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THE PLACEMENT OF SOCIAL MESSAGES IN
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MONICA LORENE BECKHAM

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**THE PLACEMENT OF SOCIAL MESSAGES IN ENTERTAINMENT MEDIA: A
STUDY OF SOCIAL EXCHANGE THEORY**

By

Monica Lorene Beckham

A THESIS

**Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

THE PLACEMENT OF SOCIAL MESSAGES IN ENTERTAINMENT MEDIA: A STUDY OF SOCIAL EXCHANGE THEORY

By

Monica Lorene Beckham

The purpose of this thesis is to study the inter-organizational process through which social messages become embedded in entertainment programming content. Social Exchange Theory was used to create the conceptual framework for this study. In-depth interviews were conducted with high-ranking executives from government agencies, advocacy organizations, and the entertainment industry to study this process. Three primary processes were identified to explain issue placement: (1) serendipitous placements; (2) opportunistic placements; and (3) planned placements. The result of this study is a practical and theoretical examination of the relationships between entities rarely associated with one another, and a practice of which few are aware.

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To my Lord and Savior, Jesus Christ...
whom I am humbly grateful for all of my blessings...
past, present, and future.

And to my father, William J. Beckham, Jr.

My guardian angel in heaven.

I love you and miss you always.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
Purpose of Study.....	2
Definition of Terms.....	3
Background.....	5
Freedom of Expression, Commercial, and Government Speech.....	7
Government in Health and Safety Communication.....	11
CHAPTER 1	
REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	14
Background.....	14
Theoretical Framework.....	26
Research Questions.....	37
CHAPTER 2	
METHODOLOGY.....	40
Participants.....	40
Procedures and Instrumentation.....	43
Data Collection and Treatment.....	44
CHAPTER 3	
RESULTS.....	45
Heuristic Model for Issue Placement.....	45
Three Issue Placement Processes.....	46
The Value of Emotion and Interpersonal Relationships in Issue Placement.....	57
Government and Issue Placement.....	58
CHAPTER 4	
SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION.....	62
Ethical Considerations.....	64
CHAPTER 5	
LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH.....	68
APPENDICES.....	69
REFERENCES.....	77

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1- Heuristic Model for Issue Placement.....73

Figure 2- Serendipitous Model for Issue Placement.....74

Figure 3- Opportunistic Model for Issue Placement.....75

Figure 4- Planned Model for Issue Placement.....76

INTRODUCTION

Entertainment-education (E-E), is the practice of deliberately placing educational content in entertainment programming (for the purpose of this study, entertainment programming will include primetime/daytime television and movies). Organizations that use E-E strategy do so to propagate ideas with the intent of bringing about social and behavioral change (Singhal and Rogers, 2002). In keeping with its desired effects, E-E has become more frequently used over the years as a means to bring about change at collective and individual levels (Sood, 2002). Slater and Rouner (2002) point out that E-E practices are more effective than traditional media advertising. Thus, E-E strategy is a quickly developing phenomenon amongst academics and practitioners.

E-E, in the context of health, is believed to be a strategy designed to influence individuals' attitudes and beliefs in unique ways depending upon the person's willingness to change the perceived harmful behavior (Slater and Rouner, 2002). E-E practitioners believe that individuals will be more receptive to educational messages when they are embedded in an entertaining context (Sood, 2002). It is also believed that audiences will benefit from issue placement because they, 1) learn a new idea, 2) behave differently as a result of their exposure to a concept, or 3) think a different way about an idea, particularly because the concept was placed in an entertainment medium (Greenberg, Salmon, Patel, Beck, and Cole, 2004). Yet, ethical questions arise regarding who places issues into popular media and what their motivations are for doing so.

Various government agencies use E-E to promote their communication objectives. Recent uses of E-E include efforts by the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) to advise Hollywood creatives on such topics as HIV/AIDS, the anticipated result being storyline

placement in daytime and primetime television. Similarly, the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy (ONDCP) hopes to influence audiences not to use drugs by placing drug storylines in primetime television series. In 1998, the White House launched a major anti-drug campaign using components of E-E. Three years later Congress approved funding for the CDC to create a media campaign designed to target the nutrition and physical activity of adolescents. Over the following years, more government agencies have been employing E-E strategies to achieve their communication goals.

In addition to government agencies, non-profit and health/service agencies practice E-E to promote their respective organizations. Organizations such as Media Scope, the Media Project, and the Kaiser Family Foundation frequently employ E-E strategies for issue placement in media content. In addition to issue placement, the Kaiser Family Foundation promotes and studies health messages depicted on popular television shows by non-profit and government agencies (Greenberg et al., 2004) and tracks the placement and impact of message implementations. Issues undoubtedly arise, however, when government organizations and other groups use entertainment media to influence public thinking and behavior.

Purpose of Study

This study explores the relationship among the government, entertainment industry, and nonprofit organizations. Although selected scholars have explored the ethical issues of agenda setting through public affairs departments of government agencies (Gostin and Javitt, 2001), no deeper examination has been given about the relationships between these organizations. This paper examines the process by which the

government and nonprofit agencies develop and implement strategies to promote certain issues and images within entertainment media content.

This paper will begin with a framework of law to describe the historical introduce relationship between the government and the media. The boundaries set forth by the Constitution in reference to the government's ability to influence media content will be discussed. Following this introduction, relationships among the government, entertainment industry, and non-profit agencies will be presented. After a thorough understanding of the history between these agencies, Social Exchange Theory will be presented as a framework of which to view these organizational and interpersonal relationships. Upon the presentation of the results from this study, I will then discuss the potential ethical implications of these relationships, and suggest recommendations for future research.

The understanding of the relationships among the government, non-profit, and entertainment industries are important due to the potentially controversial nature of the process and of these campaigns designed to influence media content and the public will. This study is not being conducted with negative nor positive motives, but to present a full layout of the issue placement process for one to formulate his/her own opinion. Some will criticize while others will laud the practice of issue placement. To promote either opinion is not the motive of this study.

Definition of Terms

Three key phrases will be used frequently to discuss the implementation and/or presence of a specific issue within entertainment media. This section defines how these phrases will be used for this study.

Issue Placement

Specific issues such as safe sex, substance abuse, and cancer education are frequently written into scripts for television programming. These storylines may be created at the efforts of nonprofit organizations and government agencies seeking to promote a message, or simply for entertainment value. *Issue placement*, as used in this study, is defined as the serendipitous or intentional inclusion in a storyline of any social issue which may influence an audience member. This inclusion may or may not be on the part of intermediary agencies, writers and/or producers seeking to incorporate these topics into storylines. This study will explore the process of these implementations in great detail.

Entertainment-Education

Entertainment-education is a specific term for issue placement used by many public health organizations. *Entertainment-education* is defined by scholars as the deliberate placement of educational content in an entertainment format. Organizations that use entertainment-education strategies do so to promulgate ideas with the intent of bringing about social and/or behavioral change.

Public Affairs

In reference to government agencies in particular, *public affairs* is the term used to describe those departments who serve a classically public relations function. Due to the 1913 Gillette Amendment, government agencies are not permitted to use appropriated funds to pay a publicity expert unless specifically appropriated for that purpose. Thus,

government workers may not hold positions practicing public relations functions. As a result, many government agencies have public affairs and/or communication offices.

Commercial Speech, Government Speech, and Issue Placement

The government has a significant responsibility to protect the welfare of its citizens, as health and safety are top priorities of government agencies. Federal and state laws regulate the quality of the health care people receive, the food people eat, the air people breathe, and the water people drink. However, many factors of disease and health rest on individual human behavior. Unfortunately, many harmful social behaviors are predicated on erroneous information or a lack of information altogether. Therefore, the government's effort to serve its citizenry involves a great degree of power over the information public receives. The government controls content by delivering messages directly to the public or through grants to intermediary, private organizations (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). Depending upon specific issue involved, the behaviors adopted, and the source employed, this practice may be deemed suspicious or deceptive, thus warranting further investigation.

Even while bounded by the First Amendment's guarantee of free expression, the government holds the authority to require or restrict service or product-related communications deemed hazardous to the public in the private sector. The U.S. Supreme Court has developed a well-defined method for the determination of the extent the government may control commercial speech content consistent with the First Amendment. The law seeks to mediate the government's ability to protect its citizens from media deception and the rights of commercial entities to communicate information

(Gostin and Javitt, 2001). These laws are very pertinent when discussing the communication of health and safety information to the public.

Although laws exist to regulate commercial entities, no equally applicable law exists for the government when it acts as the communicator. According to Gostin and Javitt (2001), the First Amendment protects citizens from government interference in freedom of expression; however, there is no precise protection when government is the communicator. In reference to the Constitution, courts rarely restrict government speech even when such speech could be controlled if made by commercial entities. Thus, while a significant amount of scholarly literature and jurisprudence exists relating to the boundaries of commercial speech, there is very little literature pertaining to government speech, and none specifically on matters of public safety and health issues (Gostin and Javitt, 2001).

Despite being safeguarded from constitutional examination, government speech on health and safety matters raises key social and ethical questions and involves significant societal trade-offs. While such speech may produce public health benefits, reduce risky behavior, and increase public safety, it is also inherently politicized through its framing of health problems and their remedies. Despite the fact that government influence on commercial speech can be easily recognized due to its regulation through laws, government speech is regularly disseminated without public scrutiny (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). The government maintains exclusive discretion over the information it propagates to the public with very few restrictions on its communication methods or content.

Although the government may exhibit some control over commercial speech's physical attributes (e.g. posting of billboards), its ability to censor content is lessened by the Constitution (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). The First Amendment declares that "Congress shall make no law...abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press." The First Amendment also impedes the government's suppression of speech by private organizations or citizens even when the content may be deemed offensive. Grounded in several fundamental values, freedom of expression is essential to the enhancement of democracy by the permission of free exchange of ideas.

Freedom of expression is also considered a necessity for the discovery of truth. Oliver Wendell Holmes put forth the metaphor "marketplace of ideas" to invoke the view that in a competitive free market, expressions of truth will prevail.¹ Public health officials (government and non-government), in particular, are skeptical over the notion of truth prevailing in a free market of communication. Many public health authorities distrust commercial entities. They are skeptical to whether commercial entities can genuinely inform the public of risky behavior and appropriate measures for healthy lifestyles. This distrust manifests itself in the belief that commercial entities are a dissension of explicit and tacit messages about health. However, with the exception of food and drug advertisements regulated by the Federal Drug Administration (FDA), commercial messages are rarely based on science. Many commercial messages are more frequently based upon opinions set forth by entities with profit motivation rather than interest in behavioral change (Bayer, Gostin, and McGraw, 1995).

Driven by economic incentive, the private sector seeks to influence consumer behaviors and preferences for its own benefit. The media struggles for advertising profits

¹ *Abrams v. United States*, 250 U.S. 616, 630 (1919) (Holmes, J., dissenting).

and the advertising industry seeks to create enthralling campaigns to serve as a catalyst for consumer purchase. Thus, the majority of information received by citizens comes not from the government but from entities guided by profit maximization (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). This becomes a concern when health and safety issues are amidst the content. The government's power to form and restrict messages disseminated by the private sector is arguably a critical strategy to protect consumers' health and safety. Advertising assists in the demand for harmful services and products (e.g. tobacco and alcohol). Many campaigns target adolescents who by law are unable to purchase and/or consume these products. These issues have caused government regulation of advertising format and content for products with negative consumption consequences.

According to *Valentine v. Chrestensen*², commercial speech held a subordinate position in the priorities of First Amendment values. However, the Supreme Court became increasingly sensitive to advertising's heightened potential for deception.³ This awareness warranted more extensive consumer protection by the government in the Court's opinion. The Court created a paradox by establishing the mandate that commercial speech is protected under the First Amendment yet government maintains regulation power. This inconsistency created two significant issues: (1) what constitutes commercial speech; and (2) what criteria should be used to determine government regulation of such speech and assess its appropriateness. The Court has defined commercial speech as "an expression related solely to the economic interests of the speaker and its audience" that "does no more than propose a commercial transaction."⁴ It must identify a specific product or service, be a form of advertising, and/or confer

² *Valentine v. Chrestensen*, 316 U.S. 52 (1942).

³ *Bolger v. Youngs Drug Prods. Corp.*, 463 U.S. 60, 65 (1983).

⁴ *Central Hudson Gas & Elec. Corp. v. Public Serv. Comm'n*, 447 U.S. 557, 561 (1980).

economic benefit. After defining commercial speech, the Court then laid out criteria for government intervention in commercial speech content.

