

TELEVISION AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

REPORT

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

UNITED STATES SENATE

MADE BY ITS

SUBCOMMITTEE TO INVESTIGATE
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

PURSUANT TO

S. Res. 62 as extended

(84th Congress, 1st Session)

A PART OF THE INVESTIGATION OF JUVENILE
DELINQUENCY IN THE UNITED STATES



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TELEVISION AND JUVENILE DELINQUENCY--A PART
OF THE INVESTIGATION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY
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with illustrations

MR. KEFAUVER, from the Committee on the Judiciary, submitted the
following

R E P O R T

[Pursuant to S. Res. 62 and 126, 84th Cong., 1st sess.]

I. INTRODUCTION

The Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, pursuant to authorization in Senate Resolutions 62 and 125 of the 84th Congress, 1st session, has been making a "full and complete study of juvenile delinquency in the United States," including its "extent and character" and "its causes and contributing factors."

Hearings have been held by the subcommittee dealing with community problems in various cities and with a number of special considerations that are believed to be affecting juvenile delinquency.

Concern expressed as to possible causal relationship

Since the study of juvenile delinquency by the subcommittee began, many persons have written expressing the opinion that there is a causal relationship between repeated exposure to crime and violence on television and overt delinquent actions of today's youth. One of the Gallup public opinion polls in 1954 showed—

an overwhelming majority of the Nation's parents think some of the blame for the upsurge in juvenile delinquency can be placed both on the crime comic books and on the mystery and crime programs on TV and radio. In a coast-to-coast survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion, 7 out of every 10 adults (70 percent) questioned placed at least part of the blame on the horror and crime comic book. An identical number (70 percent) also put some of the blame on the mystery and crime programs on TV and radio.¹

¹ Gallup, George, "The Gallup Poll: Comics, Air Waves Share Blame," in the Washington Post and Times Herald, November 21, 1954, and other newspapers on that date.

Dr. George Gallup added:

It is interesting to note, however, that among those who feel comic books can be blamed, 26 percent say they contribute "a great deal" to juvenile delinquency, while among those who say TV-radio programs can be blamed, 24 percent say they contribute "a great deal" to teen-age crime.

When asked, "Do you think any of the blame for teen-age crime can be placed on the mystery and crime programs on TV and radio?" 69 percent of the men and 71 percent of the women answered, "Yes." Of the men, 25 percent answered, "No," as did 22 percent of the women. Only 6 percent of the men and 7 percent of the women said they had "no opinion." The 70 percent who answered, "Yes," were asked: "How much of the blame should be put on these programs—a great deal, some, or only a little?" They answered: 24 percent said "a great deal," 32 percent said "some," and 14 percent said "some," of the total of 70 percent.

In analyzing the results of that survey, Dr. Gallup wrote "older people are much more inclined to brand both comic books and TV-radio crime programs as factors contributing to juvenile delinquency than are younger people."

Sociologists have pointed out that television has wrought the most marked influence upon the habits of the family of any technical development since the motor car went into mass production. The far-reaching developments in the technical facilities for communication of ideas in recent years show many evidences of impact. Many parents and educators are genuinely concerned with the impact of such technological developments upon youth. In this connection, it is observed that this is another example of modern technical know-how outdistancing our social understanding and control.

Television is but a part of the mass media total

It is realized that television is but a part of the mass media total that should be examined if a comprehensive view is to be obtained. A study has been made by the subcommittee of crime and horror comic books and juvenile delinquency. It is the purpose of this inquiry to consider crime and violence programs on television objectively in the total picture of juvenile delinquency.

Evidence before the subcommittee indicates that many parents and educators are beginning to be concerned about the repeated exposure of children to sequences of crime and violence on television. It is not the intent of the subcommittee to equate crime and violence with badness. The subcommittee has recognized from the beginning that crime and violence have always been a part of American entertainment and literature. The focus of the subcommittee's inquiry, therefore, is to determine the negative effects, if any, resulting from the increased exposure, and in dramatic form, of boys and girls to presentation of crime and violence via television.

One competent observer has asserted that children see more of all television's output—including the programs designed for adults—than adults do.² There is substantial agreement among studies made that children's viewing of television is excessive.

² Shayon, Robert Lewis, *The Piped Piper of Video*, in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, November 25, 1950.

Without any intent of condemning the television industry then, the subcommittee has sought to explore certain of the suggested considerations in an objective manner with the hope that such probing may lead, if indicated, to improved programing to better serve the needs of our youth.

The economics of the television industry are not to be dealt with comprehensively in this inquiry, nor has attention been given to the technical aspects of transmission and broadcasting.

Focus on crime and violence

It should be made clear that the focus of this particular inquiry was exclusively upon programs involving crime and violence. It did not purport to be a comprehensive study of television programs available to children. The subcommittee is aware that there are a number of fine educational programs presented for children by the television industry. The subcommittee commends those conscientious telecasters who have been responsible for the development of such programs and hopes that there will be an increase in such programs. It is recognized of course that there is much desirable material presented on television which children certainly can assimilate. The experts, knowing what they do about the motivations for watching television programs, realize that some children will concentrate almost entirely upon the more beneficial material. Since presentations of this type could in no wise contribute to the delinquent behavior of children, they are of course outside the scope of this report.

Hearings held before House subcommittee in 1952

An investigation of radio and television programs was conducted in 1952 by the Federal Communications Commission Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives of the 82d Congress, 2d session, pursuant to House Resolution 278.

