only one script per program was available, though more frequently, there were at least two. To maintain a level of generality consistent with the availability of scripts, a maximum of three programs (or appearances per principal character) were read or viewed for the historical review section.

Although a more thorough analysis of past season programs would be desirable as more data become available, I considered the present historical analysis sufficient for the present study since: 1) the focus for this study is on the 1974 season, 2) the programs available for the historical review cover the selected time period, 1960-1974, in the two major categories of programming--situation comedy and drama-adventure, and 3) time constraints based on the appropriate completion period for a dissertation study would have severely limited the amount of additional analysis that the present study could have incorporated, even if additional data had been available.

Section II: Technique of Analysis

As each episode was viewed (or read), a one- or two-page analysis was drawn up which contained 1) a statement of plot, and 2) a listing of the major characters, both regular and non-regular, together with any dialogue which revealed their rationales for taking/not taking or approving/not approving viewpoints or courses of action posed as possibilities by the plot. At the conclusion of each episode, a stage or stages of values development was assigned to each character. Then, after the pre-determined number of viewings-per-principal-character were completed, the stages gleaned from the separate viewings were compared and the highest stage portrayed at least twice was selected as a given character's most commonly portrayed stage of values development.

It should be emphasized that the most important "technique" involved in conducting the present analysis was a thorough and ready understanding of the Kohlberg stages, especially including the ability to differentiate between "content" and "structure" as these concepts are defined in the previous chapter. It is my belief that this ability comes only as a result of extensive reading in the theoretical literature on Kohlberg's stages. In addition, however, practice in applying the stage concept is also necessary, and the

Kohlberg staff has published the <u>Standard Scoring</u>

<u>Manual</u> to help meet this need.[3] The <u>Scoring Manual</u>

contains six dilemmas of the type quoted in Chapter 4,

together with the responses of a large number of

actual subjects to questions posed about these dilemmas.

The subjects' responses are categorized according to

stage of values development, and a brief explanatory

sentence or two is provided to further help the amateur

scorer understand why the logic of a subject's answers

fits a particular stage.

In an attempt to explain more fully the process

used to determine the values of television characters,

I will first demonstrate how a standard Kohlberg

"dilemma" would be scored, using examples taken from the

manual. In doing this, I will show how <u>content</u> is

differentiated from <u>structure</u> at each stage. Following

this explanation based on the Kohlberg scoring procedure,

I will show more specifically how the process was

applied to television characters by giving an example

of a character at each stage of values development and

showing how that character's stage level was determined.

Recall from Chapter 4 the example of the dilemma

involving Joe and his father.

> Joe is a 14-year-old boy who wanted to go to
> camp very much. His father promised him he
> could go if he saved up the money for it himself.

So Joe worked hard at his paper route and
saved up the $40 it cost to go to camp and a
little more besides. But just before camp was
going to start, his father changed his mind.
Some of his friends decided to go on a special
fishing trip, and Joe's father was short of the
money it would cost. So he told Joe to give
him the money he had saved from the paper route.
Joe didn't want to give up going to camp, so he
thought of refusing to give his father the money.

Now, also recall that one of the two issues that this

dilemma is designed to test is the subject's view of

the basis of the father-son relationship.* In brief,

for each stage, the viewpoints are:[4]

Stage 1--Authority of the father. Obedience of
the son.

Stage 2--Reciprocity, exchange and instrumental
need.

Stage 3--Mutual trust, understanding, concern,
respect and affection.

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*In "Moral Development and Moral Education," in
Kohlberg's Collected Papers on Moral Development and
Moral Education, Kohlberg and associate Elliot Turiel
set forth eleven "Issues, Institutions, or Norms," which
are basic to moral judgment and from which the issues
chosen for various dilemmas seem to be derived. These
include:
1. Social rules
2. The self, the ideal self, and conscience
3. Helping roles, involving cooperation, help-
fulness, and affection (special obliga-
tions to role-partners)
4. Authority issues and roles, governmental
roles
5. Civil liberties
6. Contract, promise, and reciprocity
7. Punitive justice
8. Life as a value and a right
9. Property
10. Truth
11. Self and sexual love

Stage 4--Defined responsibilities of a father
and a son.

Stage 5--Recognition of each as free and equal
individuals whose rights are deserving
of equal respect.

Stage 6--Not scored for, since so few individ-
uals ever reach this stage.

The following are examples of responses to one
of the questions designed to elicit the subject's view
of the father-son relationship. Though the scoring
manual contains several sample responses for each stage
of development, only one or two per stage are presented
here.

QUESTION: SHOULD JOE REFUSE TO GIVE HIS FATHER
THE MONEY? WHY?

Stage 1

Answer: No, because that's his son and if he
doesn't give it to him, he would get
punished. And he is the head person
in the house and tells his children
what to do. He has to do what his
father says or he will get a
lickin'.[5]

Stage 2

Subject 1: No, because his father has paid
plenty for Joe. His father pays for
the food he eats and the room he
sleeps in. And even if Joe did earn
the money himself, he should give
it to him.[6]

Subject 2: Yes, because it's his money, some-
thing he saved for. He had to save
for his own trip. His father should
save up for his.[7]

Stage 3

Subject 1: No, if Joe loved his father he would realize how much his father has done for him, and that he could give his father the $40. He could always go to camp, but maybe this was a special fishing trip.[8]

Subject 2: Yes, because it wasn't something really necessary that his father did it for, it was just some selfish desire of his father's. And since his father had said he could go before, he should stick to his word to keep the trust of the son.[9]

Stage 3-A Prime

Answer: No, because parents' word is law and we are supposed to obey and as far as we are able, we should avoid disobedience.[10]

Stage 4

Subject 1: No, I think a child has a primary responsibility of obedience to a parent. From this point of view, I don't think there is any question that Joe should do what his father tells him to do.[11]

Subject 2: Yes, because Joe saved up the money, right?... I don't think a son has the responsibility to take care of his father in that sort of situation. Just because he's the guy's son doesn't mean the father can take advantage of him by trying to get his money for what he wants. If it were a situation like, where somebody's life were at stake, or health, I think he would have the responsibility, but not for a pleasure thing.[12]

Stage 4 1/2*

Subject 1: Not if he wants to be practical about it. I mean, it's his decision and nobody can say what he should or shouldn't do, but life won't be a bed of roses for a 14-year-old kid who defies his father.

Subject 2: Yes, if he feels like it. After all, the kid's got his rights too. He worked for the money, so what he does with it is up to him.

Stage 5

Subject 1: (No.) The situation is so unfair, that Joe would not have an obligation. I think the situation is unfair and I think the rules are not established, and you therefore would not have an obligation for any reason except the maturity of the father. I think, though, the answer is to give it to him, but not because of any obligation. The answer is in terms of long-term bestness. Today I will be unhappy, but later we will come back and maybe there will be some balance.[13]

Subject 2: (Yes.) Children do not owe parents absolute obedience, either in positive or restrictive duties. A parent who acts unfairly toward a child has lost ground for commanding respect.[14]

The examples above were chosen with the specific goal in mind of illustrating the difference between content and structure in reasoning about values. Note

*These are my hypothetical examples since the manual does not score specifically for Stage 4 1/2.

that for each stage with the exceptions of Stage 1 and Stage 3-A Prime, the sample responses are opposed in content. That is, one subject thinks Joe should give his father the money and the other subject, also at that particular stage of values development, thinks Joe should not give his father the money. But both examples of each stage reflect the structure of reasoning of that stage as it applies to the issue of the basis of the father-son relationship.

In the case of Stage 1, there is only one possible content of the response to the question since the Stage 1 individual, concerned about the consequences of disobeying an authority figure, can think of no reasons for refusing to give the father the money. In other words, the structure of reasoning dictates only one possible content: give the father the money.

In the case of Stage 2, the reasoning structure is oriented to reciprocity, exchange of favors and instrumental need. This can lead the Stage 2 individual to think of the father and son as the principals involved in this exchange and reciprocity, but it can just as easily lead to a view of both father and son as people with the right to meet their instrumental needs. ("Needs" here translates to mean "desires.") Subject one takes the former position, deciding that Joe should give (not refuse) his father the money in

exchange for the room and board the father has provided
him in the past--and no doubt will provide for him in
the future. Subject two, on the other hand, focuses
on work as a type of exchange in which one performs
certain duties and then has a right to complete hedon-
istic control of the money gained by doing this work.
Since Joe is the one who worked for the money, subject
two reasons that it is his to spend; the father should
work for his own money.

Stage 3 inidividuals see the basis of the father-
son relationship as consisting primarily of trust, under-
standing, concern, affection and so forth. These traits
of relationships, however, are not visible in the same
manner as instrumental rewards, and their legitimacy
depends in large part on the inner motives or "inten-
tions" of the individuals involved. Accordingly, the
Stage 3 subjects place a lot of emphasis on the inten-
tions involved when considering the situation between
Joe and his dad. Subject one assumes that Joe's father
is benevolent and has good intentions (it is common for
Stage 3 people to assume that authority figures are
benevolent). On this basis, he feels that Joe should
give his father the money, since the presumption is
that love is a two-way street between parent and child
and that Joe's father would not ask for the money if
this truly weren't a special fishing trip. Subject two,

however, views the motives of Joe's father as "selfish desire," and on this basis thinks Joe is justified in refusing to give him the money. Even more than this, though, subject two brings up the issue of "trust," recognizing that Joe's father is violating his close personal relationship with his son by demanding the money for spurious reasons.

The response which I have classified as 3-A Prime (it appears just as 3A in the manual) shows a concern for maintaining the arbitrary roles of father and son: "parents' word is law and we are supposed to obey." As opposed to Stage 1, however, fear of automatic punishment is not the reason for obedience. Neither is hope of instrumental reward, or exchange of favors, as was the case with the Stage 2 subjects. Maintenance of the parent-child relationship for its own sake is clearly the issue here, but the bonds of mutual love and support are blurred by a concern for maintaining rank, so to speak. This concern with rank, or with following the orders of a designated superior, are Stage 3-A Prime concerns (see also Table 3, Chapter 4). The qualities of "respect" for the earned position of the authority figure and of "duty" to the system that both individuals are part of (in this case, the family) are absent, however.

At Stage 4, the structure of reasoning switches to the duties or responsibilities which define relationships of all sorts and which provide the basis for close affectional ties. Subject one thinks Joe should not refuse to give his father the money since he believes that "a child has a primary responsibility of obedience to a parent." This is very different from saying, as the Stage 3-A Prime subject does, that "parents' word is law and we are supposed to obey." Kohlberg has learned that especially in the upper stages, the subject's use of certain terms is a crucial indicator of stage development. In the case of Stage 4, "responsibility" and "duty" are two such terms. Subject two also thinks in terms of responsibilities between parent and child, but his interpretation of this particular situation leads him to feel that Joe should refuse his father the money. "If it were a situation like, where somebody's life were at stake, or health," subject two reasons, "I think he would have the responsibility, but not for a pleasure thing."

As described in the previous chapter, Stage 4 1/2 is not a true stage, since not everyone passes through it on the way to principled thinking (Stages 5 and 6). Kohlberg now believes, however, that Stage 4 1/2 does represent a structural advance over Stage 4, since subjects at this latter stage understand and

equate "morality" with Stage 4 thinking.[15] They go on to question the validity of duty-oriented or conscientious morality, however, and for some period of time, adopt a mode of reasoning very close in content to Stage 2 thinking. That is, Stage 4 1/2 individuals consciously adopt a situational, relativistic ethic, but this is very different from Stage 2 thinkers, who cannot conceive of society's point of view, or of any claims, for that matter, beyond the immediate situation.

Again, Kohlberg has found that a subject's use of certain words provides the key to distinguishing Stage 4 1/2 philosophical egoism from Stage 2 naive egoism. He has learned that Stage 4 1/2 subjects respond at higher levels of abstraction, discourse and reflectivity.[16] In the hypothetical examples given above, the content of the Stage 4 1/2 responses is very close to the content of the Stage 2 responses of actual subjects. Subject one in both cases thinks that Joe should give his father the money since Joe is dependent on his father for support, but the Stage 4 1/2 subject sees this as a matter of practicality or expediency in the given situation, whereas the Stage 2 subject thinks in terms of a genuine exchange of favors. Also, the hypothetical Stage 4 1/2 subject is quoted as saying that "nobody can say what he should or shouldn't do," a

comment which clues the scorer to the conscious relativism of the Stage 4 1/2 subject.

Likewise, subject two in both cases thinks that Joe should keep the money since he worked for it and therefore it is his to spend as he wishes. As opposed to the naive and absolute instrumentalism of the Stage 2 subject, however, the Stage 4 1/2 subject recognizes that there are conflicting claims. He says that Joe should give his father the money "if he feels like it," noting that Joe has "clearly got his rights too" (in addition to those of his father). Again, the use of the term "rights" in this context, like subject one's use of the word "practical," provides an additional clue to the scorer that the level of thought is more sophisticated than Stage 2 thinking. To confirm this, of course, the person giving the interview would ask additional questions to confirm that the Stage 4 1/2 subjects do indeed understand Stage 4 reasoning, although they reject it.

At Stage 5, the individual has also rejected conventional or Stage 3 and 4 morality, but he has maintained a view that relationships of all sorts should be governed by a set of principles (different from rules, laws, or norms) that take into account such things as equality and the rights, freedom and dignity of all people (not just those in this society, by the way). As such, the Stage 5 or principled thinker views the basis

of the father-son relationship as mutual recognition
that both are individuals whose rights are deserving of
equal respect. Even so, Stage 5 thinkers can disagree
on the content of any decision, though the principles
they use in making the decision are the same. Subject
one above recognizes that Joe's father has been "so
unfair" that the normal obligations of a son have lost
their validity in this situation. He nonetheless thinks
that "the answer is to give it (the money) to him, but
not because of any obligation." According to subject
one, "the answer is in terms of long-term bestness" for
both parties. Subject two thinks that Joe's father has
forfeited his legitimate grounds for the respect of
his son by acting unfairly and that Joe is now under no
obligation to obey his father. Clearly both Stage 5
thinkers have moved beyond restrictive role stereotyping
of fathers and sons and see Joe and his father as fully
equal, each with rights deserving of respect by the
other.

Since in practice Kohlberg recognizes that
subjects think according to the logic of more than one
stage of values-development at a given time, his scoring
procedure is designed to note when different stages con-
verge and to indicate which stage seems to be dominant
in the subject's thinking. In the case of the dilemma
involving Joe and his father, related above, there are a

number of different questions designed to arrive at the subject's values. Theoretically, it would be possible for a subject to answer all questions in terms of a specific stage, such as Stage 3. In practice, however, such a subject would more likely answer a majority (but not all) of the questions in Stage 3 terms, answering the remaining questions in terms of one or both of the adjacent stages, in this case, Stages 2 and 4. When the latter type of mixed response occurs, Kohlberg and his staff record the dominant stage first, followed by the secondary stages, which are placed in parentheses, as for instance, Stage 3(2). If a subject responds with an equal number of answers at each of two different stages, his values are recorded by writing the two stages, highest first, with a dash between, as 3-2.

Having described in greater detail how Kohlberg distinguishes between content and structure, using the structure of a subject's reasoning in order to deter- mine his level of values development, it is now possible to explain how the values of televison characters were determined, again using their structure of reasoning as the measure of their stage level. To do this, an example of a 1974-75 season character will be presented for each stage of values development, together with an explanation of that character's structure of reasoning.

Perhaps fortunately, no adult character in the
1974 season, prime-time programming reasons primarily
at Stage 1 of values development.* Examples of this
stage of development do exist, however, in some of the
jdugments made by Jim Bob Walton, youngest son on drama
leader <u>The Waltons</u>. In one episode, Jim Bob and a
friend get caught playing sleight of hand tricks with
the merchandise in Ike Godsey's general store. Ike
interprets their activities as stealing and tells
Jim Bob to go home and tell his father about the inci-
dent. Even before entering the store, Jim Bob had been
afraid of potential consequences, but he tells his dad
that it was only a game and all would have been well "if
I just hadn't got caught." In another episode, Jim Bob
takes a chicken leg from a batch that has been prepared
for a wedding dinner to be held at the Walton home. He
climbs up into the tree house to eat in secret, but
older brothers Jason and Ben are already there. They
convince him to return and get pieces for them as well,
but Jim Bob warns them that if he gets caught, he'll say
they put him up to it. Here again, Jim Bob is thinking
about the consequences of his actions and revealing a
naive view of responsibility as well, since he belives

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*This has not always been the case; see Chapter 7.

he can pass the consequences on to the authorizing party, thereby exonerating his own involvement.

Unlike Stage 1, Stage 2 is a commonly found level of values development among television characters, particularly on situation comedy programs. The most popular example of a Stage 2 characterization is All in the Family's Archie Bunker, who will be discussed at length in the following chapter. For purpose of a brief illustration, however, Fred Sanford of number two rated sitcom Sanford and Son, serves just as well. Sanford is a junk dealer supported financially by his grown son Lamont, who lives with his father. Not only is Lamont the breadwinner; he also does all the cooking, household chores and what cleaning he can manage before Sanford clutters up the premises again. In addition, Sanford is constantly spending Lamont's meager savings on bogus get-rich-quick schemes. In other words, though good natured and charmingly eccentric, Sanford is a leech upon his son.

In line after comic line, Sanford reveals that he views the father-son relationship in terms of exchange of favors, but that he thinks that his part of the bargain was paid up long ago. In one episode, Sanford "buys" a prize fighter with Lamont's savings and then expects Lamont to be his sparring partner to impress a potential manager. In another, Lamont goes to a

psychiatrist for a cure for a headache he's had for weeks. When Sanford discovers that the psychiatrist told Lamont that his problem is that he hates his father, Sanford goes into a comic fit of depression. "After all I done for that boy," he says. "Why, when he's just a little baby and he'd cry out at night 'cause he needed somethin', I'd wake up his mother and say, Lizabeth, get up and go tend to that child, and . . ." on it goes.

On situation comedy programs with a Stage 2 comic character, the straight man is typically at Stage 3, and this is the case with Sanford and Son. Lamont, who is Fred Sanford's foil, acts as the peacemaker of the family, preserving family ties and attributing good intentions to Fred's most selfish acts. In the case of the first episode related above, Lamont decides to spar with the prizefighter after Grady (a neighbor) lies and tells him that Sanford took the money hoping to buy Lamont a new truck with the fighter's winnings. In the other episode, Lamont tries to prevent his father from finding out about the psychiatrist's verdict, but when he finds out anyway, he reassures Fred that he loves him--that it's just some of the things he does that he doesn't like.

A variation of Stage 3 is Stage 3-A Prime, or the "authoritarian orientation. At this stage, the

primary orientation is still toward loyalty and getting

along in the in-group, but there is an added vague

conception of society as a system which is tenuously

bound together and which is always susceptible to

collapse in the pattern suggested by the "domino

theory" of political take-over. That is, there is a

belief that individuals and actions are links in great

chains and that weakness in any link threatens the whole

chain. The Stage 3-A Prime person, therefore, tends

to view himself as an individual within a rigid chain

of command, expecting automatic obedience from those

below and automatically obeying the orders of superiors.

In addition, people at this stage tend to believe that

breaking one law leads to the breaking of other laws

and, if unchecked, that this will lead to the breakdown

of all order, resulting in chaos.

In the current television season, the most

consistent characterization of the 3-A Prime orientation

is Lieutenant Theo Kojak, Chief of New York City Detec-

tives on the series Kojak. On each episode Kojak makes

some reference to the police department as in-group.

He frequently tells the men that their primary obli-

gation is to the department and to the men with whom

they serve. In addition, he does not hesitate to

publicly insult individual officers for incompetent

work performance, reminding them that the good name of

the department is at stake. Kojak also bangs out orders

without a backward glance, expecting automatic and

unquestioning compliance. The men who work under him,

however, apparently share his orientation to the sanctity

of chain of command, because they accept orders and

insults alike with barely a flinch.