Upon defining commercial speech, the Court proceeded to create a method for deciphering circumstances under which government interference is permitted. Thus, the Court created a four-part test based on the *Central Hudson* case⁵ for the governmental regulation of commercial speech. To receive constitutional protection, the speech must first involve a legal activity and avoid ambiguity or deception. Second, the government's interest in asserting regulation must be considerable. Third, the interference must advance directly the interest set forth by the government. And finally, the interference must not exceed what is needed for the government to achieve its goal. Due to the nature of public health and safety issues, content concerning such often satisfies the criteria of the government's interest being substantial. Under the guise of their policing powers, states have a proclivity to protect the safety, health, and welfare of its citizens. In addition, the Court has acknowledged the importance of government regulation in helping to promote health and safety (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). However, careful consideration and assessment must be taken when discussing the government as a communicator to the public.

The Court is skeptical of government actions that keep the public ignorant. This skepticism is due to the assumption that society lacks the ability to independently judge the quality of advertisements. For example, the average adolescent lacks the ability to decipher fantasy from reality when viewing an alcohol commercial. Thus, the Court requires that speech be truthful for constitutional protection; however, the Court has never defined explicitly what constitutes deceptive speech. It must be considered as to

⁵ Ibid, 1980.

whether or not fictional television content is constitutionally protected or subject to government interference.

The definition of deceptive and untruthful speech is very important when discussing public health and safety information (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). The purpose of advertising is to create an image associated with the product and/or service with which consumers want to identify. For example, alcoholic products may generally be associated with sophistication or sex, while firearm advertisements frequently emphasize family security achieved by owning a handgun. Similar to advertising, the purpose of entertainment television is to create characters and storylines with which viewers can relate. Popular characters may participate in sexually promiscuous behavior or indulge in illegal or controlled substances. To the extent that advertising may fail to disclose health hazards associated with specific products, it can be assumed that they are misleading and cannot be protected under the First Amendment. A question arises as to whether or not these same criteria can be extended to entertainment media.

There are several social harms which factor into the issue of commercial speech regulation. The Supreme Court has stated that the government does not have broader latitude to regulate speech advocating socially destructive activities. However, the *Central Hudson* test is implicit in its conclusion that the government may interfere when the speech promotes social harms the government is seeking to avoid. Step 2 of the *Central Hudson* test requires that the government's interest be substantial in order to interfere. Generally, avoiding social harms such as smoking, drinking, and violence will be regarded consistently as substantial.⁶ However, the other factors in the *Central Hudson* test must also be satisfied for the government to regulate commercial speech

⁶ *Greater New Orleans Broadcasting Ass'n, Inc. v. U.S.*, 527 U.S. 173, 174 (1999).

content. It is under these conditions that most government speech regulations generally fail (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). To avoid potential pitfalls, the government uses resources from various federal agencies, and through grants with private organizations.

Government in Health and Safety Communication

The government is a primary health educator through agencies such as the CDC and National Institutes of Health (NIH). Health communication campaigns set forth by these agencies are part of an overall public health strategy. National anti-drug and anti-smoking campaigns have been initiated through these agencies. Advertising campaigns and health education campaigns employ similar techniques. However, rather than persuading consumers to purchase a commercial product, health communication campaigns promote healthier behaviors. In addition, efforts imposed by public safety agencies such as the Department of Defense may promote military recruitment. The government has become highly sophisticated in disseminating its messages through media (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). In addition to fundamental advertising and public relations tactics such as paid advertising, public service announcements, Web sites, and press releases, the government has also become savvy in implementing its messages within entertainment media programming to tacitly influence citizens. In some instances, the government may hire outside agencies to help implement its messages.

In many instances, the government's health initiatives are brought about in cooperation with private (generally non-profit) organizations (Rice and Atkins, 1990). The Bush Administration, for example, intends on expanding its cooperation with, and funding of, religious organizations in matters of social health and welfare (Milbank, 2001). Nonprofit organizations depend greatly upon the financial support of the

government to distribute health and safety messages. Even those who wish to promote their messages autonomously often experience adversity achieving their objectives due to the lack of financial support (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). Thus, whether intentional or not, many nonprofit organizations become dependent upon the government in some form or fashion.

Once it selects the organizations it will fund, the government's influence in the organization's messages is inevitable. For instance, the government issues contracts and grants predicated on the condition that a given organization will express a particular viewpoint consistent with that of the government. For example, government-sponsored HIV prevention grants may promote condom use or abstinence; however, the government may exclude any support of homosexuality in the media messages (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). Under the provisions of the First Amendment, the government may opt to promote certain health messages over others. This selectivity permits the government to impose its morals and values onto society, which some may deem as an overstepping of bounds.

With these issues in mind, one must question the depth to which the relationships between the government and media occur. A thorough understanding of the processes and relationships between the government, entertainment industry, and private organizations must be investigated and examined. To promote an understanding of the issue placement process, I investigate two public health agencies (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention and White House Office of National Drug Control Policy), three public service agencies (Department of Defense, CIA and FBI), and multiple nonprofit

and entertainment agencies. To assess the relationships between these agencies, I will use Social Exchange Theory (SET) as a framework.

CHAPTER 1

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Issue placement should not be examined without a full understanding of the development of the relationships between government, entertainment, and intermediary agencies, over the past few decades. Previous interactions between agencies have laid the foundation for the processes which occur today. Before discussion of the theoretical framework which will be used to examine issue placement, we will first discuss the history of the relationship between these agencies.

Background

During a thorough review of the literature pertaining to issue placement, three primary institutions are identified as being involved in the issue placement process. For the purposes of this study, these will be referred to as intermediaries, government agencies, and entertainment industry. The intermediaries consist of advocacy organizations, non-profit organization, foundations, and public relations agencies. Government agencies consist of any public safety or public health agency within the government. Lastly, the entertainment industry consists of writers, producers, studio executives and/or corporations. The history and development of the relationships between these parties from the 1970s until today will be examined and discussed in this section.

Intermediaries

Since the 1970s, entertainment programming has become a medium for the dissemination of pro-social messages. More than twenty advocacy groups, non-profit organizations, and foundations have migrated to Hollywood with the intention of lobbying to implement, improve or alter the portrayals of specific issues in the television

and film industry (Shavitz, 2002). As a result of the axiom that society learns from popular culture, especially entertainment programming, these organizations vehemently defend their necessity in the entertainment industry. Due to the numerous messages in entertainment programming pertaining to medical issues, government and law, organizations have been building relationships with the entertainment industry for decades to create a more accurate and positive programming environment for its viewers (Shavitz, 2002).

Due to the common set of tactics and strategies that advocacy groups use in Hollywood as political lobbyists use with the government, the term “Hollywood lobbyists” was created to label these efforts (Atkin and Wallack, 1990). These groups situated themselves close to decision-making centers, and provided valuable expertise and facts to support Hollywood, just as D.C. lobbyists support Congress. They adopted game rules, compromised when necessary, and used cooperative versus confrontational negotiation tactics. To further make headway with Hollywood and push their agendas, Hollywood lobbyists gave incentives (e.g., awards and public recognition), and did not insist on programming content change. These strategies demonstrated an understanding of Hollywood culture (Montgomery, 1989).

The development of relationships between media advocacy individuals and the entertainment industry can be traced as early as 1970. A Methodist minister, David Poindexter, moved to Hollywood to begin lobbying for the inclusion of social issues in entertainment programming. His efforts led to the founding of Population Communications International, which developed pro-social programming nationally and internationally (Shavitz, 2002). Also in the 1970s, television producer and writer

Norman Lear began pioneering the effort for media accuracy. He hired staff members to ensure the appropriateness and accuracy of social messages depicted in his hit series, "All in the Family." One of the earliest controversial issue placements was a result of collaboration between the Population Institute and Norman Lear. An initiative led by the Population Institute led to CBS's hit show, "Maude" including an abortion into its storyline. In 1972, the 47-year old lead character became pregnant and had an abortion. The show's producer, Norman Lear, was attacked by the Catholic church, which accused Lear of using primetime television for propaganda purposes. The church also targeted the Population Institute for wielding its influences in Hollywood. The show led to anti-abortion protesters staging sit-ins and threatening boycotts (Atkin and Wallack, 1990). During the "Maude" controversy, Norman Fleishmann began holding Hollywood soirees as the director of Planned Parenthood. His first party was held to garner support of Norman Lear. Fleishmann was keenly aware of entertainment television's new trend toward the inclusion of social and political issues. He became known as the "liberal pied piper" because of his diligent efforts to persuade Hollywood to incorporate issues into their programming. After leaving Planned Parenthood, Fleishmann became the TV project director of the Population Institute. Fleishmann was not alone in his career efforts to change television programming. By the mid-1980's Fleishmann was joined by multiple other "Hollywood lobbyists" seeking to influence entertainment programming (Montgomery, 1989).

Despite the potential negative effects of including controversial issues into entertainment programming, advocacy groups did not delay their efforts due to the effects these programming inclusions had on its audience members. Early indications of the

effect of entertainment programming on behavior change can be traced as early as the 1970s. Following one episode of the hit sitcom, “Happy Days,” a depiction of the star character receiving a library card resulted in libraries across the country reporting record numbers of library card requests (Shavitz, 2002).

Due to the increasing research on the effect of entertainment programming on effects on behavior change, the following 30 years created numerous efforts to increase the number of pro-social issues in programming.

Since 1980, the Center for Population Institute continued its work in Hollywood initiated by the Population Institute. The Center for Population Institute offered script input and consultation as well as awards for TV programming depiction of sexual issues in a responsible manner. In 1983, the Entertainment Industries Council (EIC) was created to “deglamorize drug and alcohol abuse use” (Atkin and Wallack, 1990). EIC issued periodic guidelines on issues relating to public safety and other alcohol and drug abuse related topics. Funded by private philanthropy organizations and government grants and contracts, EIC lobbies Hollywood on behalf of advocacy groups such as: Drug Strategies, Center for Alcohol and Drug Research and Education, Society for Women’s Health Research, AIDS Action, and National Institutes of Mental Health. In addition to non-profit organizations lobbying to include social messages into entertainment programming, universities also participated in issue placement.

In April of 1989, ABC aired an episode of the sitcom, “Growing Pains.” In the episode, a teen boy was seriously injured in a drunk driving accident after having only “a few drinks.” After vowing to change his irresponsible ways, in a surprise ending, he dies. The tragic twist was an effort of the producers to break the typical sense of denial and

immortality teenagers possess. This episode was a part of one of the most noteworthy cases of issue placement. This case is a result of a massive effort on behalf of Harvard University's School of Public Health. Known as the Harvard Alcohol Project (HAP), the program was directed by Jay Weinstein from the Center for Health Communication. The center receives funding from corporations such as Max Factor Family Foundation, Exxon Corporation, Helena Rubenstein Foundation and the Alfred P. Sloan Corporation. Over a 15-month period beginning in November of 1988, HAP sought to use entertainment television raise awareness of the dangers of drunk driving and to promote the "designated driver." HAP's efforts resulted in drunk driving prevention appearing in 62 television episodes by encouraging dozens of Hollywood writers and producers to add dialogue in some episodes or create a "dedicated episode" to the issue. Drunk driving prevention appeared in shows such as: All My Children, Baywatch, Charles in Charge, Cheers, Coach, Cosby Show, Dallas, Designing Women, Doogie Howser, Growing Pains, Family Ties, Head of the Class, Knots Landing, Murphy Brown, My Two Dads, Who's the Boss, and Young and the Restless (Montgomery, 1993). Over the next 15 years, advocacy groups and agencies continued their effort to encourage the entertainment industry to use their powerful medium for pro-social causes.

Government

Department of Defense.

Along with the addition of pro-social messages, many non-advocacy agencies have also sought to use entertainment programming as a means to promote their communication message and/or simply ensure the accurate representation of their organization. The military is a primary example of this type of use of entertainment

programming. The relationship between the government and Hollywood can be traced back as far as the early 1900s. For example, in 1914, the Navy provided instructions outlining the criteria for which filming of any ships, equipment, etc. could occur.

Filmmakers who used naval equipment or facilities were mandated to submit scripts of their movies for censorship before they were permitted to release the film. The armed forces realized the impact of movies on its image and recruitment early on (Suid, 2002) .

Specific criteria must be fulfilled in order for the Department of Defense (DoD) to support requests of the entertainment industry. First and foremost, the production must benefit the DoD or be in national interest. This condition is based upon the subjective opinion of the DoD. The entertainment project must increase public understanding of the Armed Forces and the DoD, and should help the Armed Forces recruitment and retention programs. The DoD also requires that the entertainment request must be an authentic portrayal of persons, places, actual military operations and/or historical events. Even fictional depictions must be a feasible representation of military policies, operations and life. In addition to these requirements, the production must not appear to condone or endorse activities by private citizens that are in contradiction to United States government policy. These conditions must be agreed upon by the producer represented by a signed production agreement (Making Movies Guide, 2003).