Hearings before that subcommittee were held on June 3, 4, 5, 26, September 16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, December 3, 4, and 5, 1952.³ The resolution authorized the committee—

(1) to conduct a full and complete investigation and study to determine the extent to which the radio and television programs currently available to the people of the United States contain immoral and otherwise offensive matter; or place improper emphasis on crime, violence, and corruption; and (2), on the basis of such investigation and study, to make such recommendations (including recommendations for legislative action to eliminate offensive and undesirable radio and television programs and to promote higher radio and television standards) as it deems advisable.

Stations monitored for crime and violence programs

Members of the staff of the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency monitored the four Washington, D. C., television stations during the week of September 12 to 18, 1954. Attention was given to those programs which contained scenes of crime and violence during the hours between 4 and 10 p. m., the time when children usually view television programs. Certain sequences of excessive crime and violence were copied on film with the sound track.

³ See hearings before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, Investigation of Radio and Television Programs, 82d Cong., 2d sess., on H. Res. 278, June, September, and December 1952.

The programs of the television stations in nine cities were surveyed for those programs which appeared to indicate crime and violence, or for those programs on which complaints had been received. The surveys were for 1 day in each city between the hours of 4 and 10 p. m. The cities and dates were: Atlanta, September 15; Chicago, September 16; Cleveland, September 14; Dallas, September 13; Denver, September 14; Kansas City, September 17; Philadelphia, September 15; San Francisco, September 16; and Seattle, September 15.

Hearings of the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency on the content of television programs were held in New York City on June 5 and in Washington, D. C., on October 19 and 20, 1954. Further hearings were held on April 6 and 7, 1955, in Washington.

Among the witnesses heard were experts from within and outside the television industry. All major television networks were represented among the witnesses. Officials of various stations and the key officials of the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters appeared in presenting the point of view of the industry.

Those witnesses from outside the television industry who appeared or submitted statements included: the president of the National Association for Better Radio and Television, the director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the director of the California Youth Authority which is responsible for the care of all young people committed to that State, a professor of sociology from Columbia University, a psychiatrist from Columbia University, a psychologist from Harvard University, the station manager of the Pittsburgh, Pa., educational television station, members of the Federal Communications Commission, the assistant head of school broadcasting of the British Broadcasting Corp., and a number of other persons interested in television programming.

II. GROWTH OF THE TELEVISION INDUSTRY

A brief overview of its present size and importance

The precipitant expansion of the television industry in the United States since the end of World War II is without a parallel in the media of communication. In 1946 only seven television stations were in operation in the continental United States and there were only a few thousand television receivers.⁴ On May 1, 1955, there were 418 commercial television stations on the air and an additional 152 television stations had been licensed but were not yet on the air. These figures are in addition to the 11 educational television stations on the air and the 23 additional television stations that have been licensed.⁵ It was estimated that by May 1, 1955, there were 28 million "television households." When one assumes the estimate of 3 persons per household, approximately 84 million persons within the United States are television viewers in their homes. Hotels, restaurants, and other establishments serving the public make television reception available to a vast number of additional viewers, bringing the total number of television receivers in use in the country at that time to approximately 33 million.

⁴ Wiley, Paul Andrew. Research About Children and TV, in Bulletin No. 93 of the Association for Childhood Education International, Washington 1954.

⁵ Statistics supplied by the Federal Communications Commission.

The map in the appendix of this report shows the network of coaxial cables or microwave relays and the location of television stations in the United States.⁶ Although the concentration is heaviest in the eastern part of the continent and in California, television stations are now operating in every State of the Nation.

The Federal Communications Commission reported that as of May 1, 1955, television stations were operating in 262 communities, and that stations have been licensed but are not yet on the air in 63 additional communities.

Every large city, or "market," in the United States has one or more television stations on the air. Utilizing the 1950 census, it was found that the list of present licensees shows there are 5 cities of over 1 million population with television stations. There are 13 cities with over 500,000 but less than 1 million with television stations. There are 21 cities with television stations that have over 250,000 but less than 500,000 population. There are 52 cities with television stations that have over 100,000 but less than 250,000 people. Sixty-eight cities with a population between 50,000 and 100,000 have television stations. There are 68 cities with over 25,000 but less than 50,000 population that have television stations. The remainder of the television stations now in operation are in communities of less than 25,000 population.

Four major networks, each having its main office and principal broadcasting facilities in New York City, occupy pivotal positions in the industry. They are: The American Broadcasting Co. (ABC); Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc. (CBS); Allen B. Du Mont Laboratories, Inc. (Du Mont); and the National Broadcasting Co. (NBC). Each of the major networks was limited to owning five television stations. Other stations are independently owned but are affiliated with at least one network. Those stations located in a one-station market frequently maintain dual network affiliation.

It is estimated that there are 33 million television sets in the United States in use today.⁷ These sets make television programs regularly available to some 90 million persons. The annual manufacturers' output of television sets increased from 210,000 sets in 1947 to 1,050,000 in 1948. In 1949, the industry produced 3 million sets; in 1950, 6,500,000; in 1951, 5,400,000; in 1952, production reached 6 million; in 1953, there were 7,200,000 sets produced; and in 1954, the total was 7,300,000 sets produced.⁸

Television has become an important medium of communication

The television industry in the United States has achieved a pivotal position as a medium of communication. It contends with newspaper reading for public attention. Studies indicate that television is gaining audiviewers at the expense of radio, movies and the reading of books, newspapers and magazines. This is true of young children and teen-agers, probably to an even greater extent than with adults.

Attention is called to the results of a few of the studies reporting this phenomenon:

A study of approximately 800 households selected at random (of which 333 were television-owning) in Atlanta, Ga., revealed that because the television owners were, on the whole, better situated financially and because environmen-

⁶ Map reproduced by courtesy of the publisher of *Television Factbook*.

⁷ Estimated by the Federal Communications Commission as of May 1, 1955.