Kojak's view of law and order in the society

is also consistent with Stage 3-A Prime reasoning.

The good of society as such is never mentioned by

Kojak, but he does make occasional reference to the

spiraling nature of crime. On one episode, the crime

at issue is syndicate protection of bars. Trying to

get a bar owner to reveal the name of the big protector,

Kojak tells the man that, sure, it's only a payoff now,

but before long he'll have a syndicate bartender, then

a syndicate maid, then the syndicate will move in on

his bookkeeping and before he knows what's happened, all

he'll have left will be the certificate of ownership.

This may, in fact, be the mode of syndicate operations,

but it also represents Kojak's overall philosophy of

crime and chaos.

The Stage 4A, "law and order" orientation is

portrayed by most of the other principal characters

on drama adventure programs. Since the leader in this

category, Hawaii Five-O, will be discussed in some

detail in the next chapter, it will suffice to say

here that such characters as Steve McGarrett (Hawaii

Five-0), the police staff on the Rookies, Mike Stone

of Streets of San Francisco and Pepper Anderson of

Police Woman, display in addition to Kojak's orientation

toward maintenance of law and order, an orientation

to duty and personal responsibility that goes beyond

Kojak's barrage of orders to underlings, who then take

all the risks. Even in terms of police work as a job,

these men and women portray a competency and dedication

which leads to their being branded in the ads as

"super-cops," a title implying that duty-orientation

of this extreme is unrealistic in real-world terms.

Although no current season prime time character

clearly portrays Kohlberg's Stage 4 1/2 of values devel-

opment, the reasoning associated with this stage under-

lies much of the comedy on M*A*S*H. This series features

the activities at a medical outpost during the Korean

War. As is perhaps actually the case during wartime,

traditional moral ethics are suspended by most of the

program's principal characters, although the Stage 4

or "duty" and "law and order" standard remains in the

background as an ideal. In particular, the sexual

ethics associated with conventional morality, or Stages

3 and 4 of values development, are put aside as situa-

tionally undesirable within the wartime army. For

example, one of the surgeons is married and fully
conscious of his duty to his family. This prevents
him from volunteering for risky assignments but it
doesn't prevent him from having a long-term affair
with a sexy nurse called "Hot Lips." Seemingly, this
is a no-strings relationship and no one will get hurt.
Homosexuality also flourishes openly in the camp. No
one takes any offense at this, but when the top brass
comes for a visit, the queen, who won't remove his
dress and earrings, is shuffled out of sight. Clearly
the role expectations associated with conventional
morality remain an acknowledged standard by the
characters on M*A*S*H, although the validity of those
views is implicitly questioned by the good will which
thrives in the camp, in the absence of a rigid sexual
code.

Examples of Stage 5 or principled thinking
have been portrayed by Doctor Joe Gannon of Medical
Center. In one episode, for instance, a man convicted
of child molesting had been imprisoned for a number of
years while undergoing psychiatric therapy. As the
episode began, the man had just been labeled as "cured"
and recommended for parole by his therapist. Prison
officials were reluctant to release him, however,
without some "guarantee" that the crime would never be
repeated. To provide this guarantee, the prison

psychiatrist recommended that the molester take a libido-inhibiting drug as a condition of parole.

Before making a recommendation to the parole board regarding the use of the drug, Gannon considered all the claims--including those of the child molester, his wife, the raped girl (and other potential victims) and the girl's family. Despite compelling empathy (Stage 3) with the raped girl's family (her brother has become autistic as a result of his failure to aid his sister), and great personal distaste for the rapist, Gannon formulated his recommendation on the basis of universal principles. He decided that no one should be forced by the state to take a drug as a condition of parole. In making this recommendation, Gannon considered the effect a decision to require the drug would have as a precedent for future cases. He emphasized that the parole board must avoid setting a precedent that could easily be administered by others in the future in such a way as to deny persons their constitutional rights.

Section II of the present chapter has attempted to explain the difference between content and structure as these terms are used in connection with the Kohlberg theory by 1) presenting examples of actual subject reasoning at each of the Kohlberg stages, and 2) by presenting an example of a television character at each

stage of values development and showing how the structural level portrayed by that character was determined. Chapter 6 will carry this explanation of technique one step further by providing a detailed anaylsis of the values of the principal characters on the most popular program in each of the three prime time categories studied--situation comedy, drama/adventure and drama.

Notes to Chapter 5

[1]See "Writers' Symposium" in A. William Bluem and Roger Manwell, eds., Television: The Creative Experience; A Survey of Anglo-American Programs (New York, 1967). This fact is common knowledge to TV watchers.

[2]Richard A. Blake, "TV's Tyranny of the Twelve Hundred," America, 23 December 1972, 551. The summary ratings, however, represent only the top of the metaphorical iceberg. The Nielsen sample of 1,200 American families, one third of which are changed each year, is compiled on the basis of U.S. Census Bureau data, and is considered to be 98% representative of the demographic characteristics of the viewing public as a whole. Businesses and ad agencies can gain detailed computer readouts on the age, sex, occupation, income and predictable buying patterns of any segment of the viewing population. This information is then used by subscribers to make decisions regarding which programs individual sponsors should support.

[3]Standard Scoring Manual (Cambridge, Laboratory for Human Development, 1973).

[4]Ibid, Story I, 2.

[5]Ibid., 6.

[6]Ibid., 7

[7]Ibid., 13.

[8]Ibid., 20

[9]Ibid., 23.

[10]Ibid., 21.

[11]Ibid., 36.

[12]Ibid., 39.

[13]Ibid., 42.

[14]Ibid., 43.

[15]Kohlberg and Elliot Turiel, "Continuities in Childhood and Adult Moral Development Revisited," in Kohlberg, Collected Papers on Moral Development and Moral Education (Cambridge, Laboratory for Human Development, 1973), 22-31.

[16]Ibid., 24.

CHAPTER 6

A STRUCTURAL VALUES ANALYSIS OF PRIME TIME
TELEVISION SERIES: FOCUS ON <u>ALL IN THE FAMILY</u>,
<u>THE WALTONS</u>, AND <u>HAWAII FIVE-O</u>

The previous chapter gave some examples of how
Kohlberg determines the values of subjects in laboratory
situations and then demonstrated how this process was
used to determine the values of some specific television
characters. But, as the present chapter will show,
dramatic forms themselves, as they appear on television
and elsewhere, can be defined in terms of structural
values conflict.

From the earliest times, critics have attempted
to define dramatic forms in terms of the morality por-
trayed by the characters. In the <u>Poetics</u>, Aristotle
defined the types of drama in terms of the types of
moral character of the characters represented. According
to Aristotle, the difference between Tragedy and Comedy
is "that the one makes its personage worse, and the
other better than the men of present day." (<u>Poetics</u> 1448)
Elder Olson, whose views represent those of several
contemporary critics, extends Aristotle's observations
about characterization to encompass the dramatic form
itself. He writes:

> Every emotional experience must either
> confirm or alter in some way our system of
> values; and in altering it, make it better or

worse whenever it effects a moral value. This
must hold true, also, of drama and the other
arts, so that the effect of drama is its
effect upon moral values . . . .
   One kind of drama assumes the system of
values of the person of ordinary morality.
It proposes simply the arousing of emotions
to the ultimate effect of giving pleasure; its
aim is entertainment . . .
   The second kind of drama goes beyond enter-
tainment, and permits us perceptions which we
should not otherwise have had; it goes beyond
ordinary morality, and offers us other and
better systems of values; it, in some degree,
alters us as human beings.[1]

Kohlberg explains that, as opposed to Freudian

critics, who see characters in drama as representing

warring forces in the personality--the id, superego

and ego, structural developmentalists believe that

characters represent _stages_ of values or moral devel-

opment.[2]   Kohlberg stresses that using the latter method

of analysis, characters represent complete personalities,

not fragments of wholes, as in the Freudian view.

Conflict occurs within the structural-developmentalist

schema because characters representing different stages

of development have strongly opposing perspectives on

specific situations. Resolution comes either through

insight (such as the "insight" that love is more impor-

tant than justice) or further development.[3]

   Kohlberg claims that the ability of individuals

to understand all levels of morality at or below their

own provides a key to the appreciation of comedy and

most forms of drama. To him, the structures of

reasoning portrayed by characters are "filters deter-

mining the writer's and the audience's perception of

the characters and action of a drama." To illustrate,

he writes:

> A low comedy in which the 'hero' amorally
> outwits his enemies depends upon the survival
> of a Stage 2 instrumental egoistic system
> of morality in each of us, a soap opera depends
> upon the survival in us of a Stage 3 'be nice,'
> 'be loving' moral system in which 'goodness
> leads to happiness.'

He cautions, however, that "more complex literature

embodies these types of moral thought in characters

but lets no type of moral thought triumph in a simple

way."[4]

The present chapter will illustrate how the

Kohlberg system can be used to structurally analyze

dramatic forms on television, focusing for purposes

of illustration on the top-rated program in each of

the categories studied--situation comedy; drama; and

drama/adventure. In line with Aristotle's age-old

maxim, characters in situation comedy tend to portray

a mix of conventional and preconventional behavior.

Since Kohlberg's studies indicate that most Americans

reach conventional morality (Stages 3 and 4 on his

values development scale), the large number of comic

characters who occur at Stage 2 are below the moral

level of most of the viewing public. Principal

characters on programs in the drama and drama/adventure

categories, on the other hand, portray primarily conventional or Stage 3 and 4 values. These values, according to Kohlberg, represent ordinary morality, or the norm for our society.

Among dramatic prime time programs, situation comedy is by far the most popular. Significantly, many of the most popular comedies have featured a principal character whose values are Stage 2, or preconventional (that is, an individual preoccupied with his own instrumental needs and desires). Among the top-rated instrumental eogists of the past have been "Lucy" in her roles within three popular comedies of the past twenty years; Jethro of the immensely popular Beverly Hillbillies; Sergeant Carter of Gomer Pyle; Uncle Joe of Petticoat Junction; Corporal Klink and Sergeant Schultz of Hogan's Heroes; and Endora of Bewitched. In recent years, Ted Baxter of the Mary Tyler Moore Show; Fred Sanford of Sanford and Son; Walter Finley of Maude; and Archie Bunker of All in the Family have topped the list of popular Stage 2 heroes. In addition, much comedy has been created by the portrayal of preconventional behavior by such children as Dennis of Dennis the Meance, Opey of The Andy Griffith Show, and Tabatha of Bewitched. The following description of the manner in which Archie Bunker's Stage 2 orientation fits into the structure of All in the Family

as a whole could therefore be applied with appropriate variations to a host of other comic characters and programs.

Archie Bunker has had neither the education nor the variety of experiences sufficient to facilitate his development beyond preconventional morality. A low paid factory worker with the memory of a depression childhood, Archie's main orientation is toward the value of a dollar. He has no understanding of groups or of affectional ties within gorups as valuable in their own right,so he distrusts everyone whose nationality, race, religion, political affiliation, age, education, employment or length-of-hair is different from his own. This leaves him with his wife and a few drinking buddies--although one of these is disqualified when Archie discovers he may be homosexual. Since Archie does not understand that other people's needs and viewpoints may be valid based on their own experiences, he sees his own needs, desires and viewpoints as always right, and he is only provoked to a temporary change of mind or behavior in order to gain an immediate reward or to avoid undesirable consequences to himself. In his personal relationships, he is oriented toward direct reciprocity and exchange of favors.

Archie's "best deal" is the relationship he has with his wife Edith. He pays the bills and makes

all the decisions and she provides him with cheerful,
non-stop domestic service. An authoritarian head of
the household, Archie orders Edith around, calls her
stupid and "dingbat," criticizes her cooking, her
singing and her friends. But Edith remains smiling
and only mildly hypertensive through all the insults,
never retaliating, quick to conciliate disagreements
at the first opportunity.

Archie also expects "respect" in the form of
agreement and obedience from daughter Gloria and son-
in-law Mike Stivic, who are living with Archie and
Edith while Mike finishes graduate school. Archie's
Stage 2 values, moreover, tell him that Mike is a
leech upon the household, since he receives his room
and board free. No sense of affectional ties or pater-
nal responsibility (Stages 3 and 4 respectively) cloud
this vision of his son-in-law. In one interchange
which begins with Archie accusing Mike of having no
no "respect," Mike retorts with, "Archie, respect
has to be earned." "So does a livin'," Archie shoots
back, "but that don't mean nothin' to you."

Likewise, Archie considers his work as a simple
exchange of hours for paycheck; job satisfaction and
commitment never appear as issues. He is careful,
however, to avoid trouble that might endanger his
job security. In one episode, Archie is told he has

to fire one of his three supervisees. These include
a black man, a white man and the only Puerto Rican
in the plant. To avoid trouble with the other black
and white employees, Archie fires the Puerto Rican,
even though he does the best work. In another episode,
Archie takes a drill and some nails home from work.
No amount of criticism from Mike and Gloria can con-
vince him that the act is stealing, since the supplies
came from work (about the nails, he says, "That's why
the company leaves so many small things around--it
prevents stealing"). But when co-worker Irene dis-
covers the theft, Archie asks her to promise not to
tell, saying he wouldn't tell on her if the situation
were reversed. Irene leaves, disgusted, without making
a commitment not to tell, however, so Archie puts the
drill in his lunchbox and tells the family that he'll
be going to work early the next morning to return it.

The impact of Archie's bigotry on the viewing
audience has been a source of some considerable criti-
cal debate ever since the series' debut in 1970. The
series' creator, Norman Lear, and a substantial number
of critics, argue that Archie's impact is positive,
since his comments provoke open discussion of racist
attitudes and display the bigot personality for what
it really is--frightened, compulsive, going-nowhere.[5]
Others, in particular black critics, have argued that

Archie the lovable bigot is dangerous in that he is

resurrecting racist epithets and attitudes that were

at long last almost buried and teaching them to a new

generation of children.[6] Still another group, which

purports to take a compromise position, proposes that

Archie's bigotry wouldn't be so bad if he weren't

consistently closed-minded and complacent about it--

if he owned up to his bigotry every now and again.[7]

But what this latter group of critics fail to understand

is that closed-minded complacency as a form of moral

ignorance is what creates bigotry, and it is insep-

arable from it. Archie has trouble understanding the

perspectives of others within his intimate circle of

family and friends, so naturally he views the feelings

and goals of outsiders as totally alien and potentially

dangerous. Furthermore, his union, his neighborhood,

even his own family, have been invaded by people his

blue-collar, WASP upbringing taught him not to trust.

All he can do is rail at the enemy.

Typically, situation comedies which feature

a preconventional principal character pit that charac-

ter against a conventional moral thinker--generally

at Stage 3 but sometimes at Stage 4--for purposes of

comedy on the program. In the case of All in the

Family, Archie's primary sparring partner is his son-

in-law. As critics have noted, however, Mike's liber-

alism might well be considered conservative if it weren't constantly juxtaposed against Archie's amorality. In fact, according to the Kohlberg scale, Mike displays a highly conventional, or Stage 4, form of morality. He seems to understand that the United States is comprised of a lot of different groups of people, all with legitimate rights to reap the benefits of American living. He also rejects Archie's prejudicial labeling of others, though his attempts to change Archie's outlook meet with nothing but automatic and sarcastic rebuttal. This is in part due to the fact that Archie never reached the Stage 3 or "be nice" stage of morality and Mike has largely passed beyond it. As a result, neither of them places high value on "getting along" with each other. Mike appears to value family rapport more than Archie, however. He never indulges in the type of below-the-belt insults that Archie uses against Mike and the rest of the family. A heated "it's impossible to have an intelligent discussion with you" is about as far as Mike descends.

In the physical sense, Mike is no more appealing than Archie, of course. He is unkempt, lethargic, overweight and constantly pictured snacking between meals. And, too, Mike _is_ dependent on the Bunkers for room and board while attending graduate school.

In Archie's view, and that of several critics, this
stacks the cards heavily against Mike's opinions.
As far as Mike is concerned, however, Archie owes
him and Gloria the extra start in life, a view shared
by many real-life American families with college-age
children living at home.

Edith Bunker, a Stage 3 characterization,
mediates between Archie's Stage 2 instrumentalism
and Mike's determined Stage 4 outlook. As one critic
writes, "Edith is the balance wheel on his (Archie's)
erratic behavior, and the only one in the family with
an open mind. It's not much of a mind, but it's open
and kind."[8] Jean Stapleton, who plays Edith, says,
"I love Edith's role in the structure of this show.
She's the one who states the truth. I love to be the
guileless protagonist of honesty."[9]

Although I would agree that Edith is guile-
less, her honesty ends where any type of conflict or
hurt feelings might potentially begin. Edith's entire
personality, in fact, is developed around her role,
not as the "protagonist of honesty," but as the family
peacemaker. As Edith explains it to Gloria in one
episode, in her opinion a happy family life is every
woman's goal in life. With hands folded and eyes
uplifted, she goes on to describe tranquil family
gatherings at Thanksgiving and Christmas, until Mike

interrupts and accuses her of forming her opinions
from watching The Waltons. "No real family is like
that," he says. Later in the same episode, Edith
tells Gloria that having babies is "the one thing
that women was meant to do" ("If God didn't mean for
women to have babies, why, we'd all be men ...").
She says that having Gloria made her "feel useful,"
and that she's been looking forward to another twenty
years with her grandchildren.

Edith's devotion to family life is the key
to an understanding of her Stage 3 moral outlook on
life. Her daily living is oriented toward maintaining
close personal ties and toward keeping relationships
among family members and friends running smoothly
and peacefully. This is especially true in the case
of her relationship with Archie. In one episode,
Edith discovers that a friend is contemplating divorce
because her husband is tired of her and has begun
having affairs. The friend tells Edith that she and
Archie are practically the only people she knows who
are happily married. "What's your secret?" she asks.
"Oh, I ain't got no secret," Edith replies with a
slightly embarrassed smile. "Archie and me still
has fights, but we don't let 'em go on too long.
Somebody always says 'I'm sorry,' and Archie always
says, 'That's OK, Edith.'"

Edith is only moved to strong words when family harmony or the loyalty of a friend seems to be at stake. In one episode, Gloria and Mike have been fighting all day, and finally Gloria decides to sleep on the couch. Edith assembles the family in the living room and tells the story of the time her parents began an argument over a triviality. The argument went on for such a long time that deep resentments developed, and "Things was never the same after that," Edith says. In another episode, Archie behaves so rudely to neighbor Irene that Irene leaves before eating a dinner especially prepared for her by Edith. Nonplused, Archie stomps over to the table and orders Edith to bring on the food. At first Edith refuses--asking Archie how he could be so mean to "such a good friend." She soon gives in, however, to save any further buildup of ill feelings.

Like her mother, Gloria is oriented primarily toward keeping peace in the family. Her character, however, has slowly changed and developed over the four-plus years that the series has been on the air. At the beginning, she was repeatedly portrayed in a turmoil over Archie and Mike's bickering. But more recently, she displays an independence and sense of personal responsibility that refuses to be intimidated by either father or husband. In a recent episode,

Mike suddenly announces that he has no intention of

having children--he'll adopt, he says, because that

would be caring for a child that is already here, but

he won't be responsible for bringing another infant

into the present world. Gloria is furious, not only

because of Mike's decision, but primarily because he

made it without consulting her. "A marriage is supposed

to be a partnership," she says. Later, after ignoring

Archie's tirades against Mike's virility and listening

patiently to her mother's arguments on behalf of

maternity, Gloria decides she wants to consider the

matter further by herself. "I believe a woman should

be a person first, and then maybe a mother," she says.