Along with the signed agreement from the producer, the completed production must be submitted for screening in Washington, D.C., prior to final print (all television episodes must be approved as well). Although most issue placement does not contain any monetary exchange, DoD issue placement is an exception. The entertainment production must pay the project officer and/or technical advisor's housing and travel

expenses and per diem. Reimbursement for any costs incurred by the government agency for use of facilities must also occur (Making Movies Guide, 2003). These costs, however, may only be incurred by the government when materials may only be obtained by the government as not to compete with commercial enterprises (DoD Instruction, 2003). This reimbursement is a result from the requirement that taxpayers may in no way finance entertainment projects (Making Movies Guide, 2003).

Despite these requirements for the government to participate in entertainment projects, the DoD, as well as any other advocacy agencies participating in issue placement, understands the powerful effect the entertainment industry has over its audience members. Many Americans gain their images of the military from movies and television. Military film historian, Lawrence Suid, states that “without it [entertainment], I don’t think most Americans would have thought we could win the Gulf” (The Song Machine, 2003). After release of Top Gun, the navy enjoyed recruitment figures up to 500% above usual (The Song Machine, 2003). The hit movie produced such dramatic results, that it has been deemed the “Top Gun effect.” These types of results create a need for the government to participate in entertainment content when able. It must be noted that the DoD is not *generally* a proactive party in the issue placement process. The DoD has the ability to aid in entertainment content when approached for assistance by the entertainment industry.

Proactive efforts to influence entertainment content by the government have not been well received by the public in the past. The White House Office of National Drug Control Policy attempted issue placement in a more intermediary capacity in 2000.

Poorly received by press and society when discovered, the ONDCP suffered a barrage of poor publicity from their self-professed philanthropic efforts.

White House Office of National Drug Control Policy.

The ONDCP collaborated with six major broadcast networks to help convey anti-drug messages. The White House office reviewed the scripts of many popular television shows and made suggestions on at least two dozen programs. In exchange for production cooperation, White House officials confirmed that the networks were freed from \$22 million dollars in obligations for public-service advertising for two years. The freedom of this airtime would allow the networks to sell this lucrative time to corporate advertisers. The director of ONDCP, Alan Levitt, said the office reviewed scripts to ensure the programs were “on strategy or not” by portraying youth drug use negatively. If this was accomplished, the networks were given credits enabling them to sell ad time versus donating the time for public-service messages (Kurtz and Waxman, 2000).

Popular shows such as “ER,” “Chicago Hope,” “Beverly Hills 90210,” “7th Heaven,” “Cosby,” and “General Hospital,” were given script assistance. A spokesman for the drug control office, Robert Weiner, states that the advertising credits given for primetime programming is “a very positive statement and has the proper message on drugs and is accurate. There’s nothing wrong with that. They’ve given us positive programs. If you’ve got a good, ‘ER,’ that’s certainly as important as an ad.” Many outside of the government share the sentiments of nonprofit Media Access Project president, Andrew Jay Schwartzmann. He states, “the idea of the government attempting to influence public opinion covertly is reprehensible beyond words. It’s one thing to appropriate money to buy ads, another thing to spend the money to influence the public

subliminally” (Kurtz and Waxman, 2000). Government participation in the issue placement process is a sensitive and complex topic.

Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Other government agencies such as the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), however, have had extreme success with little to no controversy with issue placement. The CDC has maintained a continued interest in promoting the accurate depiction of health content in entertainment programming (Beck and Cody, 2003). The CDC is a federal agency with the mission of prevention and control of disease within the United States. With disease prevention and health promotion goals, their experts seek to ensure accurate portrayal of health information in storylines for viewers. The CDC works with Hollywood producers and writers to encourage these accurate depictions. Their efforts are similar to those of advocacy organizations in Hollywood (Beck, 2004).

Although the term entertainment-education had yet been coined, its practices and benefits were quickly dispersing through academic and professional communities. During 1993, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) established a task force to explore the use of the entertainment industry to combat HIV/AIDS. The task force was comprised of representatives from various CDC offices, public policy officials, communication researchers, media industries, and “Hollywood lobbyists.” Led by a visiting scientist at the CDC, Dr. Charles T. Salmon, the first conference on entertainment-education was convened in Atlanta, Ga. in February of 1994. The task force established three primary topics for the conference agenda: 1) the review of scientific evidence of media effects to establish the validity of entertainment-education, 2) public policy questions and concerns with regards to government influence in media

content, and 3) what type and level of involvement would be most effective and acceptable, if the government were to get involved with the entertainment industry in the manner.

The conference concluded that due to the imminent threat of HIV/AIDS to society, there was not only a strong need, but a necessary mandate for the government to use entertainment-education strategies to aid in awareness and prevention. In addition, the conference was used as a springboard to establish a cooperative agreement with University of Southern California's (USC) Annenberg School of Communication, Norman Lear Center. The agreement led to the creation of a program titled Hollywood, Health, & Society, which seeks to assist Hollywood with information, storylines, etc. to promote accurate health messages in entertainment content (Salmon, 1994).

In 1998, the CDC Directors Office of Communication established a pilot project for health communication campaigns. The project's mission was to educate Hollywood producers and writers about public health topics. The mission was achieved by the CDC by employing the same methods used by "Hollywood lobbyists:" providing materials to the industry, tailoring their efforts to the entertainment industry's needs, providing technical assistance, convening conferences with public health experts and entertainment industry writers and producers, creating online tip sheets for Hollywood access, and creating entertaining and creative storylines. Because many non-medical and medical daytime and primetime shows in the U.S. consistently produce public health storylines in their programming, the CDC have health communication specialists to employ their expertise with the writers/producers.

The CDC has succeeded in implementing and assisting with health storylines over the past decade including: Thirtysomething (cancer), mental health issues (LA Law), teen alcohol and drug abuse (7th Heaven), diabetes (Y&R), safe sex (Dawson, Felicity), violence against women (90210), skin cancer and sexually transmitted diseases (90210), Chlamydia (Sex & the City), Hepatitis C (ER), HIV/AIDS (B&B, Chicago Hope), and more (Beck, 2004). The CDC's continued dedication to issue placement has resulted in a cooperative agreement between the CDC and the USC Annenberg School for Communication's Norman Lear Center. The agreement created the Hollywood, Health & Society program which increases the accuracy of health content in entertainment programming storylines, in addition to the encouragement of health storylines in future content (Summary Report, 2003). HH&S provides research and issue placement expertise, maintains a Web site to promote services, hosts panel discussions on health topics, and has formed an alliance with the Writers Guild of America (Beck, 2004). In collaboration with the Soap Summit, HH&S established the Sentinel for Health Award for Daytime Drama in 2000 to recognize "exemplary accomplishments of daytime dramas that inform, educate, and motivate viewers to live safer and healthier lives" (Beck, 2004), for soap operas (www.entertainment.usc.edu/hhs.htm).

In addition to the CDC's cooperative agreement with USC, they have also used their office of Smoking and Prevention to work with Hollywood. The CDC has sent a representative of their OSP office to Hollywood as an entertainment initiative. Working in the advocacy organization, Media Scopes, Los Angeles office, the CDC staffer often partners with Hollywood executives, producers and writers to discuss tobacco depiction in programming. The goal is to promote accurate depiction of tobacco use and health in

television and movies (Havard, 2003). It is evident that the CDC and other government agencies share the sentiments of intermediary organizations; the entertainment industry is an extremely powerful medium for influence and persuasion of society.

Entertainment Industry

Entertainment industry writers and producers, however, share mixed feelings on their level of responsibility to use their power for good. Some scholars, such as Todd Gitlin, have found that quality and ideology account for very little in the television industry, in that the primary goal of television executives is to keep viewers coming back (Gitlin, 2000). However, in a study conducted by Shields, Carol, Balbach, and McGee (1999), some interviewees saw themselves as extremely responsible for trends in society, including that toward smoking amongst teenagers. Many entertainment industry interviewees took their responsibility seriously and wanted to improve the situation. According to one industry employee, “we have to take matters into our own hands, as the architects and custodians of pop culture, to really police ourselves” (Shields et al., 1999).

Throughout the development of issue placement as a common occurrence in Hollywood, the television industry has been required to walk a tightrope between advocacy groups with opposing views on representation on issues in programming (Atkin and Wallack, 1990). Despite this conflict, the industry has developed the understanding of entertainment programming’s agenda-setting capacity, and it’s ability to make the public aware of important health issues. Although some health messages appear due to the diligent efforts of advocacy organizations, many appear due writers and producers looking for topic material. Television is inspired by news media, drawing program ideas from news headlines. Blending fact and fiction, writers and producers frequently seek

ideas and expertise on health storylines from outside sources, e.g., the CDC or EIC (Atkin and Wallack, 1990).

Regardless of the source of topic inspiration, there appears to be a genuine desire amongst producers and writers to depict accurate health information in its programming. For decades, television and film writers and producers have solicited aid from the CDC and other government agencies to assist with storylines. Hollywood writers visit agencies, interview researchers, and gain new show concepts from communicating with experts (Beck, 2004). Although the inclusion of prosocial messages in entertainment programming is not a typical American capitalist tradition, many influential media corporations have begun taking their role seriously and using their persuasion power to help society.

Although documentation of the development of issue placement relationships exists, a theoretical framework of which to examine these relationships does not. Social Exchange Theory (SET) can be used as a lens through which to study issue placement. However, to critically examine issue placement using SET, an addendum must be applied. Due to the business-to-business nature of SET, the interpersonal roots are rarely recognized. Thus, the emotional undertones of the relationships are frequently ignored. As a result, when analyzing the exchanges between the parties in issue placement, the emotional component in SET will be highlighted. The following section will discuss the roots and development of SET.

Theoretical Framework

The roots of Social Exchange Theory (SET) lie in interpersonal communication. SET theorists view interpersonal relationships as an economic exchange of resources

(Thibaut and Kelley, 1959). These resources range from friendship to trust. While there are a variety of theories rooted in social psychology to explain these exchanges, most SET theorists share several common principles (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959): the continuity of relationships are seen as mutually profitable; parties are compelled to reciprocate rewards; exchanges are not limited to economic resources; and social exchange is inherently subjective. Over time, scholars discovered that the principles of SET could be used not only in explaining interpersonal relationships, but also to explicate business-to-business relationships.

Social exchange theory has been a central theoretical framework in the explanation of business-to-business marketing (Lambe, Wittman and Spekman, 2001). With regard to the entertainment industry in particular, many scholars have become intrigued with the exchange theory as a means of explanation for product placement. With the exception of product placement, however, few scholars have investigated exchange theory in respect to the relationships between the entertainment industry and government and non-profit agencies. Similar to the result of product placements, the negotiated exchanges between these agencies produce issue placements and other non-tangible rewards. This paper will examine the exchange processes between the entertainment industry, government, and non-profit agencies.

Exchange theory scholars have also become increasingly interested in the non-contractual procedures that govern exchange processes between firms (Lambe et. al, 2001; Dwyer, 1987). Due to the complexities of comprehensive contracts, non-contractual methods of “governance” are critical to success of exchange (Goetz and Scott, 1981). Early research utilized power and dependence concepts, emphasizing the

control one firm has over another, for explaining non-contractual governance in Business-to-Business (BTB) exchange (Hunt, Ray and Wood, 1985). However, limitations have been found with regards to the use of power to explain successful exchanges due to conflict potential.

In time, transaction cost analysis (TCA) was used to explain BTB exchange (Coase, 1937). Based on research from institutional economics, TCA suggests that exchange governance is motivated by firms' desires to manage opportunity costs of exchange (Rindfleisch and Heide, 1997). In TCA literature, these costs are referred to as "transaction costs" (Williamson, 1975). Researchers have used TCA to assist in the explanation of why firms select specific exchange relationships mechanisms based upon the problems they face (Rindfleisch and Heide, 1997). A primary premise of TCA asserts that the risk of opportunistic partners limits the efficacy of relational governance in relationship exchange. However, some researchers have revealed that relational control in the form of personal relationships and norms is frequently a successful way to govern (Anderson and Narus, 1984). However, doubt has been cast on TCA relational exchange due to its limited capacity to explain relationships in which partners develop relationship-based governance over a period of time. Thus, many BTB research have become increasingly drawn to SET.