⁸ Statistics of the Radio-Electronics-Television Manufacturers Association.

tal factors enhanced their exposure to all types of media, they had more radios, took more dully newspapers, owned more home movie equipment, and read more books than did members of the nontelevison households. Nevertheless, "at present (in February 1951) as compared to a period 3 years before the interview," there was a 60 percent lessening of evening radio listening in the television homes whereas nontelevison owners increased their evening radio listening by 20 percent. There were similar shifts in amounts of daytime radio listening between the two groups. Motion picture attendance was lessened for all households, but it lessened by about 15 percent more in the television homes than in the sample homes. Book and magazine reading diminished for both groups although the percentage decrease was slightly higher among television than nontelevison households.⁹

A study of an unidentified community in southern California compared two groups of 400 families each, television-owning and nontelevison-owning. Every fifth house with a television antenna was included. The family in an adjacent house which had no television antenna was then selected, providing it resembled the first family with respect to educational and chronological status. Questioning for the first family was oriented to changes since the acquisition of a television set. For the second family it was adapted to a similar time span. Changes in habits at the time of the interview as contrasted to the period just prior to acquisition of the television (matched pairs) were:¹⁰

	Television families	Nontelevison families
Radio listening:	Percent	Percent
More.....	0	18
No change.....	12	39
Less.....	88	13
Movie attendance:		
More.....	3	14
No change.....	17	61
Less.....	80	25
Reading:		
More.....	1	6
No change.....	32	69
Less.....	67	25

It should be pointed out that studies such as the above give equal weight to adults and to children so that the results cannot be applicable exclusively to juveniles.

The results of two surveys have come to notice which apply specifically to youngsters. They showed:

Interviews with 400 families owning television in the metropolitan area of Washington, D. C., revealed that motion picture attendance had fallen off 49 percent among children of families that owned television sets for more than 2 years. Children read 11 percent fewer magazines, 15.7 percent fewer comics and 9.2 fewer books. Their radio listening also declined. One of the conclusions set forth in this study is that television is not a novelty whose fascination wears off. The habit of viewing television becomes more ingrained with practiced ownership.¹¹

Among children between the ages of 6 and 12 in television homes, listening to the radio almost disappears as a form of activity. The same children spend a great deal of evening time viewing television. It cannot be said that television in this situation is displacing radio, as is so often the case with adults * * * television is adding a completely new dimension to the experience of these children.¹²

⁹ Stewart, Raymond F., *The Social Impact of Television on Atlanta Households*, Emory University, Atlanta, Ga., 1952.

¹⁰ McDonagh, Edward, et al., *Television and the Family*, in *sociology and social research*, University of Southern California Press, November-December 1950, pp. 113-122.

¹¹ Alldredge, Charles Haden, *Television: Its Effect on Family Habits in Washington, A Survey*, in the *Abstract of Public Relations*, Washington, D. C., January 1950.

¹² Riley, J. W., Cantwell, F. V., and Ruttiger, K. F., *Some Observations on the Social Effects of Television*, in *Public Opinion Quarterly*, summer 1949, Princeton University Press, p. 230.

Young children may be termed a unique group. For them television is not intruding upon already established patterns. Because they can watch television long before they are old enough to read the printed word, and before they are old enough to go to the movies unescorted by their parents, they are apt to undergo heavy exposure to television in preschool days. Television is frequently the teacher.

Juvenile television audiviewers

A few years ago the United Parents Association of New York City, Inc., concluded that the heaviest concentration of television viewing among juveniles fell among children in the 5- to 6-year age group who watched television 4 hours a day.¹³ However, almost the same number of hours were spent watching television each Saturday and Sunday by pupils at the Burdick Junior High School, Stamford, Conn., who had television sets at home. These pupils spent an average of 27 hours each week before their sets. Their school schedule occupied 27 hours and 55 minutes each week.¹⁴ A similar quote from Walter Clarke of Cincinnati:

The average 12- or 13-year-old spends 3.7 hours every day before the screen. Over a week he is apt to spend 30 hours—5 more than he spends in school.¹⁵

Many persons held the opinion that television was a passing fancy, that less attention would be paid to it once the novelty had worn off. Yet the situation in Boston in 1953 was similar to that in Stamford, New York, and Cincinnati the previous year. The following example is cited:

Questionnaires submitted to 500 pupils in the third grade and 500 pupils in the fifth grade of parochial schools in the Roman Catholic Church diocese of Boston and 9 public schools in Metropolitan Boston brought replies from 439 third graders and 369 fifth graders. Nearly three-fourths of those who replied watched television 7 days a week, third grade pupils averaging 2½ hours per day and fifth grade pupils averaging 3 hours a day. Many children reported spending 8 to 10 hours viewing television on Saturdays and Sundays.¹⁶

A survey of the effects of television upon 324 pupils in a Takoma Park, Md., elementary school was prepared by Stanley T. Kaplan at George Washington University. The pupils ranged from 8½ to 12½ years of age. It was found that 91.7 percent have television sets in their homes. On the average, each pupil spends 14 hours and 35 minutes during the school week in front of the television screen, plus 5 hours 22 minutes on Saturday and 5 hours 8 minutes on Sunday, or a total of 25 hours 5 minutes per week. In only 6.1 percent of the instances do the parents select the programs to be viewed. In answer to the question, "Do parents and child ever disagree on any types of programs?" 53 percent said "Yes." Only 34.2 percent said "No." Parents reported that they most frequently disagreed on crime programs and westerns.¹⁷

¹³ Shayon, Robert Lewis, *The Pied Piper of Video*, in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, November 25, 1950.

¹⁴ Gould, Jack, *Pupils' Time Spent at TV Rivals Hours in Classes*, in the *New York Times*, March 6, 1950.