In terms of Kohlberg's values scale, then,

All in the Family's basic structure is developed

around the battle between preconventional and conven-

tional morality, with Archie and Mike as spokesmen

for the two orientations. Edith and Gloria, struc-

turally and dramatically, act primarily as mediators

and conciliators. Clearly, Edith is the most sym-

pathetic character in terms of morality, moreover,

which suggests that creator Lear expects the majority

of the viewing audience to understand and agree with

her "be nice, get along" morality (Stage 3).

Another values structure commonly used in

situation comedy involves characterizations that are

primarily conventional. In these comedies, conflict usually develops around misinterpreted intentions. Especially at Stage 3, intentions are viewed as very important, often more important than actual behavior. As a result, characters portraying Stage 3 behavior can become involved in an infinite number of situations in which they either 1) misinterpret one another's behavior--a wife sees her husband accidentally shoved up against an attractive woman in a crowd and assumes that he is having an affair with her, or 2) attempt to avoid giving each other the wrong impression--a wife who has just taken a job doesn't want her husband to feel neglected so she begins doing all the baking, ironing and cleaning at home, although she had pre-viously had these services hired out. Though the examples cited above are about domestic misinter-pretations, mix-ups between work associates and friends work just as well. Past comedies of this ilk have included such hits as The Danny Thomas Show and The Dick Van Dyke Show (the original series); a modern example is the popular 1974-75 season comedy Rhoda.

To summarize at this point: Preconventional, and primarily Stage 2 morality, is very important in situation comedy. Archie Bunker, as such, represents the continuation of a long trend of popular Stage 2 comic characterizations. Archie's instrumentalism

is at once more racy and more realistic than that which
television has previously portrayed, but his hedonistic
self-centeredness is a stock and trade of comedy.
Also typically, conventional morality--portrayed on All
in the Family by Edith, Gloria and Mike--provides the
necessary challenge to Archie's world view that pro-
duces comedy. Although conventional, Stage 3 morality
is sometimes the focus of situation comedy, in which
case misinterpreted motives become the primary stimu-
lus for plots, conventional morality is most commonly
portrayed in repartee with preconventional morality.
In this repartee, the audience recognizes the inferi-
ority of preconventional thinking so plainly that the
Stage 2 character--who is serious about his beliefs--
appears funny, even ridiculous.

In the case of drama programs on television,
conventional morality is the form most commonly por-
trayed. The top drama program of the 1974-75 television
season is The Waltons, about a Blue Ridge Mountain
family, living out the Depression years on love and
the father's backyard sawmill. Although each of the
adult Waltons has some orientation to Stage 4 principles
of responsibility and community welfare, the primary
orientation is toward the family-as-in-group and
"getting along lovingly" in the Stage 3 sense. Conven-
tional morality seems relatively stagnated at Stage 3
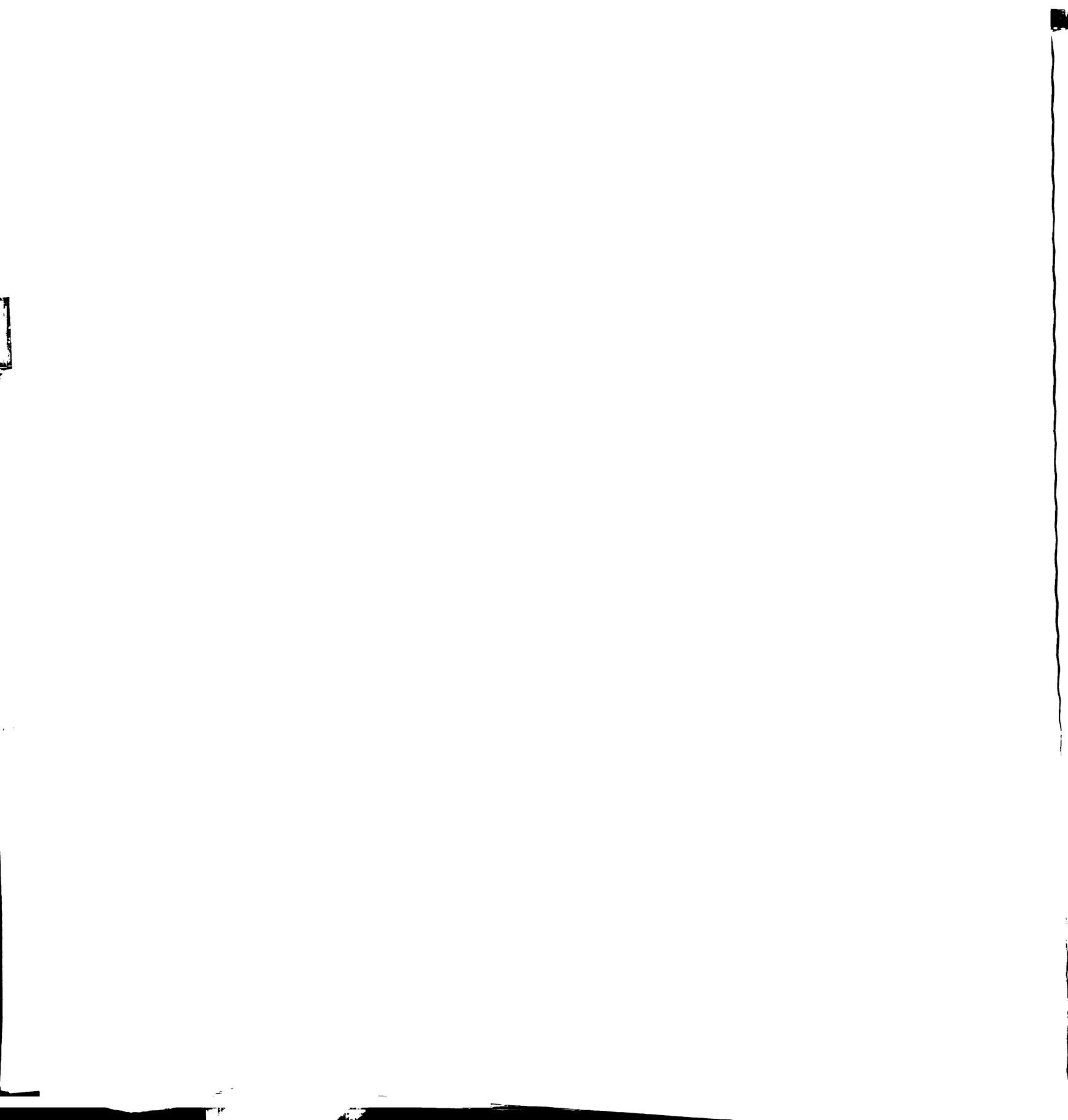
for the Waltons, moreover, since the seclusion of the
rural community and the emphasis on family loyalty
effectively inhibits meaningful contact with the world
outside Walton's Mountain.

As early reviews of The Waltons observed,
the moral tone of family life is set by the parents,
John and Olivia Walton. Typically, John and Olivia's
Stage 3 orientation works in favor of family harmony
in an idyllic, if somewhat unrealistic fashion.
Their mutual love and approval is the basis on which
the entire family gains its cohesion. The parents
continually emphasize kindness, caring, helpfulness
and honesty as the appropriate means of dealing with
each other and with the problems that come the family's
way. Love, in the Stage 3 meaning of mutual approval
and getting along with others is also the cure most
often prescribed for the troubled outsiders who, for
purposes of plot, wander into the Waltons' lives.

According to the message provided by the pro-
gram, however, this Stage 3 love comes only within
the family as in-group. Life within a happy family
is the highest type of fulfillment possible according
to the program. No career, no dream is worth the effort
if family life must be jeopardized in the process.
As such, John and Olivia and the other Waltons portray
a very limited understanding of, and a distinctly

negative bias against, a broad range of lifestyles.

For example, so far on the program, the professions

of acting, singing, flying, teaching and writing

(except if one writes about one's family, as John-Boy

Walton does) have been stereotyped as incompatible

with family life and as otherwise partially unrewarding

and unfulfilling.

In two 1974-75 season episodes which roughly

parallel each other, John and Olivia's Stage 3 morali-

ties are portrayed in a manner which suggests one of

the more important conflicts for the individual at

this stage of values development--insecurity generated

by the need for continued approval and reassurance

from others. One episode is concerned with Olivia's

fortieth birthday, a time of great depression for her.

She feels that she is growing old and losing her former

attractiveness and usefulness. Although a 1972-73

season episode revealed that Olivia gave up a poten-

tial career as a singer to be a housewife and mother,

that issue is not specifically raised here. Olivia's

feelings are portrayed as somewhat vague and unfocused;

one thing is clear, however, and that is that she needs

reassurance from outside herself. Significantly,

this comes from two younger men and in both cases takes

on a romantic, schoolgirl aura. First, John-Boy reads

her a romantic poem for her birthday. She doesn't

understand the poem, but is comforted by it anyway.

Later, an airmail pilot, who has told her that he finds

her attractive, takes her for a plane ride.

The greatest compliment of all, however, comes

to Olivia when the airmail pilot decides as a result

of meeting her and seeing John's devotion to her and

to his family, to give his own marriage another try.

At the end of this episode, life is going on as usual

for Olivia Walton, now that she has been reassured that

others (significantly, younger men) approve of her.

Her feelings of discontent are never critically examined,

however, and she never really considers taking on a

new direction. Unlike many real-life women of forty who,

finding that their school age children make fewer

demands on them, decide to complete their educations,

find a job, or otherwise pursue interests outside the

home, this is no option for Olivia. It would be a

ripple in the smoothly running stream of family life,

and when John does make such a decision in a later

episode, it almost tears the family apart.

John, too, as portrayed in the parallel epi-

sode, needs reassurance about his attractiveness and

virility. John's problem begins when two attractive

girls ignore him in town one day. That night, John

tells Olivia that he has decided to take a job which

will only allow him to be home on week-ends, a decision

that he says has "something to do with my manhood."
Even before John is out the door, however, a discontent-
ment begins to swell among family members. Olivia
accuses him of acting on his own, without consulting
her or considering her. John tells her that he loves
her and says that he's not going to let anything come
between them and what they've got. The grandparents
and children question him about taking the job, too,
and he is unable to explain to anyone's satisfaction
why the move into town is necessary. It will clearly
benefit nobody but himself, since no one believes the
little bit of extra money he will make is worth the
father's absence.

Once in town, John takes up residence in the
boardinghouse of an attractive fortyish widow, Mrs.
Champion. When they meet, she tells John that he
seems too young to have seven children. John beams
at the compliment. In a remarkably short time period,
they become spouse surrogates for each other. John sits
and talks with her while she makes breakfast and packs
his lunch; he helps her with chores; and in the evenings,
they talk about their personal lives and about his
family. They have formed a sort of Stage 3 mutual
admiration society, but at the expense of Olivia and
the rest of the Walton family and of the widow's long-
time boyfriend, who also lives in the boardinghouse.

Back on Walton's Mountain, Olivia is lonely
and depressed; one night she goes to bed crying.
The younger children need help with their homework,
but John-Boy is too busy with his own school work.
If only their father were home, they say. During the
middle of the week, Olivia becomes so depressed that
she calls John at the boardinghouse. He tells her that
he won't be able to come home that week-end because
he is being forced to work overtime or lose his job.
The next day, she loses control and screams at John-
Boy when he expresses frustration that his father will
not be home on the week-end to discuss his school
problems.

Finally, events force John into a perception
of the hedonistic nature of his activities. John-Boy
drives into town to visit his father on the week-end
and is warmly greeted by the attractive Mrs. Champion.
As they talk, John-Boy tells his father that he is
greatly missed at home. Later that afternoon, after
showing John-Boy where he works, John takes his son to
a local tavern for a drink. The boyfriend is there
drinking with friends and he tells John that if he
were really fond of his wife and children, he would be
with them. He goes on to say that John has upset
Mrs. Champion with his talk of happy family life and
that this has disrupted their relationship. A close-up

of John's face reveals that he is taking the boyfriend's comments seriously. The boyfriend and his buddies start a fight, but John and John-Boy manage to hold their own and escape out into the street. After congratulating each other on how well they handled themselves in the brawl, John says he wants to go home.

Although John may have needed an exposure to life outside Walton's Mountain, his real reasons for going, which were rooted in Stage 2 instrumental need satisfaction, became apparent to him when they violated his conscious Stage 3 values. John knew in advance that his new job would be a snap. He went to town seeking reassurance, adventure, approval. In order to obtain this, however, John immediately established a relationship with another woman much like his wife--less demanding on him because of the lack of children and real home responsibilities, but more demanding on the woman since it caused her to reorient herself emotionally without any hope of a change in her previously satisfactory lifestyle. Metaphorically, that the move was an unsatisfactory abberation is revealed by its abrupt termination. John realizes his error and returns to Walton's Mountain to pursue this normal life. Like Olivia, he asks no deeper questions about the nature of his discontent and merely chalks the entire episode up to adventure.

Like their son and his wife, Grandpa and Grandma Walton are primarily oriented toward responsibility within the in-group and maintaining harmonious family relationships. In addition, since they are familiarly known as "Grandpa" and "Grandma" to visitors and town residents, they symbolize that all of Walton's Mountain is one big family as in-group. An episode which focused on the grandparents' Stage 3 values centered around their decision to leave the Walton house because they felt insufficiently appreciated. Neither the family on the Mountain nor the grandparents in town are happy with the new arrangement, but both John and his father have too much pride to admit it and ask for a reconciliation. Finally, John-Boy acts as the catalyst that reunites the family.

Occasionally, Grandpa violates the Stage 3 "be nice" ethic for reasons of personal whim (Stage 2), but before the episode's conclusion, he has grown tired of his wife's disapproval and unhappiness and has mended his ways. For example, in one episode, Grandpa wins a statue at a community fair lottery which looks just like his old girlfriend. He places the statue on the front lawn in convenient view from his porch rocker. He gazes at it for several days, thus provoking a series of outbursts from Grandma, but at last, he grows tired of the harassment and dumps the statue in the river.

Of all the Walton children, John-Boy, the oldest son, is most focal to the program. Patterned after the series' creator, Earl Hamner, Jr., the "adult" John-Boy is now a successful writer living in California. As such, he is relating events that happened to his family when he was a teenager, still aspiring to be a professional writer. It is his voice that opens each episode with a brief statement of what the current story will be about. At the conclusion of the program, John-Boy-as-adult again comments on what his family learned--usually about family togetherness-- from the events portrayed. In each episode, John-Boy is on hand to watch events transpire, and frequently he has revealing conversations, with family members and others, which help the audience understand what these characters are thinking. When he is on camera, moreover, John-Boy is generally the focus of attention, with frequent shots of his eye movements and facial expressions to indicate how he is reacting to events.

John-Boy is his family's principal link with the outside world. He is attending a college in a nearby town, and he knows that if he is to become a successful writer, he must eventually leave Walton's Mountain. As an episode in the program's first season revealed, John-Boy desparately wants to maintain his close family ties while at the same time pursuing his

goal of becoming a writer. In part, he has decided
he will do this by writing about his family.

Significantly, the series began with John-Boy
beginning to question what he wants to do with his
life. In the 1974-75 season, John-Boy is well into
his college studies and has integrated their demands
into his home routine. Nonetheless, home life still
comes first for John-Boy, and in episode after episode,
he acts as the wise conciliator of disputes between
his parents and siblings. As such, John-Boy portrays
a highly equilibrated form of Stage 3 values and shows
signs of being in transition to Stage 4. His Stage 4
leanings are revealed in his sense of responsibility,
both for family welfare and toward his school work
and the creative writing he continually seeks to
publish.

As various episodes suggest, however, John-
Boy does not yet feel a sense of social or artistic
responsibility to write with perfect honesty. Instead,
he often sees his desire for professional prominence
as a hedonistic rejection of his Stage 3 concerns
regarding in-group solidarity and harmony. For
example, in one episode John-Boy discovers that he
has the opportunity to publish a story he has written
about the fantasized love affair of a local spinster.
The trouble is that the fragile old woman has come to

believe in the fantasy, and the well-intentioned owner
of the general store has already told her that John-
boy's new story is to be about her. Olivia cautions
John-Boy against hurting Miss Emily's feelings, but
at first John-Boy can only think about his need to
publish. He offers to read the story to Miss Emily,
however, before sending it off for publication.
Tears begin swelling in the aging woman's eyes as
John-Boy begins. Unable to endure her pain, he trans-
poses the story to read as though the love relation-
ship had actually existed. Since John-Boy only dimly
feels a responsibility to portray his view of society
honestly for its own sake, apart from the reward he
may gain by writing a certain type of story, he views
his predicament as a battle between his Stage 2 con-
cern for reward and his Stage 3 concern for others.
Accordingly, he chooses the higher value and respects
the feelings of Miss Emily.

During the 1974-75 season, second son Jason
has been featured in several episodes. Jason, like
John-Boy, plans a career that will take him away from
his father's sawmill business. He wants to be a musi-
cian and has already done some creditable composing.
Jason's composing has thus far, however, brought him
little but disapproval from his family. Like John-
Boy, Jason is motivated to conciliate difficulties as

they arise, since he still places the highest value on family cohesiveness. The other children are featured less often, but indications are that teenagers Ben and Mary Ellen are primarily oriented toward a peer approval form of Stage 3 and that the younger children are still largely preconventional, or oriented toward Stages 1 and 2.

In summary, family drama such as The Waltons depends on an underlying Stage 3 conventional morality which is shared by the principal characters. Conflict arises when one character violates this morality for selfish reasons, or when a character's well-intentioned actions lead to misunderstanding or trouble for others. The protagonists of this type of drama portray both the Stage 3 norm and its violation, so that most of the conflict occurs within the protagonists themselves. In addition to The Waltons' current popular imitator Little House on the Prairie, examples of this type of drama in the past have included such favorites as Father Knows Best, The Real McCoys and Lassie.