The core mechanism of SET is the relationship contract, or relational interdependence. For those who seek to use SET in the explication of BTB relational exchange, three challenges are present. First, SET is not clearly articulated in BTB marketing literature (Lambe et al., 2001). An inclusive examination of SET and its components is lacking, although one may gain an overall sense of SET. Second, no

methodical assessment of limitations exists to explain SET in BTB exchange. Finally, no significant amount of *current* literature exists which organizes SET research to serve as guidebook for those who desire to use SET to clarify BTB exchange governance (Lambe et al., 2001).

Social Exchange Theory

Social Exchange Theory (SET) is perhaps one of the original theories of social behavior (Homans, 1958). SET has been defined as any relations between individuals resulting in an exchange of resources: tangible and intangible (Homans, 1958). The primary foundation of SET revolves around the assumption that parties enter and sustain relationships with the belief that rewards will be positive (Blau, 1968, Homans, 1958). Blau (1964) was one of the first to use term “theory of social exchange” to conceptualize “social interaction as an exchange process.” Often cited as noteworthy contributors to SET, Thibaut and Kelley (1959) employed their theories to explain how parties in exchange relationships weigh the benefits of the relationships to determine their commitment level. Emerson’s (1962) research on effects of dependence and power on exchange relationships was his primary contribution to SET. He posits that power disparities create relationship instability and, thus, interdependence is vital to continuity of social exchange relationships.

SET scholars collectively proclaim a shared interest in the interdependence of relationships between parties and the process of social behavior. The social psychological theory suggests that exchange interactions involve social and/or economic outcomes (Lambe et al., 2001). Each party will eventually evaluate and compare social and economic benefits from these interactions with those accessible from alternatives. As

a result of these comparisons, determination of relationship dependence is established. Positive social and economic outcomes increase the trust and commitment of relationship over time; thus, the relationship is maintained. In addition, positive exchanges over time produce relational exchange norms that govern future interactions.

Three forms of social exchanges can occur, according to SET. These forms are labeled as: direct, indirect, and productive (Molm, 1995). *Direct exchanges* are defined as relationships in which parties are directly dependent upon one another. On the other hand, *indirect exchanges* are categorized as those in which two parties may benefit from one another through a mutual third party. *Productive exchanges* are defined as those in which equally beneficial results are created by contributions from both parties involved. In this type of exchange, both parties can only benefit if both cooperate. Thibaut and Kelly (1978) used direct and indirect exchanges to understand reciprocity and cyclical relationship in terms of both economical and interpersonal relationships.

The primary assertion of SET is that parties enter and maintain relationships with the anticipation that the relationships will provide positive rewards (Lambe et al., 2001). Lambe et al. propose that there are four premises to understanding SET:

(1) *Exchange interactions result in economic and social outcomes.* Under this premise, it is expected that firms will enter into new associations because of the potential positive outcome. Although economic gain is frequently viewed as most important, social rewards i.e., emotional satisfaction, spiritual values, pursuit of personal advantage, and sharing humanitarian ideals are also valued, and in some instances, more valued. Blau (1968) posits that the most significant advantage involved in social exchange does not have any material value on which an exact

price can be put, as exemplified by social approval and deference. This assertion in particular will prove very relevant to understanding negotiation tactics and exchange between the entertainment, government and non-profit industries examined in this study. Social rewards are a frequent result of many issue placement exchanges.

(2) Social and economic outcomes are compared to alternatives. SET assumes that parties will remain in their current relationships as long as satisfactory rewards remain evident (Lambe et al., 2001). It is assumed that parties must use valuable social and economic resources for the exchange; thus, these costs reduce the benefit of relationship as a whole. Although “satisfaction” will be relative to each party, the satisfaction level must outweigh the reward potential from alternative relationships in order for the current partnership to be maintained. As long as outcomes exceed alternatives, each party will gain relationship dependence due to greater rewards achieved in current versus alternative situations. As a result of this dependence, maintenance of relationship will be sought. With this in mind, the initial interaction between parties is essential in determining future partnership trust and commitment. Furthermore, parties will remain in relationships as long as positive rewards continue. As mentioned earlier, these rewards may not necessarily be economic. In most issue placement instances, no monetary benefit will result. Thus, primary emphasis is placed on emotional satisfaction, social responsibility, humanitarian ideals, etc.

(3) Positive outcomes over time increase trust and commitment. Trust is an essential component of social exchange due to the non-contractual nature of the agreement. The mutual reciprocation of positive rewards over time through multiple exchanges creates trust. Trust, as a result, contributes extensively to the commitment level of partners in the relationship (Blau, 1964). SET asserts that trust building may begin with small transactions, and as rewards increase, more valuable rewards must be given in return. Mutual commitment is essential because it ensures effort by each party, and investments are made to ensure production of equally advantageous outcomes.

(4) Positive outcomes over time produce relational exchange norms. Defined as unambiguous and/or tacit jointly established rules for behavior developed over time, norms are significant in SET because social exchange is extensively governed by rules (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959; Homans, 1958). Norms are mutually agreed upon means of exchange behavior without the complexities created by use of power. Norms increase the efficacy of relationships because uncertainty is reduced by previously established agreements. With regards to issue placement, norms are ever present. Common methods for relationships between parties have been established and used continuously.

As indicated previously, SET was developed as an interpersonal communication theory. Currently used to explain BTB exchange, emotion is not frequently acknowledged in the SET model. Due to the nature of issue placement exchanges, emotion is an essential aspect of SET. Concentrating on emotion when using SET as a lens to examine issue

placement, is critical. Thus, emotion will be discussed as a variable within SET for the remainder of this paper.

It is often presumed that those self-interested parties involved in SET are unemotional entities using only cognitive reasoning to make decisions concerning their exchanges (Lawler and Thye, 1999). Lawler and Thye (1999), however, discuss how emotion, in fact, is a relevant component of SET. Classic exchange theory literature refers to various types of emotions (Thibaut & Kelly, 1959, Homans, 1961, Blau, 1964). Examination of many exchange relations will demonstrate emotions pervading the social exchange process (Lawler and Thye, 1999). Economic partnerships may thrive because of the pleasure they produce, just as interpersonal relationships are often motivated by strong affection. Exchange relationships may maintain a particular emotional component, and generate certain measures and/or results when these emotions surface (Hotschild, 1979). Exchange relations can cause involved parties to feel good, proud, satisfied, etc. (Lawler and Yoon, 1996). Assessing emotions in relation to SET will prove essential in evaluating the relationships between parties involved in issue placement due to the non-monetary satisfaction derived from these exchanges.

Social Exchange Theory, Emotion, and Issue Placement

Lambe, Wittman, and Spekman (2001) suggest several factors to be considered while examining social exchange relationships, including: (1) dependence; (2) trust; (3) levels of commitment; (4) cooperation; (5) norms; (6) satisfaction, and (7) emotion. Though not specifically listed as a factor in SET, emotion is a component already contained within SET and will be focused on for the purpose of this study. All of these factors are pertinent to issue placement:

- (1) Dependence: Interdependence is perhaps the most common explanation for why organizations enter ties with other organizations. Research suggests that organizations enter relationships with other organizations as a means to alleviate challenges posed by their environment (Gulati, 1999). From the perspective of issue placement, the entertainment industry may seek consultation, script assistance, and/or resources from government or advocacy agencies. At the same time, government or advocacy agencies may be seeking to have their organizations' agenda included in an entertainment program. These groups may form an alliance as a means to serve their individual needs collectively.
- (2) Trust: Trust has been defined as the belief in the integrity and reliability of an exchange partner (Morgan and Hunt, 1994), and the belief that a party's word is honorable (Blau, 1964). It has assumed that as positive outcomes between exchanges increase, trust will increase. Due to the non-contractual and non-monetary nature of issue placement, trust becomes an essential component in these relationships. It must be assumed that with no contract, agreements between parties will be upheld on good faith. Thus, relationships may initially begin amongst parties who have previous interaction and/or third party references, making interpersonal relationships a potentially vital component of exchange relationships of this type.
- (3) Commitment: Commitment level is generally influenced by the level of social and/or economic reward received by the exchange relationship (Lambe et al., 2001). Thus, higher levels of reward perceived by each party will predict the level of commitment. In regards to issue placement, it is not easy to determine

commitment levels due to the level of autonomy available to the entertainment industry when dealing with advocacy groups and some government agencies.

With the exception of instances where the entertainment entity approaches other organizations for specific needs outside of reference material and consultations, no guarantee of commitment must be made by the entertainment entity.

- (4) Cooperation: Cooperative behaviors amongst the parties engaged in social exchange will promote greater benefits for the exchange partners. This cooperation allows the development of synergistic rewards (Anderson and Narus, 1990), which will promote success of the exchange relationship (Morgan and Hunt, 1994). Thus, as agencies seek to build relationships with the entertainment industry, cooperation from both parties will yield future exchanges and relationship development.
- (5) Norms: Norms have become a critical component for continuity of exchange relations between parties (Lambe et al., 2001). Many researchers have defined relational norms in BTB literature, however, a common theme remains constant through all definitions- norms are guidelines for interaction between the parties which are generally accepted by all involved (Gundlach, Achrol and Mentzer, 1995; Heide and Jonn, 1992; Lusch and Brown, 1996; Macneil, 1980; Nevin, 1995). These norms serve as mechanisms for governing exchange relationships (Blau, 1964). With regard to issue placement, norms may be formal (contracts outlining the exchange agreements) or informal (good faith, verbal agreements) from the development of the relationships to the outcome of the exchange depending upon the agencies involved and type of exchange in question.

- (6) Satisfaction: Although similar to cooperation, satisfaction is an essential component to exchange relationships. Gaski and Nevin (1985) define satisfaction as the overall level of approval of the arrangement. Satisfaction can also be defined as the level in which the exchange results meet the expectations of the parties involved. Parties who believe that exchanges have met or exceeded their expectation will be most likely to maintain and expand that relationship (Thibaut and Kelly, 1959). As a result, satisfaction level is an important indicator in determining the a) presence of issues, and b) technical assistance sought and used in entertainment programming.
- (7) Emotion: Under the Social Exchange Theory premise that exchange interactions result in social outcomes, rewards such as emotional satisfaction may perhaps be the most significant advantage involved in exchanges (Blau, 1968). These rewards, in many instances are valued more than economic gain. Kemper (1978) defines these emotional rewards as positive or negative states that involve neurophysiological and cognitive elements. Lawler and Yoon (1993) consider positive emotions in two facets: pleasure/satisfaction and interest/excitement. Pleasure/satisfaction is defined as “feeling gratified,” while interest/excitement is defined as “feeling energized” (Izard, 1977; Watson and Tellegen, 1985). In exchange relations, pleasure/satisfaction is most important. Because SET has established social reward as a significant advantage in exchange relationships, it is perhaps the feeling of gratification which leads to this advantage. Assuming such is an essential factor in understanding the motivations behind why entertainment

is an essential factor in understanding the motivations behind why entertainment entities may enter into relationships with other agencies when no monetary value is achieved.

Gulati and Gargiulo (1999) suggest that strategic alliances are a result of organizations voluntarily cooperating to combine resources for mutual benefit. The alliances are created through a variety of arrangements. Social Exchange Theory with emotion as an addendum was used as the theoretical framework to understand the various arrangements created through the process of issue placement. By using the dimensions defined in SET, as well as those recognized during the interview process, a series of models were developed based upon those created by Chang, et. al (2204) to demonstrate a thorough examination of issue placement.

Research Questions

Through the combination of premises and theories such as interpersonal relationships, appealing to emotion, and reciprocal exchanges, the following primary and secondary research questions were asked:

RQ1: What are the organizational processes and relationships which can lead to issues being integrated into television programming and films? How does Social Exchange Theory explain these processes and relationships?

S1: What norms have developed through the exchange of services through the agencies? The overall purpose of this research is to explore and evaluate the process of issue placement in entertainment media. In order to accomplish this, the researcher must be able to establish certain *relational norms* which have been created by these agencies.

S2: How do agencies negotiate the exchange between themselves to achieve mutual goals? By exploring the negotiation tactics used to create exchanges between agencies, the level of *commitment* by each party may be assessed.

S3: How and why do agencies build and maintain relationships with other agencies? The SET factor of *dependence* is addressed by answering this question.

RQ2: Does the element of emotion have an influence on the exchange between agencies where no monetary exchange is involved?

S4: What motivations exist in the exchange between agencies? When discussing social exchange relationships, especially when no monetary exchange exists, *emotion* must be considered as a factor and a motivation. The personal relationships between parties and altruistic acts of issue placement in many instances must be included and seriously examined when examining social exchange relationships.