¹⁵ *Time*, January 7, 1952.

¹⁶ Mahoney, Katherine St. John, *Elementary School Pupils' TV Habits and Choice*, in the *Catholic Educational Review*, vol. 31, April 1953, pp. 234-245.

¹⁷ Kaplan, Stanley T., "Survey of Television and Its Effects on Children," prepared as a part of his graduate study requirements toward a master's degree at George Washington University, Washington, D. C., 1955.

The National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters

The National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters (formerly known as the National Association of Broadcasters) is a trade association of the radio and television industry, organized in 1923. The NARTB provides industry services relating to labor, public and government relations, engineering, research and legal developments. On May 1, 1955, membership included 1,234 AM (amplitude modulation) stations, 327 FM (frequency modulation) stations and 3 national radio networks, Columbia Broadcasting System, Mutual Broadcasting System, and National Broadcasting Co., Inc. On the television side, the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters had 267 television stations as members and all 4 national television networks, American Broadcasting Co., Columbia Broadcasting System, DuMont Television Network and the National Broadcasting Co., Inc.¹⁸

The overall policies of the association are determined by its radio and television boards of directors and its chief executive officers with offices at 1771 N. Street NW., Washington, D. C. Members of the television board of directors are elected by the individual television stations without reference to geographical distribution.¹⁹

Activities leading to the adoption of a code for television were begun simultaneously with the licensing of stations. The experience of many years of operation in radio broadcasting pointed to the desirability of early agreement upon standards of programs. The NARTB Television Code became effective March 1, 1952. Subscribers are entitled to display a seal of good practice signifying compliance with code standards.

The code is printed in booklet form and includes a preamble, sections on advancement of education and culture, community responsibility, treatment of news and public events, controversial public issues, political telecasts, religious programs, presentation of advertising.²⁰ Several pages are devoted to regulations dealing with acceptability of program material, including such items as:

(o) The presentation of cruelty, greed and selfishness as worthy motivations is to be avoided.

(q) Criminality shall be presented as undesirable and unsympathetic. The condoning of crime and the treatment of the commission of crime in a frivolous, cynical, or callous manner is unacceptable.

(r) The presentation of techniques of crime in such detail as to invite imitation shall be avoided.

(s) The use of horror for its own sake will be eliminated; the use of visual or aural effects which would shock or alarm the viewer, and the detailed presentation of brutality or physical agony by sight or by sound are not permissible.

(t) Law enforcement shall be upheld, and the officers of the law are to be portrayed with respect and dignity.

(u) The presentation of murder or revenge as a motive for murder shall not be presented as justifiable.

(x) The appearance or dramatization of such persons featured in actual crime news will be permitted only in such light as to aid law enforcement or to report the news event.

¹⁸ Statistics supplied by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters.

¹⁹ Hardy, Ralph, testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, held on June 5, 1954, pp. 41-62.

²⁰ The Television Code, second edition, March 1954, published by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, 1771 N Street NW., Washington 6, D. C. The complete text of the NARTB Television Code is shown in the appendix of this report.

Responsibility toward children is accorded separate attention in the code. This section is quoted in its entirety as follows:

1. The education of children involves giving them a sense of the world at large. Crime, violence, and sex are a part of the world they will be called upon to meet, and a certain amount of proper presentation of such is helpful in orienting the child to his social surroundings. However, violence and illicit sex shall not be presented in an attractive manner, nor to an extent such as will lead a child to believe that they play a greater part in life than they do. They should not be presented, without indications of the resultant retribution and punishment.

2. It is not enough that only those programs which are intended for viewing by children shall be suitable to the young and immature. Television is responsible for insuring that programs of all sorts which occur during the times of day when children may normally be expected to have the opportunity of viewing television shall exercise care in the following regards:

(a) In affording opportunities for cultural growth as well as for wholesome entertainment.

(b) In developing programs to foster and promote the commonly accepted moral, social, and ethical ideals characteristic of American life.

(c) In reflecting respect for parents, for honorable behavior, and for the constituted authorities of the American community.

(d) In eliminating reference to kidnaping of children or threats of kidnaping.

(e) In avoiding material which is excessively violent or would create morbid suspense, or other undesirable reactions in children.

(f) In exercising particular restraint and care in crime or mystery episodes involving children or minors.

Thad H. Brown, Jr., director of television, NARTB, testified as a witness before a subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce of the House of Representatives on September 16, 1952, regarding the television code which had then been in operation for 6 months. He said:

Why was this action taken? Because, for one thing, there was a sense of watchful waiting on behalf of Congress and on behalf of accountable and responsible organizations. Quite frankly, the shadow of incipient censorship by Government regulation was evident * * * In the formative days of the movies, six States apparently found it necessary and desirable to establish motion picture censorship boards. In 1926, the motion picture industry initiated its first code. Since that time, not one additional State has established a board to censor movies. On the other hand, and this is interesting, the six boards established prior to the initiation of the movie code are still in existence * * * Both by the program standards committee and by the entire television membership of the association, there was clearly apparent to an observer a voluntary sense of responsibility shown by the pioneer telecasters (and there were only 108 at this time) to develop and continue insofar as was comparatively possible, a wholesome stature for the commercial television broadcast industry in the years to come.²¹

Speaking for the sincerity of the television industry, Mr. Brown pointed to the procedures specifically outlined in appendix A of the code whereby after proper hearings "any subscription and/or the authority to utilize and show the above-noted seal may be voided, revoked, or temporarily suspended." Mr. Brown agreed, however, that membership in the association is not affected by violation of the television code as such and that the Federal Communications Act was not interpreted in such a way that a licensee's license might be revoked or suspended because of a violation of this type.