Another type of program, classified as "drama" by the television networks, features a professional person as the principal character/super-hero. In this type, the norm is portrayed by the super-hero but the violation of the norm which produces the conflict is portrayed by another character, who is rarely
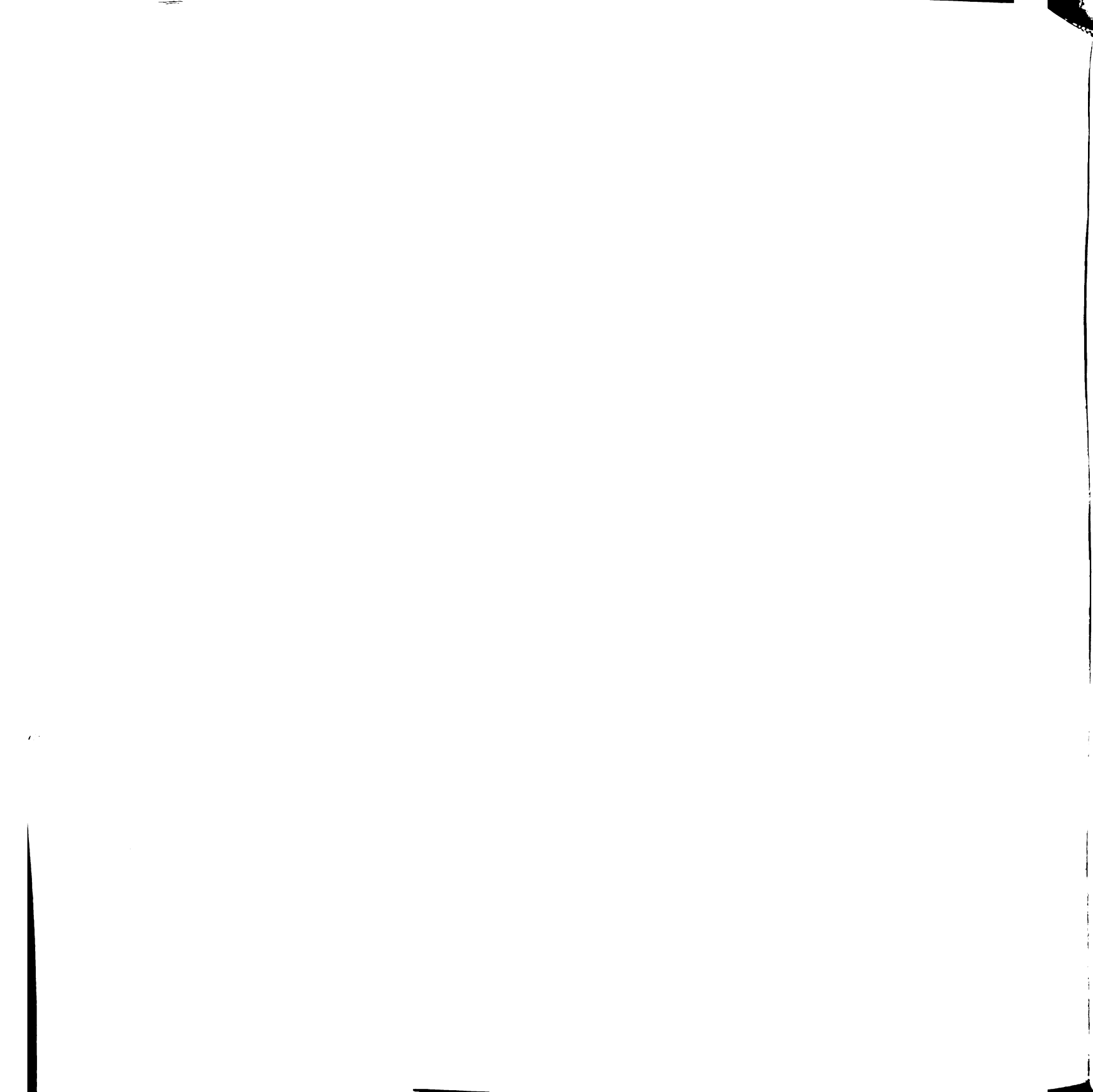
a regular on the program. During the 1974-75 season and in the past, these programs have focused on the professions of law, medicine and education. The super-lawyer, super-doctor or super-teacher is portrayed as possessing conventional morality, par excellance. He--there have been almost no "shes"--radiates a perfect blend of social and professional responsibility (or Stage 4) and empathy (or Stage 3). His clients or students, however, who are often personal friends as well, are less committed to conventional values. Most commonly, medical, legal or educational problems are traced by the super-professional to the client's personal problems. The solution then involves helping the client see the value of "getting along" with certain others (Stage 3) or of assuming some type of personal or social responsibility (Stage 4). In any case, the first step always involves the client's realization, guided by the professional, that he must deal honestly with himself and others.

One popular medical drama, however, has taken up ethical issues that are central to that of the profession. Medical Center's Doctor Gannon argued in two episodes for legalization and licensing of mid-wives and against state-controlled behavior as a condi-tion of prison parole. In both, Gannon focused on the current law and the potential precedents involved,

asking the question "Is the law serving the purpose
it was designed to fulfill--namely, to safeguard the
right of people?" In these episodes, Gannon's orienta-
tion is toward Stage 5. Unfortunately, his dialogue
on the programs approaches legal jargon and the Stage 3,
empathic concerns of the minor characters dominate the
moral tone. In each case, however, these empathic
concerns reinforce the need for more humane laws.

Like the drama programs which feature profes-
sional heroes, drama/adventure programs also feature
a super-hero who embodies the norms of our society.
In drama/adventure, the super-hero is a law enforcer
of some type. In the mid-seventies, he is commonly
a policeman or police detective, though Marshall Matt
Dillon of long running Gunsmoke portrays the last of
a long series of western super-heroes. In some
westerns of the past, the law enforcer was a free-
lancer, either a hired gun or a land owner of such
proportions that his or her word was law for the terri-
tory. Free-lance crime fighters, even of the private
investigator sort, however, are not common in modern
crime drama. In fact, the mid-seventies version of
the super-cop is of a highly professional, even analyti-
cal crime fighter, someone who radiates a college
education and good breeding. This is true for uni-
formed policemen and their non-uniformed affiliates
and supervisors as well.

Hawaii Five-O, the 1974-75 season leader in

the drama/adventure category, is a program about pro-

fessional crime fighting designed for an audience of

professionals. Sponsored by Buick, Pontiac, Honda,

Cashet perfume and chunky beef stew, even the ads for

such mundane products as CONTAC exhibit the executive

flair. (A stylish young woman speaks confidently into

the camera: "This tablet--shot of a competitor with

name clearly visible--contains only a pain killer and

decongestant; this tablet--another shot of a cold

product--contains a decongestant and an antihistimine,

but no pain killer; this tablet--shot of CONTAC--con-

tains all three. You have to take both of these other

cold tablets to get the medical effectiveness of one

CONTAC tablet ...") The opening credits are backed

by shots of blue skies and sparkling ocean, laced with

superimposed close-ups of exotic restaurants, hula

dancers and airplanes taking off. "Vacation in Hawaii!"

is written all over the screen.

Super detective Steve McGarrett and his assis-

tants are first and foremost tacticians. Even at the

scene of a potential shoot-out, it is common for

McGarrett to be carrying a manila envelope of papers,

reflecting the research he has just completed on

the particular crime in progress and the criminal.

He frequently refers to criminology studies and always

prefers the apprehension procedure that research has shown most effective. McGarrett's goal is always responsible; he wants to secure the greatest number of people from potential harm. In the case where a hostage or other innocent bystander is involved, however, they come first in his considerations, even if this means delaying the apprehension of the criminal.

In his dealings with his associates, McGarrett is also cool, analytical and non-authoritarian. Much like a top-level executive, he invites opinions and impressions from his subordinates, considers these and then acts according to his reasoned judgment. His principal assistant, Dan Williams, also displays McGarrett's executive charisma. He is never pictured as incompetent or in need of close supervision; he is simply younger, and is obviously being groomed to walk in McGarrett's shoes one day. Both McGarrett and Williams and the other members of the Five-O team are always shown as efficient, intensely conscientious and unaffected by the personal slurs of the uninformed. As such, they are all strong representatives of Kohlberg's Stage 4 of values development.

Like the super-doctors, -lawyers, and -teachers on drama programs, however, the super-professional policemen do not in themselves embody dramatic conflict. The conflict arises almost solely from the

norm violation of amoral or pathological law-breakers.
And furthermore, only rarely is the process that
leads normal, conventionally moral people to crime
portrayed.

In one Hawaii Five-O episode this season,
however, three women are portrayed as driven to a
series of armed robberies because of unresolved
personal conflicts. One woman is married to a domi-
neering slob of a man. She has no job skills and no
money, and therefore fears to leave her husband though
she is miserable with him. The youngest of the three
women is a junkie unable to support her habit. The
third is widowed with an invalid son who requires
an expensive operation--it will cost at least $10,000.
The junkie suggests the robberies and the other women
reluctantly agree.

At first, the woman with the sick son is sym-
pathetically portrayed, and it is hard for the viewer
to consider her actions immoral since a human life is
at stake. As the plot progresses, however, robbery
turns to assault and then murder when the junkie be-
comes frightened and fires her gun. In a police battle
that follows, the discontented wife is killed. The
junkie and the mother get away, but the junkie tells
the mother that if she gets caught, she'll blow the
whistle on the mother as well. Now desperate, the

mother takes out a contract on the junkie. The two are captured in time to prevent further violence, however.

In the _Hawaii Five-O_ plot related above, and in the smattering of other plots that attempt to show a normally moral person driven to crime, the overall message is that committing one crime inevitably leads to committing others and finally to the formation of an amoral criminal personality. Morality and legality are carefully shown as inseparable companions on crime drama programs. This effectively closes off the possibility of demonstrating any postconventional or post Stage 4 reasoning and behavior. Had the woman with the invalid son, for instance, stolen the amount needed for his operation using _nonviolent_ means, the situation would be morally ambiguous--even though technically, of course, she committed a crime. Had she turned herself in for prosecution after the operation had been performed, the situation would have been even more ambiguous morally. But even in programs which profile a rationally motivated criminal, this rationality is portrayed as eroded by committing a crime.

More typically, furthermore, criminals are pictured as affiliates of crime syndicates. As such, their immorality is depicted as fully formed at the

time they commit the crime for which they are appre-
hended. The other criminal type commonly portrayed
is the psychopath. Individuals are depicted as men-
tally disturbed because of unrequited love affairs,
war experiences, childhood traumas or are simply
presented as deranged, killing out of boredom. Neither
the gangland criminals nor the psychopaths, of course,
are considered as morally rational. In contrast to the
great bulk of actual crime, which stems from personal
or social problems, crime on crime drama shows occurs
largely in a vacuum. Even on a program as sophis-
ticated as Hawaii Five-O, where McGarrett makes every
effort to understand the criminal type as a means of
apprehending him, the social and personal causes
of the crime are barely hinted at.

Some general conclusions can be drawn from the
foregoing structural analysis of prime time TV pro-
grams. First of all, as many critics have assumed,
popular television programs do reflect the values of
the majority of the viewing public. Although comedy
portrays values somewhat below the mean for the public,
this is done because the audience recognizes these
values as inferior and therefore views the preconven-
tional characters as "funny." As portrayed by other
characters in the comedy, however, conventional or
normative values provide the superior outlook which
challenges the comic characters' views.

In non-comic forms of drama as well, conventional values are reflected and endorsed. The essence of family drama is predictable family unity and all family members are devoted to this goal. Since this type of in-group loyalty is a conventional norm, characters on family drama are conventional, though they are continually tempted to engage in preconventional or egoistic behavior. Even television's super-heroes are revealed to be super-conventional. Their superiority turns out to equal consistency above all else, since that which separates them from other dramatic characters is their inflexible adherence to the conventional mode.

The implications of TV as a conventional moral force will be discussed in Chapter 8. But first, Chapter 7 will attempt to answer some broader questions about the portrayal of men and women on television. Specifically, for the sum of programs studied, it will show the percentage of characters at each stage of values development by sex, age, occupational status and marital status. Historical trends and differences between categories of programming will also be noted.

Notes to Chapter 6

[1]Elder Olson, _Tragedy and the Theory of Drama_
(Detroit, 1966), 152-160.

[2]Refer to Chapter 4 for Kohlberg stages.

[3]Kohlberg, "Moral Psychology and the Study
of Tragedy," in _Collected Papers_.

[4]Ibid.   (Essay contains no page numbers.)

[5]See the following reviews:
Newsweek, 15 March 1971, 68.
Senior Scholastic, 25 October 1971, 7.
See also Arnold Hano, "Can Archie Bunker Give
Bigotry a Bad Name?" in _Reader's Digest_, July 1972,
29-34.   (Condensed from _New York Times Magazine_.)

[6]Charles L. Sanders, "Is Archie Bunker the Real
White America?" in _Ebony_, June 1972; see also Myron
Roberts and Lincoln Haynes, "TV: Archie's Hang-Ups"
in _Nation_, 15 November 1971, 509.

[7]Robert Lewis Shayon, "Love That Hate," review
in _Saturday Review_, 27 March 1971, 20.

[8]Joseph Morgenstern, "Can Bigotry Be Funny?"
in _Newsweek_, 29 November 1971, 60.

[9]"TV: Speaking About the Unspeakable," in
Newsweek, 29 November 1971, 54.

CHAPTER 7

THE KOHLBERG VALUES AND FREQUENCY OF APPEARANCES OF PRIME TIME TELEVISION CHARACTERS, BY SEX, MARITAL STATUS, OCCUPATION, AGE, AND PROGRAM CATEGORY, 1960-1974

According to television, people are their most interesting when they are:

    male

    single

    professional workers

    in their prime-of-life.

These traits are disproportionately dominant in television characters, and in Kohlberg's terms, characters with these traits also exhibit the highest values.

The present chapter will detail the findings regarding overall average values portrayed by television characters in relationship to the variables of sex, marital status, occupation, age and TV program category. In addition, the frequency of observation by demographic variable will be set forth and compared, in terms of percentage, to its respective frequency in the U.S. population as a whole. In discussing Kohlberg values portrayed by TV characters, findings for the 1974 season will be given first, then compared to those of past seasons. The values of TV characters will also be compared with Kohlberg's prognosis regarding the distribution of moral values of the U.S. population.

A full presentation of data and of the techniques involved in analyzing the data are not essential to an understanding of the findings presented in this chapter and would impede its flow. Thus, the material has been placed in the Appendix. Included in the Appendix are raw data tables listing all of the characters covered in this study by program, program category and year. The sex, marital status, occupation, age and Kohlberg value of each character are identified on the charts. The Appendix also includes a full explanation of the procedures used to aggregate raw data by variable and to find average Kohlberg values and observation frequencies. Sources and computation techniques used in compiling data for the U.S. population also appear.

The reader will recall from Chapters 4 and 5 that the Kohlberg value scale is hierarchical, with Stage 2 the lowest stage commonly found among adults and Stage 5 the highest. The reader will also recall that although each stage of values-development is associated with a specific set of characteristics, that individuals are almost never found to convey only one stage of values development at a time. As a result, Kohlberg's scoring technique is designed to record more than one value conveyed by an individual and to weight the different values according to their dominance in the individual's thinking. The chart below briefly recaps the major

characteristics of the values on the sliding scale used
for this study.

Kohlberg Value	Characteristics in Order of Dominance
2	Self-centered and naive
2(3)	Self-centered; empathy and approval oriented
3(2)	Empathy and approval oriented; self-centered and naive
3	Empathy and approval oriented
3(4)	Empathy and approval oriented; oriented to social responsibility
4(3)	Oriented to social responsibility; empathy and approval oriented
4	Oriented to social responsibility
4(5)	Oriented to social responsibility; concerned with human liberty and constitutional rights
5-4-3	Concerned with human liberty and constitutional rights; oriented to social responsibility; empathy and approval oriented

Values by Sex and Marital Status

Table 8 on the following page gives a comprehen-
sive overview of the average Kohlberg values for the 1974
TV population by sex, marital status and occupation. As
the table indicates, males in general, at an average
of Stage 3(4), portray slightly higher Kohlberg values
than do females in general, at an average of Stage 3.
Although the values of both single and married females
coincide with the average for the group as a whole,

TABLE 8

Average Kohlberg Values of TV Characters and Average Frequency of Appearance of the Characters by Sex, by Marital Status and by Occupation for the 1974 Television Season

Sex and Marital Status of TV Characters	Average K-Value and Observation Frequency (in parenthesis) for TV Characters: 1974 Season									Average K-Value and Total Frequency	% Men and Women Inclusive
	White Collar	Blue Collar	Service	Farm	Not Employed	Military	Home Responsibilities	Student	Child		
All Men	3 25.6%	3(2) 13.1%	4(3) 34.3%	4(3) 1.1%	2(3) 2.4%	3 16.2%	- 0.0%	4(3) 5.0%	2(3) 2.3%	3(4) 100.0%	66.4%
Single Men	3(4) 17.5%	3(2) 5.4%	4(3) 31.9%	- 0.0%	2(3) 2.4%	3(4) 13.5%	- 0.0%	3(4) 2.3%	2(3) 2.3%	3(4) 75.3%	50.0%
Married Men	2(3) 8.1%	3(2) 7.7%	4(3) 2.4%	4(3) 1.1%	- 0.0%	2 2.7%	- 0.0%	4 2.7%	- 0.0%	3(2) 24.7%	16.4%
All Women	3(4) 34.3%	4(3) 10.7%	3(4) 15.0%	5-4-3 2.2%	- 0.0%	3(2) 5.3%	3(2) 25.8%	3(2) 2.2%	3(2) 4.5%	3 100.0%	33.6%
Single Women	3(4) 23.6%	- 0.0%	3(4) 10.2%	- 0.0%	- 0.0%	3(2) 5.3%	- 0.0%	3(2) 2.2%	3(2) 4.5%	3 45.8%	15.4%
Married Women	3(4) 10.7%	4(3) 10.7%	3(4) 4.8%	5-4-3 2.2%	- 0.0%	- 0.0%	3(2) 25.8%	- 0.0%	- 0.0%	3 54.2%	18.2%
ALL CHARACTERS	3 28.6%	3 12.3%	4(3) 27.8%	4(5) 1.5%	2(3) 1.6%	3 12.5%	3(2) 8.6%	4(3) 4.1%	3(2) 3.0%	3(4) 100.0%	100.0%

single males at Stage 3(4) portray significantly higher values than married males, at Stage 3(2). The reasons for the differences in values between men and women and between single and married males will become clear as the chapter progresses.

Historically as well, males have portrayed higher values than females and, as Tables 9-A, 9-B and 9-C show, single male characters have portrayed values equivalent to or higher than those portrayed by married male characters. Single men in comedy programs portrayed slightly higher values than married men during the 1965 to 1971 period, when this pattern became more erratic. In drama programs, single men portrayed a consistent Stage 4 of values development in comparison to married men who portrayed Stage 3 values. In drama adventure programs as well, single males have portrayed slightly higher values than married males. In the case of drama adventure programs, however, the Stage 5 component in the 1963 to 1966 time period may be affected by the sample selections, since these included principal characters from the three remaining western leaders of the sixties: Gunsmoke, Bonanza and The Virginian. A more complete discussion of the characteristics of these western heroes will follow in a later section of this chapter.

The average values of single versus married female characters in the historical sample have seemed

TABLE 9A

Average Kohlberg Values of TV Characters for Comedy by Sex and Marital Status for the Years 1962 Through 1974

Independent Variable	Comedy												
	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Men													
Single	3	3(2)	3(2)	3(2)	3(2)	3	3	3	3(4)	3	2(3)	3	3
Married	3(2)	3(2)	3(2)	2(3)	2(3)	2(3)	2(3)	2(3)	-	3	3(2)	3(2)	3(2)
Child	2	2	2	2	2	2(3)	2(3)	2(3)	3(2)	3	-	-	-
Women													
Single	2(3)	3(2)	3(2)	3(2)	2(3)	2(3)	2(3)	2(3)	3	3	3(4)	3(4)	3(4)
Married	3	3	3(2)	3(2)	3(2)	3	3(2)	3(2)	-	3(4)	3	3	3
Child	-	3	2	3(2)	2	2(3)	2(3)	2(3)	3(2)	-	-	-	-

TABLE 9B

Average Kohlberg Values of TV Characters for Drama By Sex and by Marital Status for the Years 1962 through 1974

Independent Variable	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	Drama 1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Men													
Single	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4	4	4	4(3)	4
Married	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	3(4)
Child	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2(3)	-	2(3)	2(3)
Women													
Single	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3(2)	4(3)	3(2)	3	3	3
Married	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	-	3	4(3)
Child	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3(2)

TABLE 9C

Average Kohlberg Values of TV Characters for Drama/Adventure by Sex and by Marital
Status for the Years 1962 Through 1974

Independent Variable	Drama/Adventure												
	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
Men													
Single	4	4(5)	4(5)	4(5)	4(5)	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4(3)
Married	-	-	-	4	4	4	4	-	-	-	4(3)	4(3)	4(3)
Child	-	-	-	3(4)	3(4)	3(4)	3(4)	-	3(4)	3(4)	-	-	-
Women													
Single	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	4(3)	4(3)	4(3)	-	-	4
Married	-	-	-	3	3	3	3	-	-	-	3(4)	3(4)	3(4)
Child	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

more dependent on program category than on marital

status per se. More will be said later about the role

structure imposed on men and women by the various program

categories, but suffice it here to say that comedy

emphasizes married women, or more recently single women

with spouse surrogates, and drama/adventure programs

feature a predominance of single characters of both

sexes. It is to be expected that the traits emphasized

by a particular program category will be associated with

relatively higher values. Married women in comedy por-

trayed slightly higher values during the 1966 to 1971 time

period, after which single women portrayed higher values.