CHAPTER 2 METHODOLOGY

Participants

The goal of this exploratory study was to obtain a sample of those parties directly involved in the process of issue placement in entertainment programming. A total of 20 executives or public affairs representatives from government, non-profit, foundation, public relations, or entertainment organizations were used as the sample for this investigation. Agencies were purposefully targeted by dividing government agencies into public health and public safety. Two agencies per division were identified; CDC and ONDCP (public health), and FBI and DoD (public safety). Intermediary and entertainment agencies were identified through the review of literature on issue placement. Focal participants were selected through an on-line investigation of top communication officers within the targeted agencies. General contact numbers were obtained and used to locate the appropriate individuals to request an interview. Several participants were located from this method. During a conference on entertainment-education in Santa Monica, CA in May of 2003, additional participants were approached for a future interview date. Contacts maintained from this conference yielded additional contact information for participants. Through email and phone communication, interviews were scheduled in Los Angeles, CA and Washington, D.C. during the summer of 2003. During many interviews with focal participants, indigenous contacts were then obtained. Lastly, following interviews, participants frequently referred other colleagues for potential interviews. Through this selection process, the sample was created.

Full cooperation and assistance was provided from the government and intermediary representatives. Difficulty arose in attempts to locate and contact entertainment industry representatives. This difficulty resulted in a lower number of interviewees from entertainment organizations in comparison to government and intermediary organizations. One participant, however, could account for representation of two entertainment programs due to his extensive experience as a writer/producer on two major prime-time television programs (Dr. Neal Baer, Law & Order SVU and formerly, ER). Thus, the sample created is a microcosm of the agencies involved in the issue placement process. Despite the vast amount of intermediary organizations involved in issue placement, and additional amount of entertainment organizations which could have been used in the sample, the representatives used are major participants in the process. Due to this fact, the results from this sample will serve as a representation of the issue placement process.

The sample resulted as such: eight participants represented government agencies, eight represented intermediary organizations (non-profit/foundation/public relations), three represented entertainment organizations, and one participant doubled as a government and intermediary representative (CDC and Norman Lear Center). The participant list contained the following representatives:

Government:

- 1) U.S. Department of Defense, Special Assistant for Entertainment Media
- 2) Federal Bureau of Investigations, Public Affairs Director
- 3) Central Intelligence Agency, Entertainment Industry Liaison

- 4) White House Office of National Drug Control Policy, former
Communications Director
- 5) Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Director Hollywood, Health &
Society
- 6) United States Marine Corps, Motion Picture and T.V. Liaison
- 7) United States Air Force, Motion Picture and T.V. Liaison
- 8) Lieutenant Commander United States Navy, Navy Office of Information,
West
- 9) Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, Office of Smoking Prevention,
Entertainment Industry Liaison

Entertainment Industry:

- 10) MTV, Manager of Research and Planning
- 11) Law Order SVU, Executive Producer (former ER writer/producer)
- 12) Paramount Pictures Studios, Director of Publicity

Intermediaries:

- 13) Entertainment Industries Council, Snr. Vice President Program Services and
Government Relations
- 14) Fleishman-Hillard, Managing Supervisor
- 15) Human Interaction Research Institute, Director
- 16) USC Annenberg School of Communication Norman Lear Center, Director
Hollywood, Health and Society
- 17) Media Scope, President
- 18) The Media Project, Director

19) Kaiser Family Foundation, Entertainment Media Partnerships

20) Rogers & Associates

21) Michigan State University, Acting Dean of Communication Arts & Sciences

Procedures and Instrumentation

During the summer and fall of 2003, an open-ended interview protocol was implemented to conduct face-to-face or phone interviews of the sample. Face-to-face interviews were conducted in Washington, D.C. in July and October of 2003, and in Los Angeles, CA in September of 2003. All face-to-face interviews took place in the office of the interviewee. Phone interviews were conducted in various locations at the convenience of the interviewer. All interviews in-person or phone, were digitally tape recorded for the use of the researcher, with consent of all interviewees. Consent forms were signed and given to the interviewer or faxed to the university (APPENDIX A).

All interviews were conducted by myself, the primary researcher, following a 14-question questionnaire (APPENDIX B-C) used as a guideline for the interview. Two variations of the questionnaire were created to accurately address the differences in the process for those in the entertainment industry versus those at government/intermediary agencies. The questionnaire was created to ensure all research questions would be addressed during the interview. The questions were created within the framework of social exchange theory and emotion.

Central to RQ1 and S1 is the notion of relational norms which was measured through analyzing the cumulative responses to: who is contacted within the exchange organization to implement messages (IQ4); what type of relationship has been established with this agency (IQ8); and where the agency is established geographically (IQ9),

relational norms can be assessed and summarized. The focus of S2 and S3 are the SET factors of commitment and dependence. These factors were measured through multiple items. In order to identify the negotiation tactics and relationships between parties, the following questions are addressed: (IQ6) how the agency approaches the entertainment industry (or if they are approached, when interviewing a representative from the entertainment industry), (IQ8) what type of relationship has been established with the exchange party, e.g. asymmetrical/symmetrical, compensation, and (IQ11) what has been found to be the most effective negotiation tactic. By asking if agencies use entertainment programming to communicate their messages (IQ4), if they have established representatives in close proximity to the entertainment industry (IQ9), and if they feel issue placement is a beneficial way to implement their messages (IQ12), it may seek to explicate the level of dependence one party may have with another. This level of dependence may deem relevant in analyzing the norms created in the exchange relationships of the involved parties.

Central to RQ2 and S4 is the element of emotion. In order to assess the factor of emotion in the process of issue placement, the following questions are asked: what have you found to be the most effective methods in achieving your placement goals or why have you used issue placement in your programming (IQ11), and do you feel issue placement is a beneficial way to implement your messages or do you feel issue placement enhances your programming (IQ12).

In many instances, after the researcher explained the purpose of the interview, many interviewees responded to the majority of the questions without much guidance from the interviewer. Interviews lasted anywhere from 15-120 minutes, with the average

being 45 minutes. Additional follow-up questions were been asked via email during the analysis process.

Data Collection and Treatment

Each tape-recorded interview was downloaded onto a laptop computer and stored on a hard drive, floppy disk and compact disc. Upon completion of all interviews, two undergraduate students transcribed the data. A specific protocol was given to the transcribers. To account for non-verbals, transcribers were instructed to include all pauses and noises. After transcription, the primary researcher retained all typed data and compact discs. No research remained in possession of the transcribers. Because no qualitative data analysis software was available, data was analyzed for themes manually by the researcher.

I interpreted the data in two phases. I first coded the data thematically based on patterns that emerged from the interviews. After establishing my initial codes, I then engaged in more focused coding to identify specifics in each of the identified processes. The data was cataloged by color-coding the transcriptions where discussion of the various processes occurred. I developed themes based upon these identified processes. After arranging my data by subcodes, I then created titles for the processes identified.

The answers to each research question were identified in each interview and logged for easier accessibility for the researcher. Major relationships between each agency were identified in order to create charts (see figures) depicting the types of relationships norms in the issue placement process.

CHAPTER 3 RESULTS

The method in which prosocial messages become included in entertainment programming varies. However, the following research study resulted in the detection of three primary processes. The following section will provide charts, explanations, and examples of the issue placement process.

Heuristic Model for Issue Placement

An analysis of 19 interviews conducted amongst representatives from the entertainment industry, government and non-profit agencies, revealed individuals between four major industries/organizations being responsible for issue placement in entertainment programming: (1) *intermediary agencies* such as Fleishmann-Hillard Public Relations firm contracted for hire by government agencies to implement their media campaigns; (2) *advocacy groups* such as Media Scope and Entertainment Industries Council who continuously work with Hollywood to increase the implementation and accurate portrayal of prosocial messages in programming, these agencies are also frequently given government grants; (3) *government agencies* such as the Department of Defense and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention work with Hollywood directly or through intermediary agencies to communicate message; (4) and *entertainment firms and producers/writers* such as Paramount Studios and Law & Order SVU, who are frequently approached by intermediary agencies and/or seek assistance from agencies to augment storylines to increase accuracy . Based upon the models created by Chang et. al (2004), four models were developed to illustrate the issue placement process.

FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE

As Figure 1 displays, these four industries/organizations are not linked to one another in a specific manner or process. Because issue placement occurs in various manners, different parties play a role in some situations as opposed to others. Thus, in terms of the heuristic model for issue placement, no directional lines are given to explicate the relationships between the players. **RQ1** asked what organizational processes and relationships can create issue integration into television programming and films. The second part of **RQ1** asks how Social Exchange Theory explains these processes and relationships. **S1** asks what norms have developed through the exchange of services through the agencies. The answers to these questions are explained in detail in the following sections.

Three Issue Placement Processes

Several variables and premises from Social Exchange Theory emerged from the interviews conducted for this study. Regardless of the industry, many participants relayed similar information with respect to the issue placement process. The three processes in which prosocial messages may become embedded in entertainment programming are acknowledged in this study as: (1) *serendipitous*; (2) *opportunistic*; and (3) *planned* (Chang et. al, 2004). Each process is described and explained in the following sections.

Serendipitous Issue Placement.

FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE

Illustrated in Figure 2, *serendipitous* placements are those that occur by chance, without prior effort of an agency, or those that occur without prior knowledge of the

agency whose message was conveyed. For example, if an episode of ER airs containing a storyline about the sexually transmitted disease, syphilis, and no assistant or consultation from any intermediary or government agency was given or sought, then serendipitous placement as occurred by chance.

Opportunistic Issue Placement (OIP).

Opportunistic issue placements can be organized into two types. They answer S2 by addressing how agencies negotiate the exchange between their firms to achieve mutual goals. *Type 1 OIP's* can be defined as those placements which occur after initiation from an intermediary or government agency. An example of a Type 1 OIP occurring without prior knowledge would be when, for example, the Media Project holds roundtables for writers and producers from the network WB and UPN, suggesting possible storylines and expertise on teenage pregnancy. A few months after this roundtable, a *Gilmore Girls* episode airs including a storyline with a teen girl dealing with pregnancy. In this instance, it may be assumed that the roundtable held may have inspired the storyline.

S3 asks how and why agencies build and maintain relationships with other agencies. Opportunistic issue placements create initial interactions which may produce socially beneficial outcomes leading to future partnerships. These issue placements satisfy the first premise SET by emphasizing the element stating that exchanges are not necessarily for economic benefit, but for social and professional relationships. When intermediary and/or government agencies hold roundtables or conferences for entertainment industry writers/producers, there is no contract binding the writers/producers to any agreement to use the information or storylines suggested. These events are held strictly to, a) provide valuable information for the writers/producers in the

instance they choose to include prosocial topics in their storylines and, b) build potentially lasting relationships with key industry people in case they may be needed for assistance in the future.

When discussing variables, SET posits that, because needs may be met from opportunistic issue placement regardless of how it came about, dependence may materialize. For example, despite the fact that the Media Project may not have been alerted that their roundtable caused the writer to use a storyline suggested, the mission of the Media Project was still met. If the show met no objections, the satisfaction achieved from both parties may manifest itself into a relationship leading to future reciprocal benefits. The writer/producer may view the Media Project as a source for information and consultation on future episodes, thus, creating a sense of dependence.

FIGURE 3 ABOUT HERE

Figure 3 illustrates the non-directional nature of Type 1 OIP's. Because these placements occur without prior knowledge or strictly by chance, there is no evidence of direct or indirect exchange. Thus, the process is neither cyclical nor repetitive based on this initial placement. These relationships will only continue in the event conditions were satisfactory for both parties, according to SET. For example, it would be assumed that if the Media Project and the writers/producers of Gilmore Girls both experienced positive emotions from the episode on teen pregnancy, an interpersonal relationship will develop in time.

I can see the process of opportunistic issue placement beginning through many intermediary agencies such as Media Scope who states that,

Any new issue that we take up under a new grant or a new contract we reach out to the entertainment industries through roundtables and small gatherings...small

gatherings of entertainment industry people through which we actively invite and encourage them to participate...and whenever possible we go directly to them to do a briefing directly at a production site (Media Scope Interview, 2003).

We see similar responses from the Lear Center,

What we did initially was just get meetings with different shows and just go in and talk about what the CDC was offering. Show them some of the tip sheets, which suggested storyline topics. But we had a case example so that the writer has a bit of an idea of how people are affected, who's affected, what happens when they are affected by a health issue and what can be done to treat it, or to prevent it...met with ER I believe 3 times, met with West Wing once, met with representatives from Guild and from some of the major studios once, and then we started taking in other experts because the shows seemed to like the experts and now that the program is based here, that's really a strong effort we mostly take in experts. Because the shows are willing to sit down and talk to us, but they're much happier to talk to somebody who knows the topic and can tell them stories. They're looking for stories (Lear Center Interview, 2003).