²¹ Investigation of Radio and Television Programs, in Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, 82d Cong., 2d sess., on H. Res. 278, June, September, and December 1952, pp. 166-171.

Ralph Hardy, then vice president in charge of Government relations of the NARTB, testified in June 1954, before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency with regard to the method devised "for assuring reasonable observance of the code provisions."²² A television code review board (consisting of 5 members who are appointed by the president of the NARTB to serve 2-year terms without compensation) is responsible for the administration, interpretation, and enforcement of the code. He pointed out that this code review board meets at least four times a year for considering complaints received by the NARTB concerning specific programs, series of programs, or advertising practices on the television stations or networks.

Harold E. Fellows, president and chairman of the board of directors of the NARTB, testified on October 20, 1954, that the television code review board may file charges against a station before the television board of directors. Upon an affirmative two-thirds vote, the board of directors may void, remove, or temporarily suspend a subscription and the authority to further identify itself as a code station through the seal of good practice.

Since subscribers have responded immediately to code review-board suggestions, no such charges have been filed before the board of directors.²³

III. CRIME AND VIOLENCE ON TELEVISION IN THE UNITED STATES

Results of certain studies of programs for children and programs aimed at adults but shown during children's viewing hours

During the course of its investigation, the subcommittee deemed it appropriate to explore the content of television programs that might receive attention from young people of all ages. The staff surveyed the results of studies previously made with that thought in mind. The staff conducted some surveys of its own for comparison. The results were found to be substantially in agreement. It was found that a large amount of the time during children's viewing hours is devoted to the subject matter of crime and violence. In several studies of program content, the hours from 5 to 7 p. m. on weekdays and from sign-on to 7 p. m. on Saturdays and Sundays are referred to as children's hours. However, it has been recognized that many juveniles do not limit their television viewing to those hours; and there are many who view television after 7 o'clock in the evening through the week.

National Association of Educational Broadcasters

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters conducted four monitor studies of programs in New York City, New Haven, Los Angeles, and Chicago during the years 1951-53. One of the conclusions of the Chicago study is that—

the general picture is that of a relatively uniform program structure, which shows much less variation than one might expect from city to city or season to season.

The following may be cited as affording some indication of the large volume of acts of crime and violence presented in so-called drama for children.

²² Hardy, Ralph, testimony in Hearings Before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, on June 5, 1954, pp. 41-62.

²³ Fellows, Harold E., testimony in Hearings Before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, on October 20, 1954, pp. 254-278. Mr. Fellows also testified before the subcommittee on April 6, 1955.

Study of 85 percent of the total program time of the 7 television stations in New York for the week of January 4-10, 1953, and for a similar week in January 1952 revealed that the number of acts and threats of violence was manifold and had increased substantially between 1952 and 1953. In the 1953 study week a total of 3,421 acts and threats were observed—an increase of 15 percent over 1952. This meant an average of 5.8 acts and threats of violence per hour in 1952, of 6.2 acts and threats of violence per hour in 1953. These figures are, of course, cumulative for the seven stations and obviously no child could be individually exposed to all programs. It was also noted that during the week of January 4-10, 1953, children's television hours in New York City were twice as saturated with violence as other hours.²⁴

Comparison of all the television programs broadcast over station WNHC-TV the week of May 15-21 in New Haven, Conn., with all programs broadcast from New York the week of January 4-10, disclosed that although the New Haven station presented fewer acts and threats of violence than did a majority of the New York stations "when expressed as a frequency rate, the acts and threats in New Haven TV for the full week were almost identical with the frequency rate on the New York stations with the lowest showing on this score (WNBT and WCBS-TV). In the children's hours, the New Haven frequency rate was slightly lower than that of the New York station with the lowest rate (WNBT)."²⁵

The Los Angeles monitoring study utilized the period of May 23-29, 1951, and surveyed eight television stations serving the area. It reported that—

Fifty-five percent of all the program time during the children hours (5 to 7 on weekdays and from signon to 7 p. m. Saturday and Sunday) was devoted to drama. Of this proportion, half was western drama. * * * Two-thirds of the total drama programming during this period was either western, crime, or action drama.²⁶

Chicago was served by four stations during the week of July 30 to August 5, 1951. Programming on summer schedule differs in some respects from that at other seasons. One might have expected that special programs would have been telecast for the benefit of children who had no school at that time, but in fact children's programs were given less time in Chicago between July 30 and August 5, 1951 (8.28 percent) than at Los Angeles from May 23 to 29, 1951 (10.31 percent) or at New York from January 4 to 10, 1951 (13 percent). This means that children turned to adult as well as to children's programs. During the survey week 5.76 percent of the total program time was allotted to western drama and 5.09 percent of the total program time was devoted to crime and horror drama.²⁷

The overall picture is fairly similar from city to city, but the differences between stations within any given city are much greater than had been anticipated. This was emphasized by Mrs. Clara S. Logan who testified before the subcommittee as a representative of the National Association for Better Radio and Television (NAFBRAT).²⁸

²⁴ Smythe, Dallas W., *Three Years of New York Television, 1951-53*, National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Urbana, Ill., July 1953, pp. 4-5.

²⁵ Smythe, Dallas W., *New Haven Television, May 15-21, 1952*, National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Urbana, Ill., April 1953, p. 11.

²⁶ Smythe, Dallas W., *Los Angeles Television, May 23-29, 1951*, National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Urbana, Ill., December 1951, p. 2.

²⁷ Horton, Donald, Mauksch, Hans O., and Lang, Kurt, *Chicago Summer Television, July 30-August 5, 1951*, National Opinion Research Center in conjunction with the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, Chicago, Ill., pp. 9, 55, and 56.

²⁸ Logan, Mrs. Clara S., testimony in the hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., on October 20, 1954, pp. 197-209.