In drama/adventure programs, single females have por-

trayed slightly higher values than married females,

though the percentage of all women in this program

category has remained very small over the years. In

drama programs, the values of married and single females

have remained about the same.

Values by Occupation

Occupation breakdowns used in this study were

adapted from United States Census classifications, and

are summzrized below.*

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*Classification system. from 1970 Census of Population,
Classified Index of Industries and Occupations, U.S.
Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1971.
Complete classification system includes 441 specific
occupation categories (each with detailed listings of

Occupation Division	Occupation Groups
1. White Collar	1. Professional, technical and kindred workers
	2. Managers and administrators, except farm
	3. Sales workers
	4. Clerical and kindred workers
2. Blue Collar	5. Craftsmen and kindred workers
	6. Operatives, except transport
	7. Transport equipment operators
	8. Laborers, except farm
3. Farm Workers	9. Farmers and farm managers
	10. Farm laborers
	11. Farm foremen
4. Service Workers	12. Service workers

Referring again to Table 8, the trend emerges that employed characters exhibit higher values than unemployed characters (including housewives and children). For men in the TV population, the highest values are portrayed by farm workers, service workers (mainly law enforcement officers) and students--all at an average of jobs), twelve major occupation groups and four basic occupation divisions (groups and divisions as shown above).

Stage 4(3). The second highest values are protrayed by white collar workers and military personnel--both at Stage 3, followed by blue collar workers, at Stage 3(2). For women in the TV population, the highest values are portrayed by farm workers at Stage 5-4-3 and blue collar workers, at Stage 4(3). Next come white collar workers and service workers, at Stage 3(4), with military, housewives, students and children--at Stage 2(3)--all far behind.

Not only in the 1974 season, but consistently throughout the entire time period studied, farm and service workers have exhibited the highest values. In part this can be explained as a result of the law-and-order function provided by the principal characters in westerns of the past and in the modern crime-drama programs. The land owners in the westerns were portrayed as responsible for maintaining justice within their province; modern day "protective service" workers (police) have taken over this function. According to television's portrayal, moreover, these principal characters in both the western and now the crime-drama carry out their roles with a high orientation toward social responsibility, a dominant characteristic of Kohlberg's Stage 4 of values development.

Looking strictly at the 1974 season programs, however, it is more difficult to explain the high values

portrayed by farm workers, since there is only one program about a farm family represented in the sample and the format of this program varies significantly from the format of the major westerns of the past. This program, <u>Little House on the Prairie</u>, features a nuclear family comprised of mother and father in their thirties, two school age daughters and one female toddler. The overall youth of the family stands in sharp contrast to western families such as those portrayed on <u>Bonanza</u>, <u>The Virginian</u> or <u>Big Valley</u> in which parents were portrayed as middle-aged or older and where children were adults or in their late teens. In common with earlier versions of farm living, however, the Ingalls family lives in a recently settled, western community in which law and order, or justice, is still heavily in the hands of individual community leaders. Despite their youth, Charles and Caroline Ingalls provide much of this leader- ship for their town, and in so doing, exhibit the higher values associated with the older heroes of western adventure programs. <u>Little House</u> is always more low keyed than the tamest installments of the western formula, but its roots are nonetheless clearly in that genre.

White collar workers portray lower values than might be expected though female white collar workers, at Stage 3(4) portray overall average values that are somewhat higher than those portrayed by males, at an

average of Stage 3. The white collar jobs portrayed in comedy, however, are concentrated in areas demanding the least education. In the case of males in comedy, this trend is particularly evident. The Stage 2 values portrayed by such characters as salesman Walter Finley (Maude) and junk dealer Fred Sanford (Sanford and Son) dilute the higher Stage 3, 4 and 5 values portrayed by the doctors and educators in the drama programs. White collar jobs for women in comedy are also concentrated at the quasi-professional levels, however, and include such jobs as bank teller (Brenda in Rhoda), clerks (Gloria in All in the Family and Georgette in Mary Tyler Moore Show), and real-estate salesperson (Maude in Maude). The exception is Mary Richards of The Mary Tyler Moore Show who portrays the producer of a television news program.

The high values portrayed by female blue collar workers can be explained by the small sample size and the fact that both females portrayed as blue collar workers are comedy characters portraying higher values than the male blue collar workers in the program. Irene, Archie's next door neighbor and co-worker in All in the Family, portarys Stage 4 values which, when juxtaposed against Archie's Stage 2 egoistic values, create comedy on the program. Rhoda, on the comedy program by that name, portrays Stage 3 values which sometimes come into

conflict with her husband's more dyadic value system. Joe relates primarily to the give and take in their particular relationship, whereas Rhoda orients to a larger in-group of relationships which includes members of her family and some of her friends in addition to her husband.

Housewives (concentrated in comedy and drama programs) portray relatively low values, and this seems to be correlated heavily to their lack of employment since the average Kohlberg values of women in each occupation division contains a Stage 4 values component. Historically, there have been unemployed women in the TV population, also portraying low values, but there are none in the 1974 season. Unemployed means potentially in the labor force but not currently employed. Such women have included Lucy and Viv on the Lucy Show. Portrayed as widows, neither had a full-time job though both were often involved in temporary employment in the hope of making a quick fortune.

Values by Age

Table 10 gives a breakdown of Kohlberg values by age and marital status, for the 1974 TV population. As the table shows, the highest overall values are portrayed by persons in the 20- to 44-year-old age range, regardless of sex or marital status. Although the 20- to 29-year-old sample is fairly small (7.9 percent of

TABLE 10

All Characters in 1974 Sample by Age, Kohlberg Value, and Marital Status

Variable		Kohlberg Value							
Sex	Marital Status	>16 years	16-19 years	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 yrs & over
Men	Single	2(3)	3	3	4(3)	4(3)	3(4)	3(4)	2(3)
	Married	–	–	4	3(4)	2(3)	2(3)	–	3(2)
Women	Single	3(2)	3(2)	3	3(4)	3	3	–	–
	Married	–	–	3(4)	3(4)	2(3)	3	3	3

total), the 30- to 44-year-old sample equals 50 percent
of the total for all ages. Within the sub-grouping
of 40- to 44-year-olds, however, single men and women,
at Stages 4(3) and 3 respectively, do portray signifi-
cantly higher values than do married men and women, who
both average Stage 2(3). Taking a cross section by sex
and marital status, moreover, the consistently highest
values are portrayed by single males in the 30 to 64, or
prime-of-life age range. This sample represents 43.6
percent of the total TV population.

Values by Program Category

The average values protrayed in drama and drama/
adventure programs are higher than the average values
portrayed in comedy, as Table 11 indicates. There are a
number of factors which correlate with this finding.
To begin with, as explained in Chapter 6, drama and
drama/adventure programs are about conventional values
of an institutional sort. Historically and in the 1974
season, drama programs have been concerned with the
institutionalized professions of medicine and education
and with the institution of the family. Doctors and
teachers, whose work is most commonly carried out in
large public buildings, are considered vital to national
as well as personal welfare. It has been an accepted,
if unfounded belief of the society that these individuals
are responsible and concerned about the welfare of those

TABLE 11

A Comparison Between Kohlberg Values of TV Characters and the Viewing
Population by Sex and by Program Category: 1974

Sex	Kohlberg Values of TV Characters by Program Category (1974 Season)			For All Program Categories	Modal Kohlberg Values in the U.S. Population
	Comedy	Drama	Drama/ Adventure		
Male	3(2)	3(4)	4(3)	3(4)	4
Female	3	3	4(3)	3	3
Total	3	3(4)	4(3)	3(4)	4

they serve.[1] In Kohlberg terms, these qualities trans-
late into the Stage 4 and 3 values which are in fact
observed in the idealized portraits on television of such
doctors and teachers as Marcus Welby, Joe Gannon, Lucas
Tanner and others.

Drama programs which deal with the family are
also concerned with conventional morality since the
nuclear family is an institution this country is at great
pains to preserve. Accordingly, idealized benefits of
the family as a socializing agency are portrayed on TV.
Parents in such past drama programs as Father Knows Best
and in such current programs as The Waltons and Little
House on the Prairie convey to their children and others
the higher Stage 3 and 4 values which make for a smoothly
running society. They stress getting along lovingly with
others, taking responsibility for one's mistakes, and
honest labor as a means of self-fulfillment and of
helping others.

Particularly since the advent of All in the Family,
however, comedy has come increasingly to depend on a
clash of values. The brand of comedy that Norman Lear
instituted with Family and which has been imitated in
such other Lear productions as Sanford and Son, Maude and
most recently The Jeffersons and Hot L Baltimore, has
been called "adversary comedy" by at least one critic
because of its focus on characters in ideological conflict.[2]

As described in Chapter 6, this type of comedy features a pre-conventional or Stage 2 character in conflict with one or more conventional, or Stage 3 or 4, characters. In the repartee that ensues, the lower values of the naive egoist appear as "funny" in comparison to the higher values of the conventional moralist. The net result on the average values portrayed by comedy programs, however, is to lower them in comparison to average values for drama and drama/adventure programs which more uniformly portray conventional values.

It is perhaps significant, moreover, that after 1970, the year in which All in the Family appeared, female comedy characters have shown improved values. (See Table 9A.) This is in part due to the structure of adversary comedy and the fact that, so far, females on these programs have tended to portray the conventional values which come into conflict with the pre-conventional values of the principal male character. In addition, the major characteristics of the female comic superstar have changed. She is no longer a frolicking egoist of the Lucille Ball ilk, nor is she a placid housewife like those of the previous Ozzie and Harriet, Donna Reed Show era. She is a woman with a family or other close personal ties who in general works as well. Most importantly, she portrays some concern with the world beyond her immediate in-group or family. Female comedy

stars who fit this pattern include Gloria Stivic (All in the Family), Rhoda Morgenstern Gerrard (Rhoda) and Mary Richards (The Mary Tyler Moore Show).

Although values portrayed in drama programs remained fairly stable during the years in the historical period when such programs were among the popular leaders, within the drama/adventure category, average values for men have decreased slightly over the years whereas average values for women have increased slightly, especially in recent years. (See Table 9B.) The lower values of women in the drama/adventure category during the mid-sixties is due to the sample size, which included only one female, Becky, in the Daniel Boone series, who was cast as a housewife despite the frontier setting of the program. Becky remained in the background in the series, with participation in the Revolutionary War activities limited to Daniel and their son Isreal. Later drama/adventure heroines, however, including Dana on Mission Impossible, and most recently Jill Dago of The Rookies, Pepper Anderson of Police Woman and Amy Prentiss of Amy Prentiss, have been themselves professional persons involved in the action of the series' plots. Accordingly, their values are molded to accommodate the constraints of the program type, which demands the portrayal of job commitment and social responsibility, both Stage 4 characteristics.

As previously noted, the Stage 5 component among drama/adventure males is also a result of a limited sample size including primarily the principals from the western classics <u>Bonanza</u>, <u>The Virginian</u> and <u>Gunsmoke</u>. The western, however, which was the dominant drama/ adventure formula during much of the sixties, has largely disappeared from prime time TV. The Stage 5 component in the values of such western superheroes as Ben Cartwright, Judge Garth (<u>The Virginian</u>), The Virginian, and Matt Dillon, moreover, seems to be passed down <u>not</u> to the policemen and detectives in the crime drama programs, but rather to the doctors and school teachers. In fact, both crime dramas and drama programs about doctors and teachers appeared in the late sixties to fill the gap left by the westerns.

The concern with maintenance of law and order, however, <u>was</u> passed down from the western heroes to the crime drama heroes. That this should have happened in the late sixties seems reasonable given the national situation at the time. As the tempestuous sixties closed, the American people needed reassurance that law and order was possible and that society was not breaking down. Civil Rights demonstrations and demonstrations against the Viet Nam war were common occurrences on college campuses and in large cities across the country. The large following of law-and-order extremist George

Wallace in the presidential primaries of 1968 is one
indication of the seriousness of the average citizen's
concern over street violence. The crime drama dealt
"better," that is, more concretely, with the law and
order issues posed in the 1960's. The westerns simply
could not reassure the public that the "system" wasn't
breaking down.

Western characters moreover could show higher
than conventional values (that is, Stage 5 as opposed to
Stage 4) because of the artificial, past setting in
which the action was played out. In such a setting,
the viewer was more willing to suspend judgments con-
ditioned by a conventional moral outlook (Stage 4). It
is unlikely, however, that post-conventional or Stage 5
values would be tolerated in modern crime dramas, for
the reason suggested in the following example. In a
Bonanza episode titled "The Honor of Cochise," which was
aired in 1961, Ben Cartwright and his sons actively
sympathize with and aid an Indian warrior who is pursuing
an unethical Army officer. In so doing, they cross the
color line, the culture line and also the boundaries of
legality, since Cochise is a wanted man in white terri-
tory. According to the story, however, the Army officer
has lured a group of Apaches, including men, women and
children into a mass massacre. Although the Cartwrights
stand firm on the issue of legal retribution as opposed
to the violent revenge planned by Cochise, they are

instrumental in discrediting the actions of the corrupt

officer and in turning him over to higher officials for

appropriate punishment.

To translate this story into a plot for modern

crime drama, one needs to imagine supercop Steve McGarrett

in Ben Cartwright's role, an FBI officer in the role of

the corrupt Army officer and a black or anti-war militant

in the place of Cochise. It is critical here to empha-

size the situational dimensions of this moral dilemma.

In the Bonanza episode, Cochise is clearly portrayed as

a violent man; he kills his own second-in-command when

he becomes insubordinate. In this particular situation,

however, Cochise is in the right. Accordingly, in the

modern version of the episode, the Cochise figure would

have to be someone with a history of violent activity

and not merely a disillusioned teenager. Perhaps the

modern militant could be associated with bomb-making

or with a past armed robbery of the type performed by

Patty Hearst and the other members of the Symbionese

Liberation Army. To complete the parallel, moreover,

the corrupt law officer would have to be a member of a

national organization such as the FBI. During the Bonanza

period, the Army was the national force for law and

order since local law enforcers were rare and police

unheard of. It would not be sufficient for the modern-

day corrupt officer to be a local policeman (such plots

are occasionally aired) because that makes his corruption personal and local. A large, national organization needs to be implicated.

It seems obvious that, given national attitudes toward violence, a major commercial network would never allow one of its superheroes to aid a former bomb-maker in the pursuit of an unethical FBI officer (if it could even be believed that there is such) unless perhaps the bomb-maker could be conveniently apprehended as well. A major impact of the Bonanza episode, however, comes from the bond of trust that is formed between Ben Cartwright and Cochise. At the conclusion of the program, Cochise has come to recognize some justice in the white man's system and it is clear that he is altered by this recognition. In addition, Cartwright has seen Cochise's honor and has decided to trust him. He tells the Indian that he will always be welcome on his land, and the two part as friends.

Although the old western could not keep pace with the viewer's need for reassurance regarding law and order, a new type and format of western may be reemerging to meet the mid-seventies nostalgia seekers' needs. The pilot for such a program type may be the 1974 season starter Little House on the Prairie. Although this program is a family drama, its roots, as noted above, are firmly in the western genre, and Michael Landon, who

plays Charles Ingalls on the program, is an adult version of the Little Joe Cartwright character he played on Bonanza. The extent to which the western motif in Little House will be imitated and expanded upon is yet, of course, unknown.

A Comparison of TV and U.S. Values

In general, TV mirrors Kohlberg's prognosis regarding the values of the viewing public. Recall that Kohlberg has hypothesized that women have been socialized to accept Stage 3 values as the female norm, whereas men in general more closely approximate Stage 4, or the mean value for the population as a whole, according to Kohlberg. As Table 11 shows, within drama programs, the values of the viewing public and of TV characters, by sex, are essentially the same. Men portray a mix of Stage 3 and Stage 4 values whereas women portray Stage 3 values. The parallel between TV and viewing public values also holds for men in drama/adventure programs, although women on such programs also portray a strong Stage 4 component in their values. As discussed above, the nature of the program category forces such women into higher-than-viewer values.

In comedy programs, women reflect Kohlberg's prognosis for women in the population, since they portray an average of Stage 3 values. Men in comedy programs,

however, at an average of Stage 3(2), portray values considerably below Kohlberg's prognosis for males in the U.S. population. This is related to the nature of adversary comedy, discussed above, but it may have more complex ramifications as well. It is no doubt significant that women, rather than men, portray the higher values in adversary comedy. My hypothesis regarding the cause behind this finding is that comedy programs, especially of a family sort, are aimed primarily for a female audience. If this is the case, then the writers and producers of such shows may consciously portray women as morally superior to men. Deprived (until recently) of power in the world at large, women may need to feel some type of power in the home situation and to have this power reflected in their media. Since the audience vindicates the higher values of the females by approving of them, the higher values become a type of power. Other genres which have pictured women employing goodness in the Stage 3 sense as a tool against men have included sentimental and domestic fiction and the modern-day soap opera.

Frequency by Sex and Marital Status

As shown on Tables 8 and 12, in comparison to their representation in the U.S. population, males make up a proportionately large percent of the TV population.

TABLE 12

Distribution of the U. S. Population by Sex, by Marital Status and by Occupation for Census Year 1970*

(in millions; percents also shown)

Sex and Marital Status of the U. S. Population: 1970	White Collar	Blue Collar	Service	Farm	Not Employed	Military	Home Responsi-bilities	Student	Child	Other
All Men	20.054 9.8%	23.020 11.2%	3.285 1.6%	2.601 1.3%	2.235 1.1%	3.140 1.5%	0.221 0.1%	3.618 1.8%	32.894 16.1%	9.224 4.5%
Single Men	3.730 1.8% (18.6)**	4.949 2.4% (21.5)	1.156 0.6% (35.2)	0.642 0.3% (24.7)	1.468 0.7% (65.7)	n.av. -	0.162 0.1% (73.2)	3.433 1.7% (94.9)	32.894 16.1% (100%)	n.av. -
Married Men	16.324 8.0% (81.4)**	18.071 8.8% (78.5)	2.129 1.0% (64.8)	1.959 1.0% (75.3)	0.767 0.4% (34.3)	n.av. -	0.059 0.0% (26.8)	0.185 0.1% (5.1)	0 0	
All Women	17.943 8.8%	4.771 2.3%	6.427 3.1%	0.525 0.3%	1.853 0.9%	0.040 -0.0%	32.861 16.0%	3.508 1.7%	31.800 15.5%	4.835 2.4%
Single Women	6.836 3.3% (38.1)**	1.479 0.7% (31.0)	2.667 1.3% (41.5)	0.107 0.1% (35.6)	1.073 0.5% (58.2)	n.av. -	4.996 2.4% (15.2)	3.196 1.6% (91.1)	31.800 15.5% (100%)	n.av. -
Married Women	11.107 5.5% (61.9)**	3.292 1.6% (69.0)	3.760 1.8% (58.5)	0.338 0.2% (64.4)	0.775 0.4% (41.8)	n.av. -	27.871 13.6% (84.8)	0.312 0.1% (8.9)	0 0	-
ALL CHARACTERS	37.997 18.6%	27.791 13.5%	9.712 4.7%	3.126 1.6%	4.088 2.0%	3.188 1.5%	33.088 16.1%	7.126 3.5%	64.694 31.6%	14.059 6.9%

*Source: data compiled from Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1974.
**Percent by marital status for each sex and occupation is in parentheses.

Whereas there is a near equal number of males and
females in the U.S. population (48.9 percent males and
51.1 percent females), males comprise 66.4 percent of
the TV population with females comprising 33.6 percent.
Historically, too, if one assumes 1) that the comparative
number of programs by program category has remained
relatively constant during the 1960 to 1974 time period,
and 2) that the relative popularity of each category
has remained the same, men have outnumbered women by as
much as three to one.