The methods depicted in these examples are found throughout all of the intermediary agency interviews. They show a clear indication of the efforts to provide the entertainment industry with facts, storylines, etc. to encourage them to include their messages into programming. Another concrete example of how the intermediaries seek to gain issues placed into entertainment content is evident from the Media Project,

We also couple times a year do larger scale writers briefing. The last one was in the spring at the Writer's Guild. And then we will have a hundred and some odd writers come and we will have a panel of teams and experts and we talk about different issues that we hope will be of interest to writers ... the last one was on growing up gay in America. We did one on being a boy, the pressures and struggles of growing up a teen boy, we did one on sex ed. These are all an opportunity for writers to hear from teens and talk to teens about the realities of their lives (Media Project Interview, 2003).

The results of these efforts, however, are rarely told to the agencies prior to use, however, they still maintain the requirements for opportunistic issue placements.

The general consensus from the interviews showed that *Type 2 OIP's* generally originate on behalf of entertainment firms and/or writers/producers. *Type 2 OIP's* are

those initiated by one party to another solely for their own benefit, which may or may not result in a mutually beneficial exchange. For example, it is common practice for a movie producer to approach the Department of Defense for script review and or technical assistance. The producer may want anything from the use of a base to full script review, an on-site consultant, and use of off-duty officers as extras in the film. The following quote expresses the sentiments of the DoD in reference to what Hollywood needs from the government:

What it is that Hollywood wants from us? Of course equipment ... technical advice...access to installations and by installations that includes ships ... real estate and if not for backgrounds like Pearl Harbor the film would have not have been made ... if they had not filmed at Ford Island ... the budget would have gone so high they could not have made the picture... (Department of Defense Interview, 2003).

The government will read the script and decide whether or not they are willing to assist. In some instances they are willing to provide some assistance to full assistance depending upon how much the writer/producer is willing to amend their script for the appeasement of the DoD. If the writer/producer is unwilling to sacrifice entertainment value for accuracy, the DoD may generally opt out of any assistance. Depending upon how salient it is to the writer/producer to gain DoD assistance, an agreement may or may not be met. If the producer agrees to make script changes to ensure DoD cooperation, this type of issue placement is deemed opportunistic.

FIGURE 4 ABOUT HERE

As demonstrated by figure 4, these types of issue placements are generally initiated from the entertainment industry. In most instances regarding issue placement with the Department of Defense, CIA or FBI, assistance is sought for a movie. An

interview with a representative from Paramount Studios explains why the entertainment industry would be interested in approaching agencies for consultation:

[...]in the past I think 15 years audiences have become increasingly sophisticated, and you can't fool them...one of the elements that makes the movie successful is its realism and its authenticity, so its important to get the facts right, its important to present something in an accurate light...when we were working on The Sum of All Fears Trace, we wanted the character Jack Ryan to be as real as possible ... talked to a lot of CIA to make sure that his characters were ...(Paramount Studios Interview, 2003).

The following interview excerpts illustrate why the government desires cooperation with the entertainment industry in regards to issue placement, and the limitations they place on their cooperation:

[...]from them we want the opportunity to tell the public something about the military that they may not know, or maybe they know and we want to reinforce, or just keep our good will going by imagery that we think makes us look realistic...if a picture comes along and its unrelentingly negative, I'm going to say that's not realistic its not my experience with the US military... now are there any conditions or limitations, yes...(Department of Defense, 2003).

A similar, but varying opinion can be found when assessing the opinion of the CIA,

[...]the criteria for cooperating with a dramatic fictional program is absolutely subjective, and it is absolutely simple and straight foreword. It has to do with whether or not they're going to give us a fair and balanced portrayal. That doesn't mean that they can't talk about Alder James or traitors like him.... that was the whole point of the Recruit ...well I didn't say I'm not going to cooperate with you because you're sort of picking a scab off an old wound, its history that happened ... we're not trying to white wash but the rest of the movie was realistic enough and showing the purposeful, patriotic meaningful mission in the agency (CIA Interview, 2003).

It is evident that a realistic, yet patriotic portrayal of the government is generally an essential element that must be depicted in a production to garner support from a government agency. This support is essential for opportunistic issue placement to occur. It is also evident from this research that in regards to public safety agencies, the primary exchanges exist between agencies and filmmakers. In these relationships, the film studio

initiates the exchange in order to solicit assistance. Contrarily, in the instances regarding opportunistic issue placement with public health agencies (CDC) or intermediary agencies, the assistance sought from the entertainment industry is generally for television shows versus film. These relationships are more clearly illustrated when analyzing the comments from the executive producer of Law & Order (formerly from ER),

I found them [intermediary agency] and said here's what I need. Kaiser started to fly in experts on HIV or needle exchange or whatever topics we were interested in and they paid for it. And we would have a seminar and we would talk to different experts. So that really started from ER, because there was a need. We burned through so many stories, we wanted experts and we would have lunches where we would have seminars and talk to these people (Law & Order Interview, 2003).

Similar sentiments can be seen with the Lear Center,

A typical call would be, Crossing Jordan might call up and say, we want the character to be in a situation where A, B, and C will happen so we were thinking about these diseases, and we want to speak to an expert to help us figure out how that would all take place and if this is feasible. That's a typical call (Lear Center Interview, 2003).

Through these examples we see that it is common for a television producer to contact an intermediary agency for consultation about a particular script concept, or for new script ideas.

In more instances than not, opportunistic placements generally occur through previously successful exchanges. Using SET as the foundation, opportunistic placements have surpassed the initial introduction of the relationship (first premise), both parties have examined and compared successful alternatives (second premise), and these positive exchanges have resulted in future exchanges between the parties. The following example from the DoD illustrates a positive outcome from an issue placement exchange relationship:

Black Hawk Down has been fairly and widely appreciated as being a not only an accurate picture, but one that thematically is very appropriate to the times. I've also had a lot of positive feedback about We Were Soldiers; how it was a long over due portrayal of the military during the Vietnam War (Department of Defense Interview, 2003).

This example of a satisfactory, positive outcome whether from media content or other intangible rewards, have given each party the opportunity to demonstrate each other's willingness to cooperate, ability to commit, and level of trustworthiness. The existence and demonstration of these three essential SET variables, lead to the assumption that trust and commitment will increase from each positive exchange. This development of trust and commitment will lead to further cooperation from both parties. In the instance of the entertainment industry and the DoD, this may prove invaluable. As relationships develop between particular writers/producers and the DoD, more cooperative agreements on script changes and assistance given may occur with time. Both parties may be willing to sacrifice more in order to reach a compromise due to the interpersonal relationships that have developed over the exchanges. Thus, the frequency of opportunistic issue placements may allow for the DoD to garner more script assistance resulting in a more positive depiction of the military in society, while the writer/producer will perhaps gain more access to DoD facilities and a more accurate film.

Figure 4 clearly demonstrates the direct exchange relationship between the entertainment industry and the government agency. This direct relationship is most evident in the exchanges between the entertainment industry and the DoD. In no other relationships does this level of exclusive dependence exist. If the writer/producer does not agree to the script amendments required by the DoD, no assistance is given. The writer/producer may still go on with his production, but without the assistance sought. In

other relationships, the writer/producer may approach, for example, the CDC for access to health experts for a storyline on Hepatitis C. The CDC will be more than obliged to provide the assistance due to the benefit of its mission. The writer/producer will accept the assistance in order to produce a more accurate script. The writer/producer may use part, all, or none of the advice/consultation given by the CDC expert. Because the same level of dependence on behalf of the writer/producer does not exist, the level of direct exchange is not equivalent. Regardless, all opportunistic issue placements are to some degree, direct exchange relationships. Opportunistic issue placements are becoming the most frequent type of issue placement process, perhaps because of the longstanding relationships between agencies.

Planned Issue Placement.

Planned issue placements are said to have occurred when previous agreement exists between an entertainment firm/writer/producer and intermediary or government agency. For example, if a studio or show has an exclusive agreement with a particular agency to include their prosocial message or agenda in their programming. These agreements are rare in the instance of issue placement due to the nature of the relationships. Rarely can a television series agree to such a type of agreement continuously as a condition of the amount of shows produced. In reference to movies, scripts are generally written before production assistance is ever sought. However, planned issue placements have occurred recently in entertainment media. Based on successful first, second, and third SET premises, issue placements are identified as *planned* when the fourth premise of SET is achieved. The fourth SET premise asserts that norms result from a series of positive exchanges which govern the relationship.

Thus, the process of planned placements is indicative of the norms that have been built based upon positive outcomes from previous exchanges between the parties.

FIGURE 5 ABOUT HERE

Planned issue placements are formal, contractual agreements very rare to issue placement. They are representative of an official relationship between an agency and an entertainment firm. The most recent example of a planned issue placement is that which occurred in early 2003. During that time, Viacom, one of the largest media conglomerates in the world, joined forces with the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation to launch a global media campaign to combat HIV/AIDS. The Kaiser Family Foundation is a leader in health research and information. The collaboration resulted in HIV/AIDS themes in all of Viacom's broadcast and cable networks (CBS, UPN, Showtime, MTV, and others). Shows that included HIV/AIDS awareness storylines were: Becker, The District, Enterprise, Girlfriends, Half & Half, One on One, The Parkers, Presidio Med, and Queer as Folk. MTV, BET, Showtime and Nickelodeon aired special HIV/AIDS prevention programming throughout the year.

Contracts resulting from planned issue placements are negotiated by both parties generally allowing for creative freedom on behalf of the writers/producers. These negotiated acts of cooperation may produce higher levels trust and commitment to the agreement than those of more formal binding business contracts (Molm, Takahashi and Peterson, 2000). Because both parties involved in the agreement benefit, higher levels of trust and stronger feelings of commitment and attachment are produced (Molm et al.,

2000). These types of exchanges will almost certainly promote future planned issue placements between these parties.

When we examine SET variables present in planned placements, we must distinguish dependence differently than in serendipitous issue placements. In serendipitous placements, the entertainment representative is not currently dependent upon the intermediary agency for anything. The dependency may or may not occur unless a positive outcome is derived from the exchange. However, in planned placements, the dependency is established prior to any outcome. In the example above, the writers/producers of the Viacom shows and Kaiser Family Foundation are both dependent upon one another for the success of the exchange contract. The writers/producers will use Kaiser's resources for any HIV/AIDS expertise needed for script authenticity, while Kaiser is dependent upon the writers/producers to include the storylines accurately in their programs. If this level of dependence is not present, there remains no necessity for a planned placement.

When examining the process of SET, planned placements appear to be a natural progression. After satisfying the first three premises of SET, norms such as planned placements will become established between the parties. Exchange relationships in planned placements may be defined as direct, indirect, and productive. An indirect relationship may be identified if an intermediary agency were to be involved. For example, in the instance where the agreement with Viacom were with the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy and Rogers & Associates PR firm was contracted to facilitate the mission of ONDCP, this would be an indirect relationship.

The results of planned placements are not generally known until particular episodes of shows air due to the creative control maintained by the entertainment entity. However, at this stage of the exchange relationship, it is assumed that enough trust and commitment has been established between the parties to predict a favorable outcome for both.

The Value of Emotion and Interpersonal Relationships in Issue Placement

RQ2 addresses how the element of emotion has an influence on the exchange between agencies where no monetary exchange is involved, while S4 asks what motivations exist in the exchange between agencies. To answer these questions, we must go back to the roots of SET. SET was founded in interpersonal theory. Interpersonal relationships rarely develop without emotional attachment. Thus, these two elements are essential to consider when examining issue placement processes. Throughout many interviews these two themes reoccurred, especially when discussing how agencies build relationships with Hollywood, and tactics used to implement prosocial messages in their programming. Evidence of the need for interpersonal relationships and emotional appeal (e.g., drama, sympathy, ego) to achieve their goals is indicative throughout the majority of the interviews with intermediary agencies. Rogers & Associates illustrates an example of the use of emotional appeal,

So what seems to be what people find the most compelling, and what makes them keep coming back are the real stories that they hear...what really gets their attention is the stories because they are after all writing dramas, so we try to make sure that we always have some...(Rogers & Associates Interview, 2003).

The importance of interpersonal relationships is demonstrated from the Media Project,

A lot of it has to do with personal relationships... a lot of the shows that we work with have writers and producers that we have worked with before so that's very

easy. And we work with them in a variety of ways from, a lot of individual show meetings...(Media Project, 2003).