This association has 43 national directors among whom are national leaders in education, journalism, religion, mental health, and social services. Beginning in 1951 the association has prepared annual studies of national and local television programs for children. The findings indicate that the domination of crime and violence is increasing rather than diminishing, that these are the key factors in approximately 40 percent of all television programs presented specifically for children. However, with particular reference to the 7 stations in the city of Los Angeles during the week of May 1 to 8, 1954, 1 station telecast 30 minutes of "objectionable" program material, whereas another station telecast 26 hours 10 minutes of "objectionable" program material. Mrs. Logan said:

Credit or blame should be placed where it belongs, not on the broadcasting industry as a whole but on the individual licensee of the particular station broadcasting the good or the bad.²⁹

The accompanying chart and bar graph show the results of the study to which Mrs. Logan referred. However, the graph does not show the totals for all Los Angeles stations. The criteria used were those of the National Association for Better Radio and Television.

²⁹ Logan, Mrs. Clara S., testimony, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

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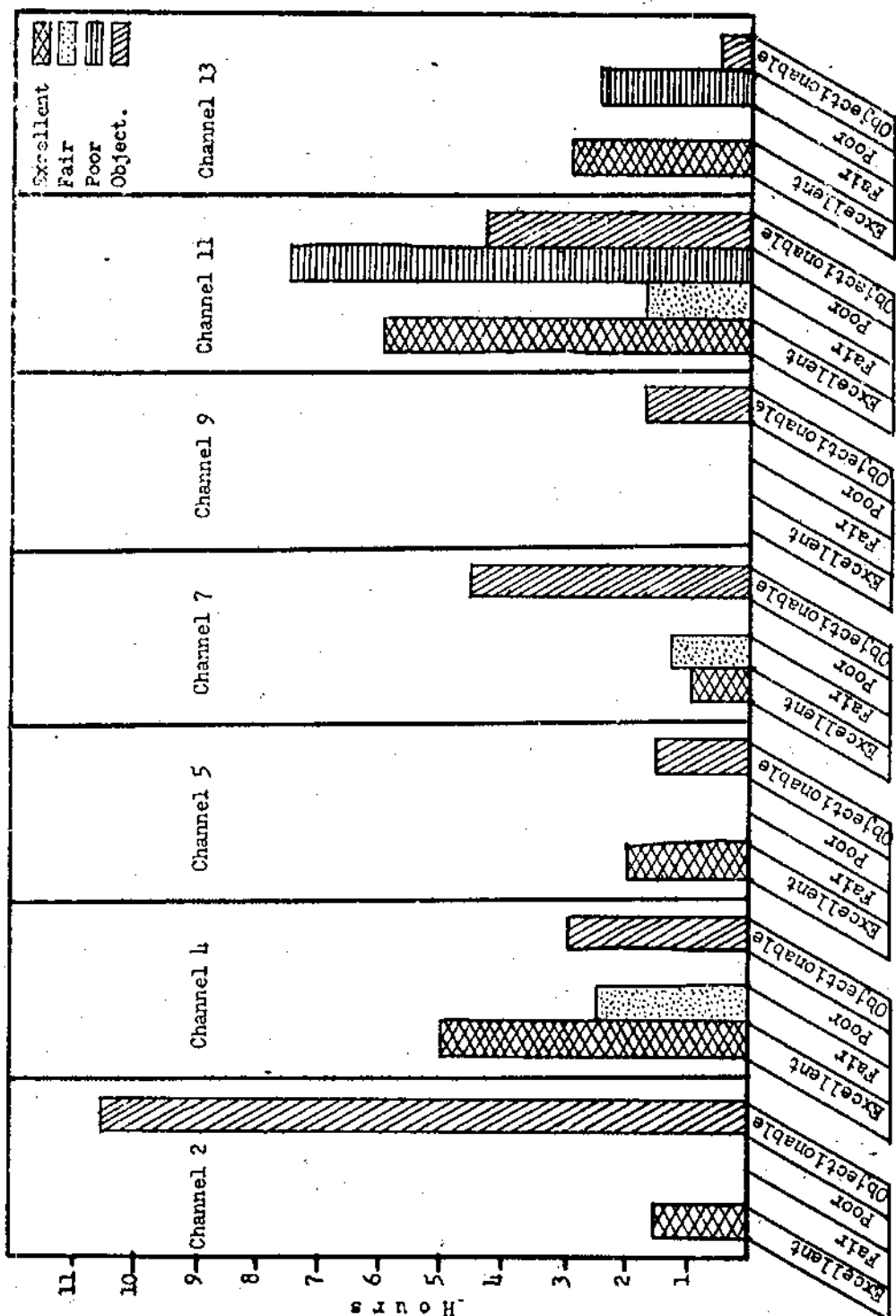
Children's programs, Los Angeles television stations, May 1-8, 1954¹ (a NAFBRAT project)

NAFBRAT program rating	All Los Angeles children's programs (52 programs)	Channel 2 (11 programs)	Channel 4 (9 programs)	Channel 5 (3 programs)	Channel 7 (11 programs)	Channel 9 (2 programs)	Channel 11 (12 programs)	Channel 13 (4 programs)
All ratings.....	60 hrs. 10 mins.....	12 hrs. 10 mins.....	10 hrs. 30 mins.....	3 hrs. 30 mins.....	6 hrs. 45 mins.....	1 hr. 45 mins.....	19 hrs. 30 mins.....	6 hrs. 30 mins.....
Excellent.....	10 hrs. 30 mins.....	1 hr. 30 mins.....	4 hrs. 30 mins.....	.....	1 hr.....	.....	3 hrs.....	30 mins.....
Good.....	8 hrs.....	.....	30 mins.....	2 hrs.....	.....	.....	3 hrs.....	2 hrs. 30 mins.....
Fair.....	5 hrs. 30 mins.....	.....	2 hrs. 30 mins.....	.....	1 hr. 15 mins.....	.....	1 hr. 45 mins.....	.....
Poor.....	10 hrs.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	7 hrs. 30 mins.....	2 hrs. 30 mins.....
Objectionable.....	20 hrs. 40 mins.....	10 hrs. 10 mins.....	3 hrs.....	30 mins.....	4 hrs.....	.....	2 hrs. 30 mins.....	30 mins.....
Most objectionable.....	5 hrs. 30 mins.....	30 mins.....	.....	1 hr.....	30 mins.....	1 hr. 45 mins.....	1 hr. 45 mins.....	.....