There is also almost a direct reversal of the
percentage of single and married males in the TV versus
the actual U.S. population. In the U.S. population, by
far most people over 18 years of age are married. In
the case of men, 74.5 percent are married with only 25.5
percent single, widowed or divorced. In the TV popu-
lation, however, 74.7 percent of all characters 18 years
and over are single, with 25.3 percent portrayed as
married. Since the homes of most of television's super-
heroes are never visited on the programs, it would be
possible to argue that some of these men were in fact
married, even though the wives do not appear on the
programs. My response to such an argument would simply
be that these men _function_ as single, and since wives
are never seen or mentioned, there would be no reason
for the viewer, at any but a contrived level, to assume
their existence.

Though there are more married than single
females in both the TV and U.S. populations, the per-
cent of women portrayed as married by TV is less than
the percent of married women in the population. In the
U.S. population, 68.1 percent of all females over 18
are married, and 31.9 percent are single, widowed or
divorced. This compares to a TV breakdown of 56.7
percent married women and 43.3 percent single women.
The finding that far more women than men are portrayed
as married by TV would tend to support the hypothesis
that marriage is more normative and obligatory for women
in our culture than it is for men.

Furthermore, as Table 13 shows, the proportion
of married to single males has remained relatively con-
stant over the historical review period, but there are
more married women in the 1974 season than there were
in the sixties. In fact, for comedy, the genre in which
women are most highly concentrated, single women out-
numbered married women throughout the sixties by a ratio
of about 4 to 1. It is interesting, even ironic, that
in the post Women's Liberation period of the early
seventies the percentage of married women on television
would begin to increase. It is difficult to pinpoint
the cause of this trend, however, since it might just
as well have resulted from an increased consciousness
of women and attempt to portray them more realistically

TABLE 13

Distribution of TV Characters by Sex and Marital Status and Program Category for the Years 1962 - 1974
(in percents)

Program Category and Sex		Frequency with which Characters Appeared on TV (Percent)												
		1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974
COMEDY	MEN	58.8	47.8	50.0	53.6	55.0	56.0	55.6	50.0	60.0	50.0	47.4	57.7	56.2
	Single	35.3	30.4	30.0	39.3	35.0	40.0	38.0	31.2	60.0	30.0	15.8	30.8	34.4
	Married	23.5	17.4	20.0	14.3	20.0	16.0	16.7	18.8	-	20.0	31.6	26.9	21.8
	WOMEN	41.2	52.2	50.0	46.4	45.0	44.0	44.4	50.0	40.0	50.0	52.6	42.3	43.8
	Single	35.3	47.9	40.0	39.3	35.0	40.0	33.3	37.5	40.0	20.0	15.8	15.4	18.8
	Married	5.9	4.3	10.0	7.1	10.0	4.0	11.1	12.5	-	30.0	36.8	26.7	25.0
	TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
DRAMA	MEN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66.7	66.7	66.7	80.0	71.4	65.0
	Single	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	66.7	66.7	55.6	80.0	57.1	50.0
	Married	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.1	-	14.3	15.0
	WOMEN	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	33.3	33.3	20.0	28.6	35.0
	Single	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	33.3	33.3	22.2	20.0	14.3	20.0
	Married	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	11.1	-	14.3	15.0
	TOTAL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
DRAMA/ADVENTURE	MEN	100.0	100.0	100.0	90.0	90.0	88.9	85.7	90.9	92.3	91.7	88.9	90.9	88.2
	Single	100.0	100.0	100.0	80.0	80.0	77.8	78.6	90.9	92.3	91.7	77.8	81.0	82.3
	Married	-	-	-	10.0	10.0	11.1	7.1	-	-	-	11.1	9.1	5.9
	WOMEN	-	-	-	10.0	10.0	11.1	14.3	9.1	7.7	8.3	11.1	9.1	11.8
	Single	-	-	-	-	-	-	7.1	9.1	7.7	8.3	11.1	-	5.9
	Married	-	-	-	10.0	-	11.1	7.1	-	-	-	-	9.1	5.9
	TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

as from deliberate antifeminist backlash on the part of the media.

Frequency by Occupation

Although 41.9 percent of all people are in the United States labor force, 84.3 percent of all TV characters are portrayed as in the labor force. Among the U.S. population, 27.1 percent of all people are not in the labor force for all reasons, whereas only 12.7 percent of the TV population is not in the labor force. (The remaining percentage of individuals in both U.S. and TV populations are children under 16 years of age.) Occupations which show the greatest diversity between the percent of actual and TV people in their ranks include the white collar, service and military job categories. In every case, television exaggerates the percentage of individuals employed in these types of jobs: 28.6 percent of the TV population is engaged in white collar work as compared to 18.6 percent of the actual population*; 27.8 percent of the TV population is engaged in "service" work as compared to only 4.7 percent of the U.S. population as a whole; and 12.5 percent of the TV population is in the military as compared to a mere 1.5 percent in the actual population.

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*Note that this is the percent of the entire U.S. population engaged in white collar work, not the percent of the labor force.

In contrast, TV minimizes the number of house-
wives in its population, at least as compared to the
actual U.S. population. TV portrays 8.6 percent of all
characters as housewives whereas their percentage in
the actual population is 16.1 percent. More single than
married women are portrayed as employed on TV, although
in the actual U.S. population more married than single
women are in the labor force.

The most interesting of these disparities is in
the occupation division classified as "service." Of
the 27.8 percent of all TV characters who have jobs
classified by the census as "service," almost all are in
"protective service," or police work. In addition, most
of these protective service workers are men. By compari-
son, of the small 4.7 percent of the U.S. population who
have jobs classified as "service," more than half are
women employed in domestic service and only about 2 per-
cent are police. In other words, television portrays a
police state, justified however on grounds of the
benevolence and responsibility of the individual police
officers.

Also of interest is the finding that different
types of jobs are featured within different program
categories. Comedy tends to portray persons as employed
within a variety of white collar jobs. Historically,
there have also been more unemployed people in comedy

than in either of the other two major categories. Until the entry of family dramas in the 1970's, drama has typically portrayed white collar professionals, primarily doctors, lawyers and teachers. Protective service workers, and formerly farm workers, have been concentrated in the drama/adventure category. Most drama programs and all drama/adventure programs focus on the jobs of the principal characters. This is the case because programs in these categories are about work, in the sense of jobs which benefit society as a whole. In contrast, work is deemphasized in comedy where characters such as Maude and Walter Finley (Maude), or Emily Hartley (The Bob Newhart Show) may have jobs without ever appearing at work on the programs.

Frequency by Age

The TV population is dominated by prime-of-life adults, as shown in Tables 14A and 14B. Although only 28 percent of the actual population falls between the ages of 30 and 54, 78.3 percent of the TV population is within this age range. Furthermore, a disproportionate 50.7 percent of the TV population is both prime-of-life (30 to 54 years) and single. The median age for characters in the 1974 sample was 40 as compared with a median age for the U.S. population (in 1973) of 28.4. As would be expected, given the preponderance of prime-of-

TABLE 14A

TV Population: 1974, by Age, Sex and Marital Status (percents)

Sex and Marital Status	Age Group								Total
	<16	16-19	20-29	30-39	40-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
MEN	1.5 %	0.8 %	4.3 %	23.7 %	10.8 %	18.7 %	4.2 %	2.4 %	66.4 %
Single	1.5%	0.8%	2.5%	19.5%	8.3%	11.6%	4.2%	1.6%	50.0
Married	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	4.2%	2.5%	7.1%	0.0%	0.8%	16.4
WOMEN	1.5 %	0.8 %	3.6 %	11.2 %	4.3 %	9.6 %	1.8 %	0.8 %	33.6 %
Single	1.5%	0.8%	1.8%	7.0%	1.8%	2.5%	0.0%	0.0%	15.4
Married	0.0%	0.0%	1.8%	4.2%	2.5%	7.1%	1.8%	0.8%	18.2
ALL	3.0 %	1.6 %	7.9 %	34.9 %	15.1 %	28.3 %	6.0 %	3.2 %	100.0 %

4.6%

78.3%

TABLE 14B

U. S. Population: 1974, by Age, Sex, and Marital Status *

(Numbers in millions; percents in parentheses)

Sex and Marital Status	Age Group								Total
	<16	16-19	20-29	30-39	40-44	45-54	55-64	65+	
MEN	32.900 (16.0)	7.609 (3.7)	14.331 (7.0)	11.040 (5.4)	5.830 (2.8)	11.138 (5.4)	8.859 (4.3)	8.433 (4.1)	100.140 (48.7)
Single	32.900 (16.0)	7.244 (3.5)	5.935 (2.9)	1.465 (0.7)	0.706 (0.3)	1.325 (0.6)	1.272 (0.6)	2.330 (1.1)	53.177 (25.7)
Married	neg.	0.365 (0.2)	8.396 (4.1)	9.575 (4.7)	5.124 (2.5)	9.813 (4.8)	7.587 (3.7)	6.103 (3.0)	46.963 (23.0)
WOMEN	31.800 (15.4)	7.480 (3.6)	15.165 (7.4)	11.580 (5.6)	6.150 (3.0)	11.996 (5.8)	9.827 (4.8)	11.658 (5.7)	105.656 (51.3)
Single	31.800 (15.4)	6.436 (3.1)	4.495 (2.2)	1.579 (0.8)	0.907 (0.4)	2.268 (1.0)	3.149 (1.5)	7.407 (3.6)	58.041 (28.0)
Married	neg.	1.044 (0.5)	10.670 (5.2)	10.001 (4.8)	5.243 (2.6)	9.728 (4.8)	6.678 (3.3)	4.251 (2.1)	47.615 (23.3)
ALL	(31.4)	(7.3)	(14.4)	(11.0)	(5.8)	(11.2)	(9.1)	(9.8)	(100%)

38.7%   28%

*Source: data compiled from Statistical Abstract of the U.S., 1974.

life characters, very few children or old people are portrayed at all. Although almost 20 percent of the U.S. population is over 55, only 9.2 percent of the TV population is over 55 years of age. Even more significantly, only 4.6 percent of the TV population is under 20 years of age, although in the actual U.S. population, young people under 20 comprise a hearty 38.7 percent of the total. The percent of children portrayed in the sixties was somewhat greater than for the early seventies, however, and the trend against portrayal of children may again be reversing since a number of the new 1974-75 season programs feature children.

Frequency by Program Category

In the 1974 season, males outnumbered females in every program category (Table 13) although the distribution was most equitable in comedy, where males represented 56.2 percent of the total characters and females 43.8 percent. In drama, men outnumbered women by about 2 to 1; in drama/adventure, men outnumbered women by 8 to 1. Historically, males have also been consistently over-represented in all program categories, and the disparity has been greatest in drama/adventure programs.

Furthermore, women have consistently been concentrated in comedy. No doubt this is the case because the comedy setting has traditionally been a domestic

setting as well. Accordingly, women can be portrayed as mirroring society's normative view of them as wives and mothers. Even on 1974 season comedy <u>The Mary Tyler Moore Show</u> and past comedies such as <u>The Doris Day Show</u> and <u>Here's Lucy</u>, in which the heroine is single and employed, there are always spouse surrogates available to her. In the case of the examples mentioned, these include the staff of the local news program on <u>The Mary Tyler Moore Show</u>, Doris's boss on <u>The Doris Day Show</u> and "Uncle Harry" on <u>Here's Lucy</u>. Likewise, women do not fit in with drama/adventure's characterization of people involved in exciting, adventurous jobs. Women on TV are rarely portrayed as committed to jobs; more commonly, they are committed to other people.

<u>Summary and Conclusions</u>

To briefly recount the highlights of this chapter:

- A startlingly disporportionate 50 percent of all TV characters are single males. The Kohlberg values portrayed by these characters are among the highest on television.

- About twice as many people in the TV population are in the labor force in comparison to the actual U.S. population. People in the TV labor force also portray higher values than non-working persons.

- There are over ten times as many police officers portrayed on television, in proportion to the overall TV population, as there are in the actual population. These "protective service" workers portray conventional or Stage 4 values.

- TV is dominated by prime-of-life adults. Prime-of-life people, and in particular prime-of-life single males, also portray the highest values shown on television.

Having set forth the major findings regarding the values of television characters, it now remains to evaluate the findings in part in terms of television's predicted impact on society's values. This will be the task of the final chapter.

Notes to Chapter 7

[1]Recently, Watergate, the proliferation of well publicized medical malpractice suits and teacher unionization (followed by demands for accountability) have thrown the ethics of these major professions into question among the general public.

[2]Melvin Maddocks, "What's Become of America's Great Comedians?" The State Journal, Lansing, Michigan, 17 January 1975.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY, SPECULATIONS, CONCLUSIONS,
AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Chapter One of this study demonstrated that the values embodied in popular culture have long been a concern of critics. Some elitist critics have tried to discredit all popular culture as inferior according to standards for elite art. Other critics such as Leo Lowenthal, Ian Watt, Herbert Gans, and Marshall McLuhan, among others, have aimed to examine the values contained <u>in</u> popular media in order to better understand individual popular works, popular art forms and the cultures which produced these works and art forms. The present study also had as its goal to determine the values contained <u>in</u> television, in order to better understand both how TV functions as an art form and what TV indicates about the values of our culture. Specifically, the purpose of this dissertation has been to determine, using Lawrence Kohlberg's scale of values development, the values portrayed by prime time television characters.

Just as critics have disagreed about the "value" of popular culture, depending on the standards and methods they have used, philosophers have disagreed about the locus of <u>all</u> values, and thus about a definition of value itself. As some elitist critics have

imposed arbitrary standards for popular culture to "match up to," so some philosophers have argued that all values are intrinsic. These "nomothetic" theorists believe that values derive from the environment and come to the individual as always normative and obligatory. Conversely, so-called "idiographic" philosophers claim that values are located internally; therefore values are perceived somewhat differently by each unique individual. Since these philosophers believe that values should not be judged by externally imposed standards, they resemble those popular culture apologists who deny the validity of any criticism which seeks to do more than describe a given work or art form.

As Chapter Two explained, neither nomothetic or idiographic value theories seemed promising tools for the present study, given its goals. On the one hand, the nomothetic theories purport to be founded on natural laws, but nonetheless have little or no scientific evidence to back them up. Idiographic theories are even less useful in studying values, since they precisely avoid listing, comparing, or ranking values in terms of their general importance to people or to society.

Since much recent research on television has been conducted by behavioral scientists, their methods and conclusions were discussed in Chapter Three.

Extensive studies on the effect of televised violence were conducted by the United States Surgeon General's office in the early 1970's. The Committee which coordinated the project concluded that television does affect the behavior of certain individuals, and may affect their values as well. This finding was considered important for the present study, since it furnishes further evidence of television's impact on our society as a socializing institution. The methods of the behavioral scientists, per se, were considered unsuitable for the present study, however, primarily because of their emphasis on behavior as opposed to the underlying values.

Lawrence Kohlberg's Theory of Values Development, summarized in Chapter Four, provided the requisite practical methodology needed to study the values of television characters. Based on Jean Piaget's structural-developmental theories of human intelligence, Kohlberg's approach mediates between the mutually opposed nomothetic and idiographic theories of value (discussed in Chapter Two) and supplies an analytical model, based on cross-cultural research, which is both philosophically sound and practically useful for content analysis. Chapter Five explained how Kohlberg's laboratory method for determining the values of subjects

was adapted to the study of television characters.

Chapters Six and Seven presented the major findings

of this study.

Several tasks remain for the present concluding

chapter. First, it was stated in Chapter One that

McLuhan's challenge to consider television's <u>form</u> as

part of its value <u>message</u> would be accepted. Since

the focus of the present study has been on <u>content</u>,

the discussion of TV form has been postponed to this

chapter. Second, the major findings of the study will

be recapitulated and evaluated, from the author's point

of view. This evaluation involves some speculations

regarding the effects of TV values on the viewing

public. Some potentially rewarding areas for further

research will then be suggested. Finally, the chapter

will conclude by summarizing the major contributions

the author feels have been made by the present study.

* * * *

Evaluating television's form as part of its

overall value message adds an additional perspective

to the present study. As stated earlier, it is the

<u>structural</u> aspect of Kohlberg's theory, particularly

in combination with McLuhan's theory of media values,

which supplies the means whereby media form, as well

as content, may be analyzed and assigned a "level of

values development."

Recall from Chapter One McLuhan's belief that very different values are associated with television, compared to values associated with previous popular culture media. The most drastic changes, in McLuhan's view, however, have come in the transition from printed media to media that operate electrically. Although McLuhan carefully avoids labeling this transition as a progressive one, it <u>seems</u> (by applying the Kohlberg structural view), in fact to be precisely that.

Considering McLuhan's analysis of media values as progressive, involves making an assumption about the Kohlberg technique, logical in view of some of Kohlberg's statements. It is Kohlberg's prognosis that not only are an individual's values developmental, but that the values embodied in political systems have also developed with the passage of time. In particular, Kohlberg believes that the Stage 5, or the social contract/legalistic view of morality, appeared in government systems only after about 600-400 B.C.[1] If this theory of Kohlberg's is correct, it seems logical to assume that <u>other</u> institutions of the society, including media of communications, would similarly develop over long periods of time.

In discussing the transition from print to electric media, McLuhan is essentially talking about

a change of values, instituted by massive technological change. In brief, McLuhan proposes that the following values are inseparable aspects of the print and electric media forms, respectively:*

Print Values	Electric (TV) Values
1. Individualism	1. Intensive Social Involvement
a. Job specialization	a. Involvement in "role," with strong commitment to the group or society
b. Competition for Consumer Goods (ala Horatio Alger myth)	b. Emphasis on external consensus and community welfare
c. Separateness of people in time and space	c. The "Global Village" united by phone, radio, TV and airplane
d. Competition between nations ("nationalism")	d. International consciousness and cooperation
2. Visual Standardization	2. Visual Nonconformity
a. Uniform social codes, arbitrarily adhered to	a. Group-derived norms, based on consensus
b. Standardized consumer goods (ala the assembly line and department store)	b. Consumer goods reflecting life styles and ethnic affiliations (ala the "boutique")

By comparing Kohlberg's hierarchical scale of values to the values McLuhan associates with print and electric media, McLuhan's print values appear to be essentially pre-conventional in the Kohlberg sense, whereas the electric values appear as conventional

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*These values are taken from the discussion of McLuhan in Chapter one.

according to Kohlberg's theory. The emphasis on

individualism as defined by McLuhan, associated with

print media, implies concern only with that which bene-

fits the self. This, of course, is a pre-conventional

characteristic, in Kohlberg's terms. Associated with

individualism is the naive assumption that what

benefits the self is somehow good for others as well.

This assumption is illustrated by McLuhan by reference

to the Horatio Alger myth (a common theme in literature),

which he says television has destroyed:

> In our electric age, the one-way expansion
> of the beserk individual on his way to the
> top now appears as a gruesome image of trampled
> lives and disrupted harmonies. Such is the
> subliminal message of the TV mosaic with its
> total field of simultaneous impulses.[2]

Again, in Kohlberg's terms, the Horatio Alger myth--

with its naive view of human interrelationships and its

emphasis on wealth and property--is clearly a Stage 2

representation. The print value of visual standardiza-

tion also seems pre-conventional in Kohlberg terms,

since it implies automatic adherence to arbitrary codes

and pre-set standards.

By contrast, the electric values of intensive

social involvement, adherence to external consensus,

involvement in role and commitment to society, sound

very much like Kohlberg's "conventional" level of

morality, at which individuals are oriented to in-group love and approval, to group-derived norms, and to social responsibility. If it is true that the form of the television medium is portraying conventional values as well as the content, then McLuhan is right, and the medium is the message.