Similar responses were seen from the CDC's Office of Smoking and Prevention entertainment representative,

[...]he's the producer, my friend...And he's very good about introducing me to, and helping me build those relationships that are key. Because the other thing that I will have to say is that if you want to work with Hollywood, it's really important to be here physically. You have to be able to mingle, you have to be able to network, you have to be able to be flexible...it's all about relationship building and trust...they want to feel like you know you get what they're doing and respect what they're doing, but at the same time, more often than not, they do care about your issue. It's just in how it's presented to them (CDC-OSP Interview, 2003).

As identified in these interviews, appeal to emotion and interpersonal relationships are key elements in addition to the fundamental premises and variables of SET. The results of this research suggest that many relationships and exchanges would not occur unless personal relationships were developed and utilized. The emotions and trust created from personal relationships are essential when dealing with Hollywood. In addition, it suggests that appeal to emotion is a critical component initiating the first premise of SET. Due to the lack of economic benefit the entertainment industry will receive from many issue placements, emotional appeal becomes a necessary strategy to gain any initial exchange. Positive outcomes yielded from these initial exchanges will then, hopefully, prompt relationships.

Government and Issue Placement

During the interview process, regardless of whether or not the interviewee was a government representative, the government was frequently mentioned as a source of funding and/or partnership for the organization. Examples of intermediary agencies

relationships with the government, and/or government agencies relationships with other agencies or media are evident through Media Scope,

Funding is from the two usual channels, and that is from foundations and government contracts...with government agencies, it has been primarily the Office of National Drug Control Policy which has a major national campaign, and then we also have relationships with the Administration for Children and Families which is under Health and Human Services (Media Scope Interview, 2003).

In addition to Media Scope, the Media Project and EIC are also funded by government agencies. The Media Project is primarily funded by Advocates for Youth, which is a nonprofit organization who receives government grants. EIC is partially funded by NIDA, which is an institute of the National Institutes of Health.

After this pattern of government funding was identified during the interviews, particular government representatives were asked to comment on the criticism the government receives concerning their involvement in entertainment programming. Most respondents stated that they felt there was a fine line that must be acknowledged between public affairs and propaganda. The Air Force and Rogers & Associates have explicit comments on this issue,

Coca Cola wouldn't drum up their own stories on how the company is...having problems, they'd want to show more of a positive on how the company is trying to fix some of these problems and that's the same thing that we would do...(Air Force Interview, 2003).

One of the challenges of being the federal government is sort of going and knocking on producers and writers doors and saying, 'hey you should be writing more about drugs,' ...imagine you're a TV writer or a producer and the drug czar's office knocks on your door and says, 'hey I think you should be writing more scripts about drugs and here's the information,' you're just not going to react well, it could come across as the government trying to strong arm you ... putting messaging in your shows for their purposes that you may not agree ...(Rogers & Associates Interview, 2003).

Through these and other examples, evidence was shown that the government has a heavy influence in the process of issue placement. Whether disseminating its messages directly to the entertainment industry (e.g., the CDC), contracting the work to intermediary agencies (e.g., the ONDCP contracting to Fleishmann-Hillard), or funding (grants) advocacy groups (e.g., Entertainment Industries Council, Media Scope, the Media Project), the government plays a role in the inclusion of prosocial messages in entertainment content.

As stated above in the Rogers & Associates excerpt, many government agencies are aware of their intimidating presence, which is continuously subject to scrutiny. No government agencies employ the strategy of “strong arming” their way into Hollywood. Thus, the “Hollywood lobbyists” tactics of cooperation versus confrontation are frequently used. In addition, the use of intermediary agencies becomes a vital strategy for message dissemination to avoid federal investigation/regulation, and public scrutiny. Due to constitutional ambiguity concerning the commercial speech regulation and whether or not issue placement is protected, it is more strategically sound for the government to work as indirectly as possible to communicate its messages.

It must be noted that during the interview process, no interviewees, regardless of industry, expressed any negative feelings toward government involvement in issue placement. This is perhaps due to the prosocial nature of many of the messages issue placement advocates seek to implement in programming. This opinion may also manifest itself from the knowledge that non-governmental agencies rely on grants for their existence. Thus, to question the motives of funding sources may be deemed detrimental to the existence of the organization. However, throughout years much public criticism

and concern has been published over the issue of government interference in the depiction of the military in the media. Public safety representatives in this study combated these criticisms by defending their right to promote a positive image of their work just as a corporation would have the ability to promote and market itself or its product in a positive light as well.

CHAPTER 4

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

Three primary groups are responsible for social messages becoming embedded in entertainment programming: government agencies, intermediary agencies, and entertainment agencies. This study examined the relationships between these groups through interviews with representatives from various agencies. The research resulted in the development of three processes based upon those created by Chang et. al (2004) for which to explain issue placement: serendipitous, opportunistic, and planned.

Serendipitous issue placement is defined as those placements that occur by chance, without any prior knowledge of the agency whose message was implemented in to programming. Opportunistic issue placements, contrarily, are those that are initiated by one party for self-benefit. These efforts may or may not result in a mutually beneficial exchange. Lastly, planned issue placements are those which occur as a result of a solidified agreement between an entertainment firm and an intermediary or government agency.

Through the examination of the interview comments collected for this study, it becomes evident that there is a critical need for interpersonal relationships to be developed following post-serendipitous issue placements. Due to the non-monetary nature of issue placements, excluding the defense department, there is no economically motivating factor for the entertainment industry to participate. Appealing to the altruistic nature of writers/producers through personal relationships appears to be the most successful means of gaining issue placements by “Hollywood lobbyists” and public health organizations.

It has become apparent, through the successful efforts of these organizations, that the entertainment industry is not the strictly capitalistic, “entertain at any cost,” entity that many assume it to be. The successful inclusions of hundreds of prosocial messages in entertainment content prove these previous assumptions to be untrue. One may assert that the apparent philanthropic actions of writers/producers have been mistaken for the simple use of a dramatic storyline. However, opportunistic and planned placements would prove otherwise. The desire to provide accurate information assumes a level of accountability and responsibility not indicative of egocentric motives. Though true motives may not be evident from this study, one may question whether or not motive is relevant. If positive outcomes are achieved through the exchanges for both parties, Social Exchange Theory deems the exchange successful, thus, prompting future interaction. Therefore, the exchanges resulting in issue placements, not motives, are significant to the agencies seeking inclusions in programming.

With regard to opportunistic issue placements between the entertainment industry and public safety agencies, it may be concluded that more self-interested motives are present on behalf of both parties. Though still maintaining the premises and variables of SET, these types of exchanges differ from those of advocacy and public health agencies with regard to dependence and cooperation. It is imperative that both parties must cooperate with one another in order to reach a positive outcome from the exchange. Although the entertainment industry does not need government approval to proceed with production, if the government representative opts out of participation due to negative portrayal, the entertainment industry will not gain the technical and/or any other assistance initially sought. Thus, neither party will gain satisfaction; the entertainment

industry does not receive assistance, and the government will endure a negative portrayal in entertainment media. It serves both parties to reach a satisfactory level of compromise. This level of dependence is not evident in other issue placement processes. It must be noted that this is one of the few issue placement processes in which the government directly barter with the entertainment industry.

Ethical Considerations

Although it does not raise constitutional issues, government funding issue placement poses certain ethical and social questions. Government constructed health and safety messages reinforce selective social norms and communicate the government's stance on what is "right" for society (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). Thus, government intervention in health and safety education does more than communicate information; it attempts to modify and influence social behavior. A particularly disconcerting ethical question arises when addressing the issue of the government constructing social norms without disclosing to the public its efforts to do so. A prime example is the previously mentioned January 2000 scandal. The principal communication effort on behalf of the Clinton Administration was the "War on Drugs." The government's drug czar, General Barry McCaffrey, presented television networks substantial financial inducements to incorporate anti-drug messages in their programming. Networks were required to submit scripts to the White House's Office of National Drug Policy before airing each show. Television viewers, however, were never informed that scripts had been screened by federal officials or that content had been altered (Kettle and Campbell, 2000). Not all government agencies, however, need go to such potentially damaging extremes to achieve their communication goals.

For example, the CDC and ONDCP both were government agencies establishing a relationship with Hollywood, the dissimilar approaches led to very different results. The CDC has flourished in its efforts to build a meaningful relationship with Hollywood to disseminate its health messages into entertainment programming. The development of programs such as those at USC is evidence of such. However, the ONDCP greatly changed its methods due to the negative backlash of its tactics. Those who agreed with the motive behind the ONDCP's health objectives opposed the use of financial incentives and secrecy of involvement. One editorial declared, "In allowing government to shape or even to be consulted on content...the networks are crossing a dangerous line they should not cross. On the far side of that line lies the possibility of censorship and state-sponsored propaganda" (*New York Times*, 2000). These sentiments were shared by many, spawning a media frenzy concerning the acts of the ONDCP.

Another potentially negative effect of government influence may arise when discussing social norm construction. In an effort to portray certain behaviors as superior, other behaviors and lifestyles must be portrayed as atypical or inappropriate. Most effective health campaigns often succeed by associating "bad" behaviors with unappealing characteristics (e.g., smokers develop wrinkles, indulgence in high-fat foods leads to obesity). These messages can lead to psychological harm and concrete disadvantages (e.g. social ostracism, employment discrimination) in addition to promoting social discrimination and denunciation (Salmon, 2001).

Government communication has the ability to advance knowledge and truth by informing the public and reversing incorrect assumptions about health and safety issues. However, when the communication intentions are to control ideas and behaviors, one

must worry when the government conceals its efforts to abuse this position. If the government hides its intentions so that the public is unaware of its actions, this act of hiding poses serious concerns. Academics and skeptics such as Jonathan Turley, a law professor, assert that the Pentagon has an extended and sordid past for propaganda efforts. It has been previously thought that the Pentagon has been consistently hard at work participating in a number of movies that will disseminate its messages on the legitimacy of war. Turley states that major feature films have been rewritten to remove negative yet “historically accurate” facts in order to portray a positive military image to society. Turley further alleges that the military and other intelligence sources framed an account of Pfc. Jessica Lynch to manufacture public appeal (Turley, 2003).

Failure to disclose information concerning its intentions and methodologies breaches the fundamental agreement of honesty between the government and its citizens. When unperceived information is revealed, society may cast doubt on the messages communicated and on future government communication (Gostin and Javitt, 2001). The government should be held to equal ethical standards that are parallel with commercial sectors.

Regardless of the type of issue placement process in discussion, there are many potential implications of these relationships. Those critical of the process may not feel as though the government should maintain any involvement in entertainment media content. The concept of the government funding many organizations as a means to facilitate its communication messages may not be deemed ethical. On the contrary, some may feel as though issue placement is a necessary practice in order to ensure responsibility of the entertainment industry. Many view the entertainment industry as a purveyor of socially

immoral messages. The idea of the government and/or intermediary organizations lobbying to the entertainment industry to include prosocial messages in programming may be viewed as critical versus controversial. Despite the positive or negative implications of issue placement, this study seeks only to present the processes.

CHAPTER 5

LIMITATIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

One primary limitation was present in the study. The limitation pertains to the entertainment industry sample. Only three people were located and willing to participate in this study. This number does not provide the same representation as those in government and intermediary agencies. In addition, due to the breadth of the entertainment industry, a more expansive list of representatives must be obtained for a more thorough sample. The entertainment industry is divided between writers, producers, executives, etc. Each of these positions represent a different aspect of the issue placement process. Differing motivations may exist between the positions with regard to what type of relationships may exist with government and intermediary agencies. With this in mind, a more expansive sample would provide more depth and breadth in understanding the entertainment industries role in issue placement. However, this study may be used to aid in future research concerning this topic.

Future research should be conducted with regard to public opinion and issue placement. Due to the potentially controversial nature of government involvement in media content, public attitudes on issue placement should be assessed. In addition, a study should be conducted investigating whether or not messages government agencies seek to have implemented in entertainment content frequently make their way into programming. It should then be studied whether or not these messages in entertainment programming are then seen in Congress as new policy issues. This research should be used as a foundation for which to build upon for continued research of any manner.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A- "Consent Form"

Evaluating Relationships Between the Entertainment Industry and Government and Non-Profit Agencies

You are being interviewed for the purpose of analyzing the portrayals of social issues in popular media and how these portrayals come about. The interview should take about 30-45 minutes and will be tape recorded. This interview is intended to help me better understand the relationships between government agencies, non-profit agencies, and the entertainment industry. The information collected from the interview will be used in a master's thesis and submitted for publication. The research conducted for this study is strictly exploratory, to be used in an effort to gain a more thorough understanding of the practice of entertainment-education.