¹ Ratings of programs on Los Angeles television stations May 1-8, 1954, as prepared by the National Association for Better Radio and Television. These ratings were pre-

sented at the hearings before the subcommittee on October 20, 1954, by Mrs. Clara Logan.

CHILDREN'S PROGRAMS, LOS ANGELES TV STATIONS, MAY 1 TO MAY 8, 1954
(A NAFBRAT PROJECT)

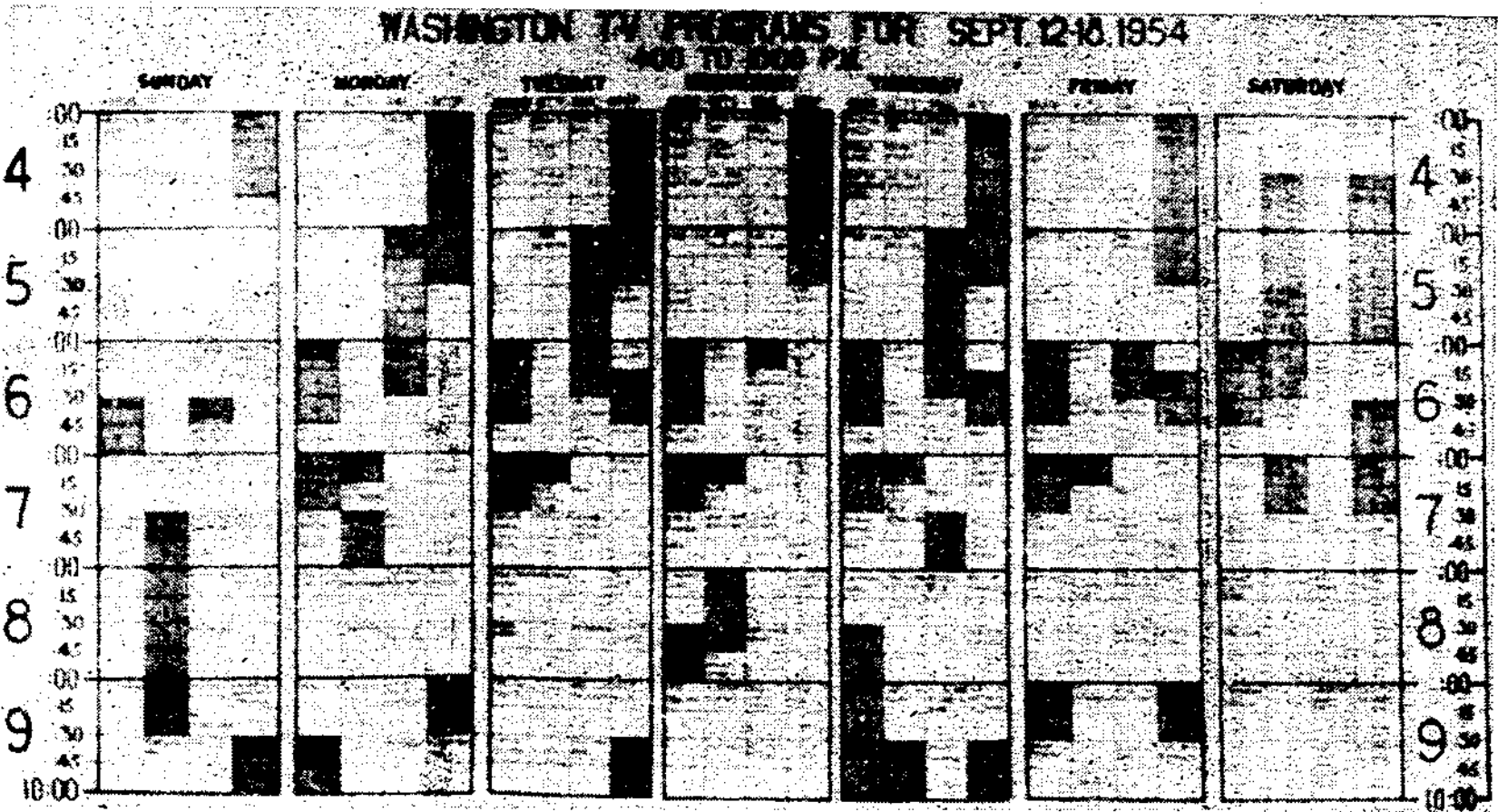


Surveys conducted by the subcommittee

The subcommittee staff viewed all programs telecast by the 4 Washington, D. C., stations during the hours of 4 p. m. to 10 p. m. for the week of September 12 to 18, 1954. That week was selected because it was the latest week that could be used and still afford time for the preparation of materials utilized at the subcommittee hearings on October 19-20. The 6-hour span was chosen because many high-school pupils watch such television shows as *Dragnet*, which comes on at 9 p. m. Thursdays in Washington and simultaneously at 8 p. m. in Chicago. Network presentation designed for an adult audience and telecast at 9 p. m. in New York City would be transmitted from Denver at 7 p. m., an hour when even elementary school children might be sitting before television screens.