As detailed in Chapters Six and Seven, the findings of this study indicate that TV portrays primarily that conventional morality (Stage 3 and Stage 4) which Kohlberg believes is the norm for our society. Typically, these conventional values are portrayed on drama/adventure and drama programs by single, professional males in their prime-of-life, although women on comedy programs tend to portray conventional values as well. It is important to emphasize, however, that the single male professionals, despite their life styles, do exhibit conventional morality specifically in Kohlberg terms. Even the superheroes in current crime dramas and in former westerns--whose counterparts in popular fiction are often loners--have close relationships with work associates who serve as family surrogates. In-group loyalty, approval and harmony (Stage 3 characteristics) are thus stressed by the characters on these programs. In addition, these characters display an orientation to society's laws

and to social responsibility which transcends in-group loyalty--qualities associated with Kohlberg's Stage 4 of values development.

Since a recent comparative study of television formulas lends support to the findings of this dissertation, it is appropriate to review it briefly at this point. Horace Newcomb's <u>TV: The Most Popular Art</u> has as its central thesis that all television formulas--including those he calls situation comedy, domestic comedy, westerns, mysteries, doctor and lawyer shows and adventure programs--are more like each other than like the literary formulas they are descended from. As Newcomb puts it:

> The crucial point is that in adapting the clearly recognizable forms of popular entertainment for its own uses, some of the distinctions begin to fade, and the forms are changed into specifically television versions of themselves. Those versions often bear more resemblance to each other than to their non-television counterparts. Recent television westerns are directly related to recent mysteries and both bear strong resemblance to the formulas we have already discussed, the situation and domestic comedy. <u>For the world of television is a world of explicit values, and in the evolution of forms we see more and more how values from one segment of that world filter into other segments, and ultimately into our own lives.</u>[3]

As the quotation implies, Newcomb believes that the domestic and situation comedy formula is television's

basic model, after which other formulas have become increasingly patterned. He cites the appearance of family surrogates in programs of all types and further notes that "intimacy," per se, has become a value of television formulas. According to Newcomb, television formulas portray values--such as love, family cohesiveness and concern for others--which are associated with an older, idealized era in American history.

Newcomb's study also supports the notion that TV form, as well as content, must be evaluated when analyzing those values portrayed by the medium. Like Marshall McLuhan, Newcomb believes that a major portion of television's value message comes through the form of the medium, though he concentrates on the physical and production constraints of TV as opposed to the electronic means of transmission. In particular, he believes that the sense of intimacy (with its Stage 3 overtones of "getting along" peacably within the in-group) is created in major part by the smallness of the TV screen, a part of one's own living room; and by the fact that only a few faces or forms on it can be distinguished clearly at a time. "Television is at its best," he says, "when it offers us faces, reactions, explorations of emotions registered by human beings."[4]

All this leads to the question of what effect TV has had on its viewing audience. As Chapter Three explains, behavioristic studies of television lend significant support to the hypothesis that television <u>does</u> influence the behavior, and perhaps the values of the viewing audience--although the degree of influence remains in doubt. In addition, Kohlberg, Piaget and the other developmentalists believe that we learn in part by witnessing higher levels of reasoning and higher values in others. Clearly, television provides ample role models, and it seems reasonable to assume that the thinking and behavior they portray have an effect on the viewers.

If television values affect the viewing public, it is both reassuring and alarming to realize that TV is such a consistent force for conventional morality. It is reassuring to know that children, adolescents and other pre-conventional moral thinkers have so many strong models of conventional morality to emulate. It is alarming, however, to consider the possibility that, by its sheer pervasiveness in our lives, TV works to inhibit adult development beyond the conventional norm.

Despite perhaps justifiable concern about the effect of televised violence, the present study would indicate that <u>overall</u>, television should have a

pro-social effect on children and pre-conventional

adolescents. Recall from Chapter Three that the Surgeon

General's Committee reported the findings of one study,

conducted on children, which supports this conclusion.

The study found that TV viewing can have a pro-social

effect, particularly on youngsters from lower socio-

economic backgrounds, if pro-social programs are viewed.

Conventional morality, of course, is pro-social for

this culture (and for other cultures, if Kohlberg's

cross-cultural data is valid).

In the case of adolescents whose values lie

below the norm, TV should also accelerate the movement

toward conventional values. In fact, according to

McLuhan, television has ended adolescence in the United

States. Certain legal and social changes that have tran-

spired since Understanding Media was published (1964)

support McLuhan's theory. For example, within the past

decade the voting and drinking ages have been lowered

to 18; in addition, the age at which females can obtain

contraceptives without parental knowledge and consent

is continually being reduced. Perhaps most significantly,

the Viet Nam War was in effect ended by a generation of

men in their late teens and early twenties who refused

to fight a war they didn't believe in. Finally, young

people are among some of the most active participants

in the new personal growth and group-involvement movements which have emerged since the late sixties, including Transcendental Meditation, Transactional Analysis, empathy counseling, and the charismatic religious movement. Superficially, at any rate, it seems that young people are acting out conventional values at an earlier age than before, and that television may be responsible for this change.

Some pre-conventional adolescent and adult citizens, however, lack practical means to act out conventional values in society. People in this sub-grouping include the poor, the undereducated, and (until recently) the young and many members of minority groups. The effect of TV on these people may be to produce anti-social attitudes and behavior. This seems especially likely because television encourages in-group identity and social responsibility but cannot, in itself, provide access to socially committed roles. In large part, this is because "roles" are so closely linked to "jobs" in our society. The poor young black person who becomes distressed about the conditions of ghetto life as a result of watching TV, for instance, cannot necessarily improve conditions for his peers or even find a socially responsible job. Because the TV values of empathy and consensus may be encouraging understanding and inter-group harmony, television may also ultimately

cause barriers between groups to be broken down, however, thereby allowing society's benefits to flow more evenly to all its citizens.

For the majority of Americans who are already conventional moralists, television may work to inhibit further development. To repeat from Chapter One: 95 percent of all U.S. homes have at least one television set and the _average_ viewer spends 1200 hours per year watching TV. As continuous exercise builds up certain body muscles, so should it be expected that continuous television watching would strengthen a person's belief in values reinforced by TV, making these values ever more resistant to change.

That TV may inhibit post-conventional development is alarming because of the differences between conventional and post-conventional morality, according to the Kohlberg scale. People at Stages 3 and 4 of values development are only as "moral" as the society in which they live. Hitler appealed to the values of in-group loyalty and approval, and of social reponsibility, to gain support during his rise to power in Nazi Germany. In Kohlberg's belief, however, the authors of the U.S. Constitution, as well as the defenders of its principles, have been Stage 5 thinkers. If our democracy is based on the quality of thinking

that questions norms rather than blindly accepts the
prevailing mode, then it seems logical that the more
Stage 5 individuals in all walks of life, the better
and more open that life will be. To the extent that
television increases complacent acceptance of existing
norms, and in so doing precludes or delays post-con-
ventional development for some people, it is a
regressive influence in this society.

The 15 percent or so of the U.S. population
which is already oriented to post-conventional or
Stage 5 or 6 morality is not likely to be affected by
values transmitted by television, since there is nothing
for them to learn or affirm from TV in a values sense.
It is important to note, however, that if McLuhan's
"electric values" can be translated into Kohlberg's
"conventional values," then post-conventional people
are, contra McLuhan, able to see TV for what it is and
to put it into proper perspective.

What, then, is TV's future? There is every
reason to believe that the values transmitted by
television will not change in the foreseeable future.
This supposition is supported by the historical
analysis included in this dissertation. The distribu-
tion of value levels within TV content has remained
essentially constant over the years under study,

regardless of the fact that this period has been char-

acterized by an accelerated amount of social change

in the area of equal rights. Programs featuring minority

characters are becoming common, but they follow the

established formats for the various program categories.

Equal rights, per se, are never at issue on these

programs; in-group harmony and social responsibility

are stressed as primary values.

It is clear that television is capable of

portraying post-conventional values in a manner

appealing to viewers, since there has been a smattering

of popular Stage 5 characters. Documentaries of an

issue-oriented nature and news specials of various

sorts also seem to be gaining increased air time

and popularity in recent years. Since post-conventional

morality is analytical, questioning and issue-oriented,

this type of programming perhaps holds out the greatest

hope for advancement in terms of television's overall

value message. An exploration into the values portrayed

by this type of program is beyond the scope of the

present study, however.

The findings of this dissertation suggest that

much additional research in this area is required.

First, there must be a much broader and deeper study

of more programs, more types of programs and a greater

historical coverage of programs. Fortunately, more

information on past programs should become available,

with the increasing establishment across the country

of popular culture repositories, which include television

scripts and videotapes of past programs.

More sophisticated statistical sampling

techniques are also needed, incorporating detailed

Nielsen data on past programs. For a comprehensive

study, access to the actual Nielsen reports, as

opposed to summaries reprinted in trade publications,

would be crucial. If possible, computerization of

the computational technique would be extremely helpful,

since this would allow more data to be analyzed faster

and would offer the possibility of multivariate

analysis. In addition, a detailed survey of all

relevant literature on media values transmission is

indispensable for further study. This should include

all significant behavioristic studies, as well as studies

utilizing independently-derived models and studies of

a more subjective nature.

Other projects of a related nature are also

suggested by the findings of this study. Since single,

professional, prime-of-life males predominate on prime

time television, it would be interesting to know what

percentage of scripts are written by men rather than

women. It would further be interesting to compare

authors and producers with the principal characters

in programs they have written or produced, in terms

of the demographic variables selected for this study.

Finally, daytime programs, especially the

daytime dramas, warrant analysis and perhaps comparison

with evening programs. On the one hand these programs

appear to deal seriously with such issues as divorce,

unwed motherhood, alcoholism and abortion, well beyond

the limits of prime time television. On the other hand,

the viewing audience for the daytime serials consists

primarily of housewives. Not only does Kohlberg believe

that socializing practices for all females have tended to

reinforce Stage 3 morality as the female norm, but also

housewives, in particular, act out society's most

conventional female role. It might therefore be

predicted that complex issues are resolved in the day-

time serials by using conventional, Stage 3 logic.

If this is the case, then conflict might be expected

to originate from Stage 2 characters as it does on

prime time comedies. It would be especially interesting

to discover similarities between the evening comedies

and the daytime serials since the audience for the

comedies is also projected to be primarily female.

It is my belief that this study has made several

contributions to the field of knowledge in American

Studies. First of all, the study has contributed

toward a better understanding of popular TV formulas. Determining the values of television characters uncovered the preponderance of conventionally moral characterizations. In the case of comedy, the manner in which conventional and pre-conventional characters are pitted against each other to create humor was illustrated. In the case of drama programs, determining characters' values showed that they accept conventional roles and norms and that tension and crisis are created when these norms are violated. Resolution comes in drama programs when characters reaffirm their traditional values. Finally, in the case of drama/adventure, the discovery that principal characters exhibit conventional moral values allowed for a better understanding of popular culture's superhero as embodying, rather than transcending, cultural norms.

Likewise, the study suggested that the Kohlberg model would be a valuable tool in studying other works of popular and elite culture. It has traditionally been argued that the "vision" or "world view" of the elite practitioner is more complex and more complete than the popular artist's is. Within the area of human values, the Kohlberg scale could be used as one means of testing this hypothesis. In addition, one study I did of William Faulkner's Absolom, Absolom! indicated that applying the Kohlberg theory can yield a meaningful

new reading even to a well-critiqued classic. My
study revealed the growth of post-conventional thinking
in Charles Bon and thus made his sacrifice of life a
more integrated part of the novel's ending. Analyzing
the values of the novel's various narrators also helped
filter out and explain the unreliable portions of each
version of the Sutpen/Bon story. Kohlberg himself
has suggested that his theory is a helpful aid in
studying tragedy. The present study indicates that
the potential applications are very broad indeed.

The study has also contributed toward a better
understanding of American cultural values since Kohlberg's
hypothesis that "conventional" morality is normative for
our society was supported by this study. Certainly
conventional morality is normative for television,
America's most popular art form. The study suggests
that conventional morality may even represent an
unattainable ideal for some people since drama/adventure
characters portraying Stage 4 values are so often tagged
as superheroes. In particular, performing well in a
job which benefits society as a system may be viewed
as the highest possible ideal by many Americans.
In-group solidarity, especially family love and harmony,
would also appear to be "high" values in the perception
of most Americans. "Getting ahead" per se, in the sense

of materialistic gain, is <u>not</u> a value endorsed by tele-
vision. Thus, per McLuhan, television is modifying

the American dream of wealth and esteem to a dream of

a moderate income combined with a responsible job and

ample close relationships with family or work colleagues.

Finally, this study has confirmed the criticism

of many feminists that men and women are portrayed

unequally by television. The Kohlberg analysis showed

that women on TV, on the average, represent lower

values than men. In addition, frequency comparisons

showed that men as principal characters outnumber women

by as much as eight to one in the drama/adventure

category, while they predominate in every other category.

A majority of these men are presented as single, dedi-

cated professionals, in their prime-of-life age range,

so that women are only episodes in their lives, according

to TV. Women characters, on the other hand, are

concentrated in domestic comedy and family drama, where

they appear as married or affiliated with spouse

surrogates. Thus women are shown almost exclusively

as interdependent with men for peer relationships and

peer approval. Most men, however, are pictured in

primary relationships with other men, usually work

associates.

Though in general there are no sexual connotations to the relationships between men on television, the recurrent pattern of these relationships surely provides another example of the theme of "cultural homosexuality" which Leslie Fiedler ascribes to much of American literature.[5] More importantly, however, the fact that there are numerous sets of male peers on TV and almost none of women, unless they are relatives, indicates that female peer relationships are not seen as normative (or even possible?) by our culture. Clearly women are expected to find peer approval and a satisfying relationship only with a man. Men, on the other hand, can meet these needs for each other. I intend to explore some of the ramifications of this finding and to trace its appearance in other popular media in a forthcoming book-length study.

Notes to Chapter 8

[1]Kohlberg, "Moral Psychology and the Study of Tragedy," in Collected Papers. (Essay has no page numbers.) On the subject of moral development throughout cultural history, Kohlberg cites L.T. Hobhouse, Morals in Evolution (London, 1906).

[2]McLuhan, Understanding Media, 257.

[3]Horace Newcomb, TV: The Most Popular Art (New York, 1974), 65.

[4]Ibid., 245-246.

[5]See Leslie Fiedler, Love and Death in the American Novel, rev. ed. (New York, 1966).

APPENDIX A

PRIMARY DATA TABLES

The following tables present the unaggregated
data collected for TV programs and TV characters for
the years 1962 through 1974 which this study covers.
The data are presented first by program category (i.e.,
comedy, drama, or drama/adventure), then by show title,
followed by year. Characters fall under the classifi-
cation of the show on which they appear, and the relevant
demographic and values variables are shown for the
character to which they apply. A list of explanatory
abbreviations appears at the end of the primary data
tables.

The following variable values were estimated by
the author:

- Age of character

- Occupation of character where not clearly
  stipulated

- Marital status of character where not
  clearly stipulated.

Judgments about the values of characters included
in the analysis were made using the procedure detailed
in Chapter 5.

TABLE 15

Data for 1974 Season Analysis

PROGRAM CATEGORY	PROGRAM	YEARS IN TOP NIELSENS	CHARACTER	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				KOHLBERG VALUE
				SEX	MARITAL	OCC.	AGE	
Comedy	All in the Family	1974	Archie Bunker	M	Mar	Bl	45	2
			Edith Bunker	F	Mar	H	45	3
			Gloria Stivic	F	Mar	Wh	25	3(4)
			Mike Stivic	M	Mar	St	25	4
			Irene	F	Mar	Bl	45	4
	Sanford and Son	1974	Fred Sanford	M	Sin	Wh	50	2
			Lamont Sanford	M	Sin	Wh	30	3
	Chico & the Man	1974	Chico	M	Sin	Bl	25	3
			Ed	M	Sin	Bl	55	2(3)
	Rhoda	1974	Rhoda Gerrard	F	Mar	Bl	35	3
			Joe Gerrard	M	Mar	Bl	35	3(2)
			Brenda	F	Sin	Wh	25	3
			Ida Morgenstern	F	Mar	H	55	3
	M*A*S*H	1974	Hawkeye	M	Sin	Mi	35	4(4-1/2)
			Trapper	M	Sin	Mi	35	4(4-1/2)
			Colonel	M	Sin	Mi	40	4
			Hot Lips	F	Sin	Mi	30	3(2)
			Frank	M	Mar	Mi	40	2
			Klinger	M	Sin	Mi	35	2
			Radar	M	Sin	Mi	30	3
	Maude	1974	Maude Finley	F	Mar	Wh	50	3(2)
			Walter Finley	M	Mar	Wh	50	2
			Mrs. Naugatuck	F	Sin	Se	50	3
			Vivian	F	Mar	H	50	2
			Arthur	M	Mar	Wh	50	2

Table 15 (continued)

PROGRAM CATEGORY	PROGRAM	YEARS IN TOP NIELSENS	CHARACTER	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				KOHLBERG VALUE
				SEX	MARITAL	OCC.	AGE	
Comedy	The Mary Tyler Moore Show	1974	Mary Richards	F	Sin	Wh	35	4
			Mr. Grant	M	Sin	Wh	45	3(4)
			Ted Baxter	M	Sin	Wh	40	2
			Sue Ellen	F	Sin	Wh	40	3
			Murray	M	Mar	Wh	45	3(4)
			Georgette	F	Sin	Wh	35	3
			Phyllis	F	Mar	H	40	2
Drama	The Waltons	1974	Olivia Walton	F	Mar	H	40	3
			John Walton	M	Mar	Bl	40	3
			Grandma Walton	F	Mar	H	70	3
			Grandpa Walton	M	Mar	Bl	70	3(2)
			John-Boy Walton	M	Sin	St	20	3(4)
			Jason	M	Ch	St	17	3
			Mary Ellen	F	Ch	St	16	3(2)
			Ben	M	Ch	Ch	15	3(2)
			Erin	F				
			Jim Bob	M	Ch	Ch	11	2-1
			Elizabeth	F				
	Little House on the Prairie	1974	Charles Ingalls	M	Mar	Fa	35	4(3)
			Caroline Ingalls	F	Mar	Fa	35	5-4-3
			Mary	F	Ch	Ch	10	3
			Laura	F	Ch	Ch	8	2-3
	Medical Center	1974	Joe Gannon	M	Sin	Wh	40	4(5)
			Lochner	M	Sin	Wh	50	4
	Marcus Welby, M.D.	1974	Marcus Welby	M	Sin	Wh	60	4(3)
			Stephen Kiley	M	Sin	Wh	35	4(3)
			Consuelo	F	Sin	Wh	50	3
	Lucas Tanner	1974	Lucas Tanner	M	Sin	Wh	40	5-4-3
			Principal	M	Sin	Wh	50	4

Table 15 (continued)

PROGRAM CATEGORY	PROGRAM	YEARS IN TOP NIELSENS	CHARACTER	SEX	MARITAL	OCC.	AGE	KOHLBERG VALUE
Drama/ Adventure	Hawaii Five-O	1974	Steve McGarrett	M	Sin	Se	40	4
			Dan Williams	M	Sin	Se	35	4
	Streets of San Francisco	1974	Mike Stone	M	Sin	Se	55	4
			Steve Keller	M	Sin	Se	35	4
	Rockford Files	1974	Jim Rockford	M	Sin	Se	45	2(3)
			Rocky Rockford	M	Sin	U	65	2(3)
	Kojak	1974	Lt. Kojak	M	Sin	Se	50	3(3A Prime)
			Crocker	M	Sin	Se	40	4
			Becker	M	Sin	Se	35	4
	The Rookies	1974	Sgt. Ryker	M	Sin	Se	50	4
			Mike Dago	M	Mar	Se	30	4(3)
			Jill Dago	F	Mar	Se	30	3(4)
			Terry	M	Sin	Se	30	4(3)
			Chris	M	Sin	Se	30	4(3)
	Gunsmoke*	1974	Matt Dillon	M	Sin	Se	50	4(5)
	Police Woman	1974	Pepper	F	Sin	Se	35	4
			Crowley	M	Sin	Se	35	4

*Principal characters "Doc" and "Festus" were not viewed for this study because the 1974 Gunsmoke format involves rotating the appearance of principals and scheduling conflicts precluded viewing more than the stipulated 10 percent of the season's episodes. It was therefore necessary to focus on one principal only, and Matt Dillon was chosen.