This is a voluntary interview; you may choose to not participate or to discontinue your participation at any time. You may also choose to not respond to specific questions.

In indicating your permission to participate in this interview, you indicate your acceptance of all recorded information to be used in the final report.

If you have questions or comments regarding this study, please contact Monica Beckham, master's degree student in public relations at Michigan State University at 517-381-5179 (beckhamm@msu.edu) or Dr. Charles Salmon, Senior Associate Dean, Department of Advertising at Michigan State University at salmon@msu.edu.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a study participant, or are dissatisfied at any time with any aspect of this study, you may contact- anonymously, if you wish-- Ashir Kumar, M.D., Chair of the University Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects (UCRIHS) by phone at 517-355-2180, fax at 432-4503, email at ucrihs@msu.edu or regular mail at 202 Olds Hall, East Lansing, MI 48824.

Your signature below indicates your voluntary permission to participate in this study.

Printed Name

Signature

APPENDIX B- “Questionnaire for Entertainment Industry”

1. Name, job title, and job description
2. Brief summary of company/organization mission/purpose
3. What is your role in your organization/company?
4. What are your communication objectives/mission?
5. In your organization, do you implement or assist in the implementation of social messages into entertainment programming content?
6. Are you approached by agencies to implement these messages, do you seek counsel from outside sources, or do you seek placement of messages?
 - a. What outside sources do you contact for information?
7. How do you select which messages you seek to place into programming?
8. What type of relationship do you have with agencies seeking placement of social issues in your programming? Or, what type of relationship do they have with you?
 - a. Reciprocal?
 - b. What is the trade-off? Compensation?
9. How do you feel these relationships benefit your organization and/or programming?
10. Do you feel entertainment-education/issue placement is a beneficial way to educate audiences? Why?
11. What type of issues have been placed in your programming? And where?
 - a. TV? Movies?
12. Have you seen results from message implementation?
 - a. What type of results?
 - b. How are results tracked?

APPENDIX C- “Questionnaire for Government and Non-Profit Agencies”

1. Name, job title, job description
2. What is the mission/goal of your organization?
3. What are your communication objectives?
4. Other than advertising, do you use popular media to implement your communication objectives?
5. How do you select which media you will use to convey your messages?
6. Do you approach the entertainment industry, or are you approached to implement/consult your messages into the media?
 - a. Proactive/reactive relationship?
7. Who do you contact within the industry?
 - a. Agencies, producers, writers, corporations, directors, etc?
8. What type of relationship do you have with the entertainment industry?
 - a. Reciprocal? What is the trade-off/compensation?
 - b. Asymmetrical/symmetrical, 2-way, 1-way?
9. How have you set up your communication department in relation to the entertainment industry?
 - a. L.A. office?
 - b. One representative, multiple representatives?
10. How do you feel these relationships benefit your communication objectives?
11. Do you feel issue placement/product placement is a beneficial way to implement your messages? Why?
12. What type of media have you used to place your messages?
 - a. TV shows? Films?
 - b. Most/least successful?
 - c. Track success?
13. Have you seen results from your message implementation?
14. Problems? Issues?

FIGURE 1 – “Heuristic Model for Issue Placement”

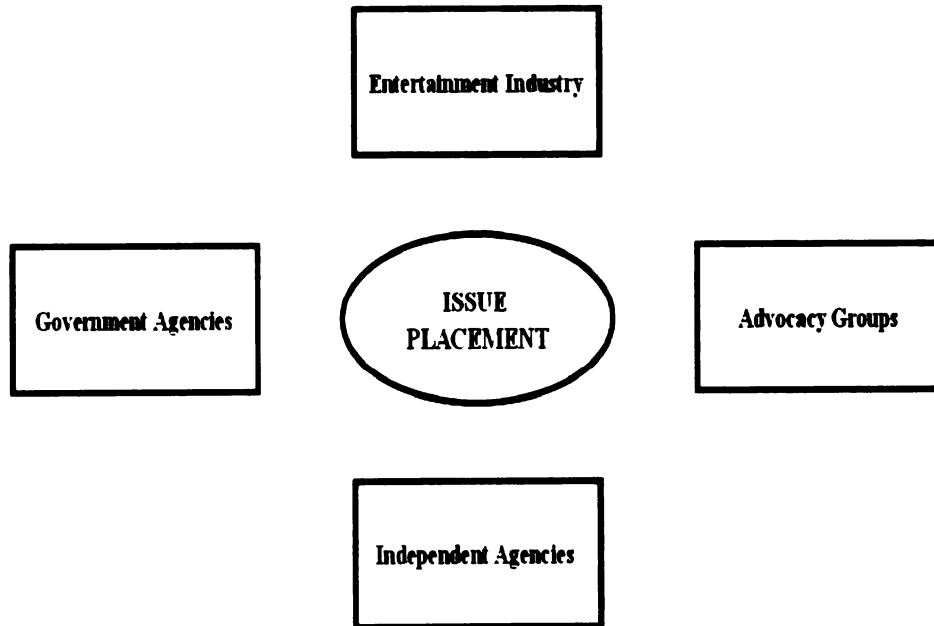


FIGURE 2- “Serendipitous Model for Issue Placement”

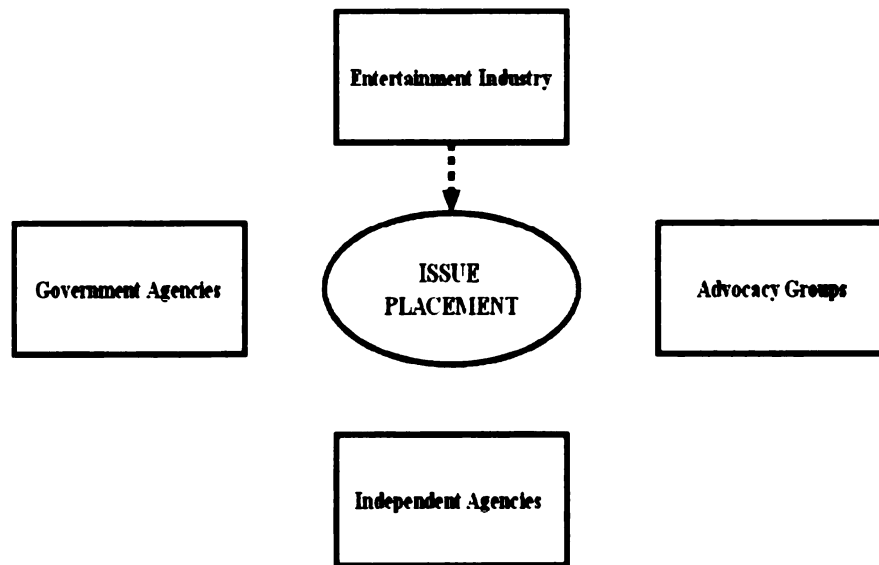


FIGURE 3- “Opportunistic Model for Issue Placement”

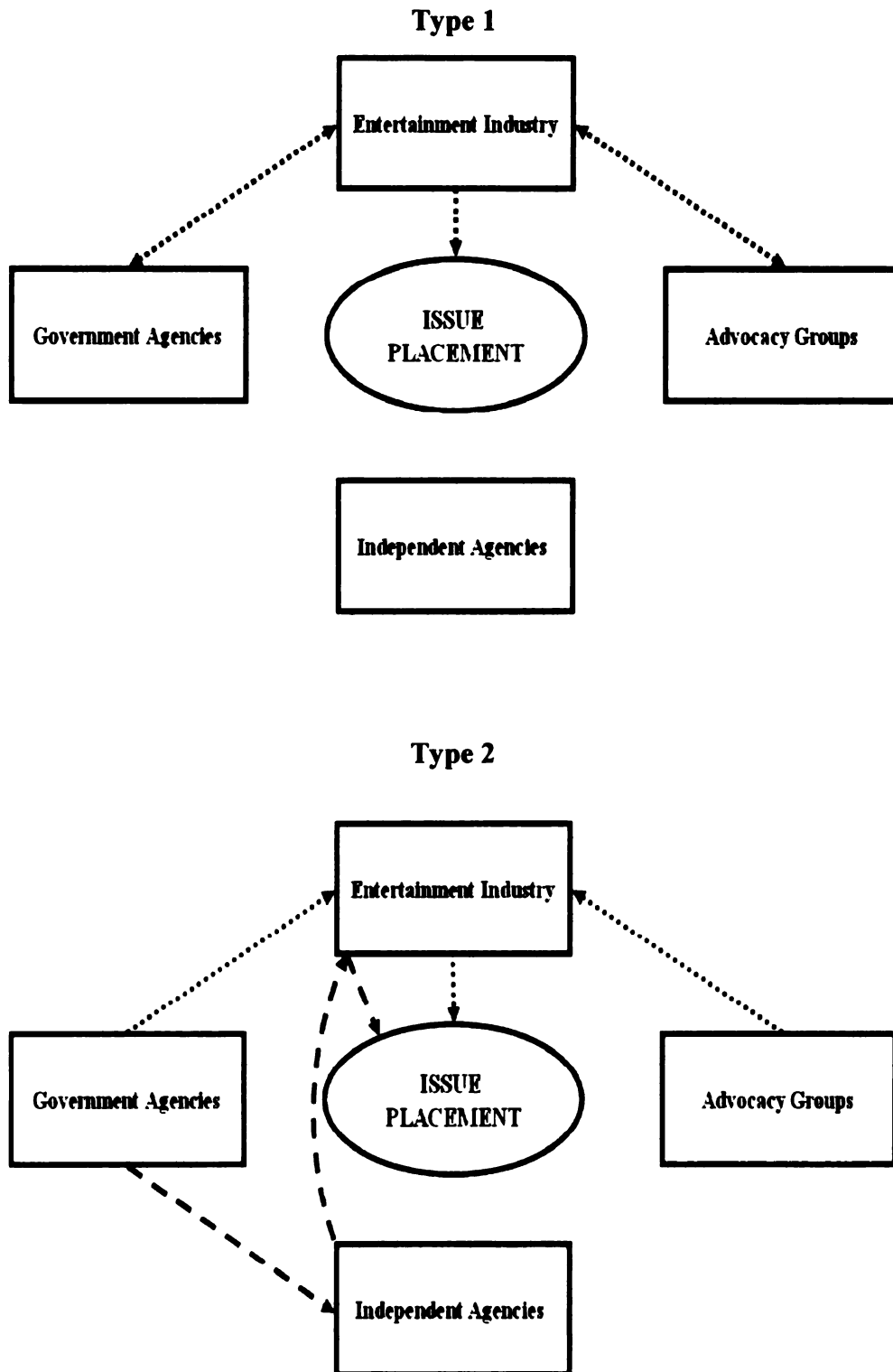
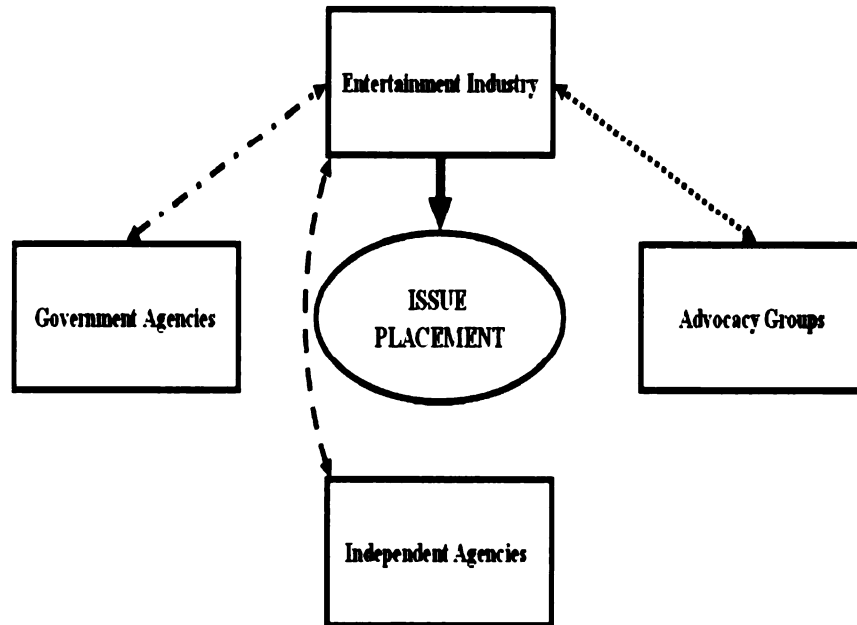


FIGURE 4- “Planned Model for Issue Placement”



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