TABLE 16

Data for Historical Analysis

PROGRAM CATEGORY	PROGRAM	YEARS IN TOP NIELSENS	CHARACTER	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				KOHLBERG VALUE
				SEX	MARITAL	OCC.	AGE	
Comedy	The Andy Griffith Show	1960-67	Andy	M	Sin	Se	40	3
			Opey	M	Ch	Ch	7	2
			Barney	M	Sin	Se	45	3
			Aunt Bea	F	Sin	H	60	3
	Beverly Hillbillies	1962-69	Ned	M	Sin	Wh	50	3(4)
			Granny	F	Sin	H	70	3
			Gethro	M	Sin	U	30	2
			Elly May	F	Sin	U	19	1-2
			Mr. Drysdale	M	Mar	Wh	50	2
			Miss Hathaway	F	Sin	Wh	40	2(3)
	Lucy Show	1962-67	Lucy	F	Sin	U	45	2
			Viv	F	Sin	U	45	2(3)
			Mr. Mooney	M	Mar	Wh	55	2
	Dick Van Dyke Show	1962-64	Rob Pettrie	M	Mar	Wh	35	3(4)
			Laura Pettrie	F	Mar	H	35	3
			Buddy	M	Mar	Wh	45	3
			Sally	F	Sin	Wh	45	3
	Gomer Pyle	1964-68	Gomer	M	Sin	Mi	35	3(4)
			Sgt. Carter	M	Sin	Mi	35	2(3)
	Petticoat Junction	1963-65	Kate	F	Sin	Wh	45	3
			Uncle Joe	M	Sin	Wh	50	2
			Billy Jo	F	Sin	U	20	3
			Betty Jo	F	Ch	St	17	3
			Bobby Jo	F	Ch	St	16	3
			Sam	M	Sin	Wh	55	3

Table 16 (continued)

PROGRAM CATEGORY	PROGRAM	YEARS IN TOP NIELSENS	CHARACTER	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				KOHLBERG VALUE
				SEX	MARITAL	OCC.	AGE	
Comedy	Hogan's Heroes	1965	Hogan	M	Sin	Mi	40	4
			Sgt. Schultz	M	Sin	Mi	50	2
	Bewitched	1964-69	Samantha	F	Mar	H	35	3
			Darrin	M	Mar	Wh	35	3
			Tabatha	F	Ch	Ch	6	2
			Endora	F	Mar	U	55	2
			Larry	M	Mar	Wh	55	2
	Family Affair	1967-70	Uncle Bill	M	Sin	Wh	40	3(4)
			Mr. French	M	Sin	Se	50	3(4)
			Sissy	F	Ch	St	17	3
			Buffy	F	Ch	Ch	7	2(3)
			Jody	M	Ch	Ch	7	2(3)
	Partridge Family	1970-71	Shirley	F	Sin	Wh	40	3
			Keith	M	Sin	Wh	19	3
			Laura	F	Ch	Wh	17	3
			Danny	M	Ch	Ch	14	3
			Reuben	M	Sin	Wh	50	3
	All in the Family	1971-73	Archie Bunker	M	Mar	Bl	45	2
			Edith Bunker	F	Mar	H	45	3
			Gloria Stivic	F	Mar	Wh	25	3(4)
			Mike Stivic	M	Mar	St	25	4
			Irene	F	Mar	Bl	45	4
	Sanford and Son	1972-73	Fred Sanford	M	Sin	Wh	50	2
			Lamont Sanford	M	Sin	Wh	30	3
	M*A*S*H	1973	Hawkeye	M	Sin	Mi	35	4
			Trapper	M	Sin	Mi	35	4
			Colonel	M	Sin	Mi	40	4
			Hot Lips	F	Sin	Mi	35	3(2)
			Frank	M	Mar	Mi	40	2
			Klinger	M	Sin	Mi	35	2
			Radar	M	Sin	Mi	30	3

Table 16 (continued)

PROGRAM CATEGORY	PROGRAM	YEARS IN TOP NIELSENS	CHARACTER	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				KOHLBERG VALUE
				SEX	MARITAL	OCC.	AGE	
Comedy	Maude	1972-73	Maude	F	Mar	Wh	50	3(2)
			Walter	M	Mar	Wh	50	2
			Florida Evans	F	Mar	Se	45	3
			Vivian	F	Mar	H	50	2
			Arthur	M	Mar	Wh	50	2
	Mary Tyler Moore Show	1972-73	Mary Richards	F	Sin	Wh	35	4
			Mr. Grant	M	Mar	Wh	45	3(4)
			Ted Baxter	M	Sin	Wh	40	2
			Murray	M	Mar	Wh	45	3(4)
			Georgette	F	Sin	Wh	35	3
			Rhoda	F	Sin	Bl	30	3
			Phyllis	F	Mar	H	40	2
Drama	Room 222	1969-71	Pete Dixon	M	Sin	Wh	35	5-4-3
			Liz	F	Sin	Wh	35	5-4-3
			Alice	F	Sin	Wh	25	3(4)
			Mr. Kaufman	M	Sin	Wh	55	4(3)
	The Waltons	1973	Olivia Walton	F	Mar	H	40	3
			John Walton	M	Mar	Bl	40	3
			Grandma Walton	F	Mar	H	70	3
			Grandpa Walton	M	Mar	Bl	70	3(2)
			John-Boy Walton	M	Sin	St	20	3(4)
			Jason Walton	M	Ch	St	17	3
			Mary Ellen Walton	F	Ch	St	16	3(2)
			Ben Walton	M	Ch	Ch	15	3(2)
			Erin					
			Jim Bob	M	Ch	Ch	11	2-1
			Elizabeth					
	Medical Center	1969-73	Joe Gannon	M	Sin	Wh	40	4(5)
			Lochner	M	Sin	Wh	50	4
	Marcus Welby, M.D.	1969-73	Marcus Welby	M	Sin	Wh	60	4(3)
			Steve Kiley	M	Sin	Wh	35	4(3)
			Consuello	F	Sin	Wh	50	3

Table 16 (continued)

PROGRAM CATEGORY	PROGRAM	YEARS IN TOP NIELSENS	CHARACTER	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				KOHLBERG VALUE
				SEX	MARITAL	OCC.	AGE	
Drama/ Adventure	Wagon Train	1960-63	Flint McCullough	M	Sin	Wh	45	4
			Chuck Wooster	M	Sin	Wh	45	4
	Gunsmoke	1960-73	Matt Dillon	M	Sin	Se	50	4(5)
	Bonanza	1961-71	Ben Cartwright	M	Sin	Fa	60	5-4-3
			Hoss	M	Sin	Fa	35	4(3)
			Adam	M	Sin	Fa	40	5-4-3
			Little Joe	M	Sin	Fa	25	4(3)
		1970-71	Jamie	M	Ch	Ch	15	3(4)
	The Virginian	1963-68	The Virginian	M	Sin	Fa	45	4(5)
			Judge Garth	M	Sin	Fa	60	4(5)
	Daniel Boone	1965-68	Daniel	M	Mar	Fa	35	4
			Becky	F	Mar	Fa	35	3
			Israel	M	Ch	Ch	14	3(4)
	Mission Impossible	1968	Phelps	M	Sin	Se	40	4
			Paris	M	Sin	Se	40	4
			Dana	F	Sin	Se	40	4
			Barney	M	Sin	Se	35	4
			Willy	M	Sin	Se	35	4
	The F.B.I.	1969-70	Lewis Erskine	M	Sin	Se	45	4
			Tom Colby	M	Sin	Se	45	4
	Mod Squad	1969-70	Captain Greer	M	Sin	Se	50	4(3)
			Pete	M	Sin	Se	25	4(3)
			Linc	M	Sin	Se	25	4(3)
			Julie	F	Sin	Se	25	4(3)
	Hawaii Five-0	1970-73	Steve McGarrett	M	Sin	Se	40	4
			Dan Williams	M	Sin	Se	35	4

Table 16 (continued)

PROGRAM CATEGORY	PROGRAM	YEARS IN TOP NIELSENS	CHARACTER	DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES				KOHLBERG VALUE
				SEX	MARITAL	OCC.	AGE	
Drama/ Adventure	Longstreet	1971	Mike	M	Sin	Wh	40	4(3)
			Nikki	F	Sin	Wh	35	4(3)
			Duke	M	Sin	Wh	40	4(3)
	Cade's County	1971	Sam Cade	M	Sin	Se	45	4(3)
	Mannix	1971-72	Joe Mannix	M	Sin	Se	50	4
	The Rookies	1972-73	Sgt. Ryker	M	Sin	Se	50	4
			Mike Dago	M	Mar	Se	30	4(3)
			Jill Dago	F	Mar	Se	30	3(4)
			Terry	M	Sin	Se	30	4(3)
			Chris	M	Sin	Se	30	4(3)
	Kojak	1973	Lt. Kojak	M	Sin	Se	50	3(3A Prime)
			Crocker	M	Sin	Se	40	4
			Becker	M	Sin	Se	35	4

M = Male
F = Female
Marital = Marital Status
Occ. = Occupational Division
Sin = Single
Mar = Married
Wh = White Collar worker
Bl = Blue Collar worker
Se = Service worker
Fa = Farm worker
U = Unemployed
Mi = In the Military
H = Housewife (or responsible for household)
St = Student (16 years of age or older)
Ch = Child (all under 16 years of age and under 18 in column detailing marital status)

APPENDIX B

THE PROCEDURE USED TO AGGREGATE DATA
BY VARIABLE OF INTEREST

The procedure used to classify the data within
the variable categories of sex, marital status, occupa-
tion, age, program category and Kohlberg value was
quite straightforward for all seasons audited except
for 1974, for which a slightly more complex averaging
technique was employed. The analytical procedure
for earlier years will be described first.

I.   Analytical Procedure for Years 1962 through 1973*

The analytical procedure used to obtain the
information found in Chapter 7 for the years 1962
through 1973 is best explained in step-by-step fashion.
Each part of the procedure will be illustrated by an
example.

A.   Frequency (Distribution) of Character
Appearance by Variable Classification

Step 1--Since frequency means the number of
times a character with some characteristic
appeared in a certain year, if we are interested
in knowing the number of single males on comedy
shows in 1973, for example, we simply consult

_____

*The years 1960 and 1961 were omitted
from the analysis because of the small size
of the sample for those years.

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Appendix A in order to determine the number of characters with these characteristics (male, single, comedy) in 1973. The number in this case is 8.

Step 2--Now, "frequency" can be stated in more than one way. It can be given directly as the number of observations (for example, "8" in the Step 1 example) or stated as a percentage of some total. For example, 31% of all 26 comedy characters in the 1973 sample were single males; or 53% of all 15 male comedy characters in the 1973 sample were single.

B. Average Kohlberg Values (K-values): How They Were Computed--The procedure used for computing average K-values was as follows:

Step 1--I assumed that each K-value in the range "2" to "5-4-3" could be assigned a numerical value from 1.0 to 9.0 respectively, thereby positing a difference of one unit between each value on the scale. Table 17 below illustrates the numerical values assigned to the different K-values.

TABLE 17

K-Value	Numerical Equivalent	K-Value	Numerical Equivalent
2	1.0	4(3)	6.0
2(3)	2.0	4	7.0
3(2)	3.0	4(5)	8.0
3	4.0	5-4-3	9.0
3(4)	5.0		

Step 2--I determined the number of times a particular K-value was portrayed in a given year by characters with certain characteristics, for example single males in comedy. For 1973, the distribution is shown in Table 18 below.

TABLE 18

K-Value	K-value Equivalent	Number of Occurances for Single Males in Comedy
2	1.0	3
2(3)	2.0	-
3(2)	3.0	-
3	4.0	2
3(4)	5.0	-
4(3)	6.0	-
4	7.0	3
4(5)	8.0	-
5-4-3	9.0	-

Step 3--I multiplied the total number of charac-
ters for each respective K-value by the K-value
equivalent and summed the result. For example,
if "n" represents the number of single male
characters and K represents the numerical K-value
equivalent (with possible values 1.0 through 9.0),
then the sum described by this step is:

$$K_1(n_1) + K_2(n_2) + \ldots K_9(n_9) = \text{sum (K times n)}$$

where K_1 through K_9 means K-value equivalents 1.0
through 9.0, and n_1 through n_9 means the number
of characters of the given characteristics with
equivalent K-values of 1.0 through 9.0, respec-
tively. Filling in the equation with the data
for single males in comedy, 1973, it reads
as follows:

$$1(3) + 2(0) + 3(0) + 4(2) + 5(0) + 6(0) + 7(3) + 8(0)$$
$$+9(0) = \text{sum (K times n)}$$

or

$$3 + 0 + 0 + 8 + 0 + 0 + 21 + 0 + 0 = 32$$

Step 4--I divided the above sum, sum (K times n),
by the sum of all characters with the character-
istics of interest. This sum can be denoted as
"sum(n)." Step 4, therefore, is represented
symbolically as:

$$\frac{\text{sum (K times n)}}{\text{sum (n)}} = \text{average K-value equivalent}$$

For example, for single male comedy stars in 1973, the numerator and denominator of this fraction are: $\frac{32}{8}$.

Step 5--I retranslated the nuemrical K-value equivalent back into actual K-value terms. Thus, $\frac{32}{8}$ or 4 in the example implies an average of Kohlberg Stage 3 (as inferred from Table 17 above) for single men in comedy for the year 1973.

II.   The Analytical Procedure Used for the 1974 Season

The procedures used to compute average Kohlberg values and frequencies of character appearance for 1974 were identical to those described in Section I, except in the case where Kohlberg value averages and frequencies were reported for all program categories combined.

A.   Procedure Used to Determine the Relative Importance of Character Observations for Different Program Categories

Step 1--Each of the three program category samples contained a more or less equal number of programs, while the actual distribution of programs by category in the top 44 shows of 1974 was different from this artificially

selected distribution.* Excluding movies, news programs, variety shows and the like, the actual distribution of comedy, drama, and drama/adventure shows in the top 31 shows of this type was as follows:

- 12 of the top 31 shows were comedies, representing 292 million viewers

- 6 of the top 31 shows were dramas, representing 124.4 million viewers.

- 13 of the top 31 shows were drama/adventure shows, representing 256.3 million viewers

- The total number of viewers for all three types of shows was 681.7 million.

Step 2--Since choosing an equal number of shows (as was done in the sample) would imply a viewer distribution of 33% for each type of show, it was necessary to adjust the variable values observed for TV characters in the sample so that they reflected the relative importance of the actual distribution (by number of viewers) on TV in 1974.

The relative importance of each type of show was measured by the percentage of the total number of viewers watching that type. Thus,

---

*"Top shows" means the shows with the highest Nielsen ratings. The Nielsen rating is the number, in millions, of viewers watching a particular show during its airing.

$$\text{Comedy's percentage} = \frac{292 \text{ million viewers}}{681.7 \text{ million viewers}}$$

$$= 42.8 \text{ percent of relevant viewers}$$

Drama's percentage = 18.2 percent of relevant viewers

Drama/Adventure's percentage = 39.0 percent of relevant viewers.

The above percentages represent the relative amounts of viewer exposure to shows of these three types, thus the relative importance of each type of show.

B. The Procedure Used To Compute Adjusted Character Observation Frequencies for 1974 Observations

For 1974, I made adjustments so that observations for comedy characters were comparable to observations for drama characters, etc. Strict comparability on an inter-program category basis for years before 1974 was not possible because complete Nielsen ratings were not available to me for earlier years. For 1974, the frequencies of character appearances were made comparable beteween one type show and the next in numerical terms by using the following formula:

$$
\begin{array}{l}
\text{Adjusted frequency} \\
\text{of appearance of} \\
\text{characters in 1974} \\
\text{with set of} \\
\text{characteristics} \\
\text{"x"}
\end{array}
\;=\; (42.8\%)
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{no. of comedy} \\
\text{characters} \\
\text{with charac-} \\
\text{teristics "x"}
\end{pmatrix}
$$

$$
+\; (18.2\%)
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{number of drama} \\
\text{characters with} \\
\text{characteristics} \\
\text{"x"}
\end{pmatrix}
$$

$$
+\; (39.0\%)
\begin{pmatrix}
\text{number of drama/} \\
\text{adventure charac-} \\
\text{ters with set of} \\
\text{characteristics} \\
\text{"x"}
\end{pmatrix}
$$

The term on the left-hand side of the equation

above will henceforth be referred to as the

"adjusted frequency." For all frequencies reported

on an inter-program-category basis, percentage

frequencies were computed as described in

Section I.A. above except that all frequencies

were determined using "adjusted frequencies"

(further described below) rather than unadjusted

frequencies.

C. The Procedure Used To Compute Average Kohlberg
Value for 1974

The procedure used to compute average Kohlberg

values, once the adjusted character frequency was

computed for characters with some given set of

characteristics, is identical to the procedure

described in Section I.B. except that adjusted

frequencies were used in place of actual frequencies. The formula for average Kohlberg value is:

$$\text{Average K Value} = \frac{\text{Sum (K times } n_{adjusted})}{\text{Sum (} n_{adjusted})}$$

where $n_{adjusted}$ is the "adjusted frequency" defined in Section II.B. above. An example can best illustrate the technique. Early in the analysis, I computed the average Kohlberg value for all male characters in 1974. This was done as follows:

Step 1--I determined from the raw data (given in Appendix A) the number of times male comedy, drama and drama/adventure characters with each K-Value equivalent appeared.

Step 2--I computed $n_{adjusted}$ for male comedy characters, for male drama characters and for male drama/adventure characters in 1974 at each K-value equivalent using the procedure detailed in Section II.B. above.

Step 3--I multiplied $n_{adjusted}$ by its respective K-value equivalent for male comedy, drama and drama/adventure characters, and summed the result.

Step 4--From data in Step 2, I summed the adjusted

frequency for all characters, thereby obtaining

"sum($n_{adjusted}$)."

Step 5--I divided sum(K times $n_{adjusted}$) from

Step 3 by sum($n_{adjusted}$) from Step 4 and trans-

lated the numerical K-value equivalent into the

actual K-value--in the case of this example,

to Stage 3(4).

D. Additional Comments on the Assumptions Behind this Procedure

The method used for adjusting the frequencies of

variable appearance presumes that:

(1)   Nielsen rating is an accurate measure of

the exposure of the viewing audience to

programs of different types.

(2)   Comedy, drama, and drama/adventure are

mutually exclusive typological categories.

(3)   The sample of TV characters chosen in a

given program category is statistically

representative of the actual characteristics

of characters in that program category.

(4)   The Kohlberg-values scale can be represented

in numerical terms on a scale such as that

given in Table 17 above.

These assumptions do not, in general appear to be

very restrictive ones. In some cases, however, small sample sizes were encountered for characters with a large number of associated characteristics (e.g., white-collar, single males in comedy for 1974). In such cases, the validity of assumption (3) above may be questioned, but a study of much larger scope would be needed to determine the severity of any such distortion.

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