The accompanying chart depicts programing on the 4 stations in Washington during that 6-hour span. The shaded blocks indicate programs which had themes or stories based upon an underlying theme of lawlessness and crime, dramatizing human violence. The subcommittee reiterates that it does not equate crime and violence with badness. Programs shaded in the following chart are not necessarily detrimental to children. Many observers make a differentiation between the so-called western and other types of shows which present crime and violence. The subcommittee has not made this differentiation since its focus was upon crime and violence rather than upon the setting in which it is presented.

The vast majority of the shaded blocks were film presentations. Some of these films are of recent origin, while others utilize westerns produced by the motion-picture industry years ago. In some instances, an entire program block is shaded but only a portion of the program dealt with crime and violence. For instance, an example is noted in the *Pick Temple Show* on WTOP in which only one-half of that program consists of western film. On the other hand, programs that telecast fighting without a theme of individual lawlessness—boxing, wrestling, and *The Big Picture* which depicts combat scenes of World War II and the Korean fighting—are not shaded.



(Shadings indicate programs having a motif of crime or violence.)

Forty-two program hours of each Washington station were monitored by members of the staff of the subcommittee. WNBW showed $10\frac{1}{2}$ hours of program concerned with crime and violence, and compared with $7\frac{1}{2}$ hours of such program on WTTG, 6 hours on WMAL, and $14\frac{3}{4}$ hours of such program content shown on WTOP. For all 4 stations together, approximately one-fourth of the viewing time— $38\frac{3}{4}$ hours out of a potential 168 hours—was devoted to programs of such a theme. A subcommittee has not attempted to evaluate any program of and by itself, or to say whether such a program is "good" or "bad." Comment might be made upon the superabundance of programs laden with acts of crime, violence, and brutality available to the child viewer of television during that period and perhaps to a lesser extent today in Washington, D. C.

Frequently the child viewer has little choice except between one crime show or another. For example, between 6:15 and 6:30 p. m. on Tuesday, September 14, 1954, and Thursday, September 16, the choice was between the Black Phantom, a western thriller, a crime film in an oriental setting, or Hoppity Skippity, which is a puppet show designed to suit only very young children.

At the hearings in Washington, the subcommittee presented similar charts on the programs in certain other cities. That the situation in Washington was not too atypical, as shown by program materials listed for 1 day at Seattle, Denver, Chicago, San Francisco, Kansas City, Dallas, Atlanta, Cleveland, and Philadelphia during the period September 13 and 17, 1954, for the hours between 4 to 10 p. m. For the entire group, approximately one-fifth of the viewing time— $37\frac{1}{2}$ hours of a potential of 192 hours—was devoted to the crime-violence motif. Cleveland, having 3 stations, offered only $2\frac{3}{4}$ hours of such program material, while San Francisco with 6 stations and Atlanta with 3 stations offered only 3 hours of such programs. Denver, with 4 stations, however, had 25 hours of that type of program. Chicago, with 4 stations, had 23 hours, and Philadelphia, with 3 stations, had 22 hours of violence and lawlessness.

**SEATTLE, WASH. TV
WEDNESDAY- SEPT. 15, 1954**

KOMO KING KTNT

4
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00	THIS AFTERNOON	KING'S KAMERA	HOME SHOW
:15	"	"	PORTIA FACES LIFE
:30	HOWDY DADDY	STAN EBERSON	SEARCH FOR TEMPERATURE GUIDING LIGHT
:45	"	"	"
00	MOTHER GOOSE		CARTOON TIME
:15	"		DANDY TIME
:30			DOUG EDWARDS
:45			PERRY COMO
00	SPORTS REPORT & WEATHER NEWS		THE ROYAL FAMILY
:15			"
:30	ROBBIE FISHER	EARLY EDITION	"
:45	MASSACRE	WEATHER & SPORTS	"
00	AIR PLAYBACK		SPORTS TIME
:15	MRS. MISSOURI		BASEBALL HALL OF FAME
:30		4-STAR PLAYHOUSE	
:45		"	
00	TV THEATRE	UNITED GOOD NEIGHBOR KICKS	RED SKELTON BELOW
:15	"	"	"
:30	"	"	"
:45	"	"	"
00	THIS IS OUR LIFE	SAMMY RAYE	STRIKE IT RICH
:15	"	"	"
:30	I HIPPED STAN	BLACK BART	I'VE GOT A SECRET
:45	"	"	"
10 00			"

DENVER, COLO. T-V
TUESDAY - SEPT. 14, 1954

	KFEL	KOA	KLZ	KBTU
4:00	HENRY DORY		BRADY JAY	FRANK DELL
4:15	"		SEEKING HEART	"
4:30	FRED & PAE	VAUGHN MCGRUE	ART GOW SHOW	"
4:45	"	NEWS	BARKER HILL	"
5:00	"	SPINY BUNNIES		"
5:15	"	VIDEOSCOPE		CORNY'S CELL
5:30	SMOKER PICKERS	HOWDY DOODY		"
5:45	"	"		"
6:00	TIME FOR BEARY	SPACE SOLDIERS		ALL AMERICANS OF WEEK
6:15	"	"	NEWS & WEATHER	"
6:30		CIRCLE THEATRE	IS A FIDELIAN	WANTED: ROBE
6:45		"	"	"
7:00		YOUTH BY COMMISSION	LIFE WITH FATHER	"
7:15	NEWS & WEATHER	"	"	"
7:30	THE GOLDBERGS	IT'S A GREAT LIFE	SEE IT NOW	WIDE WIDE W
7:45	"	"	"	"
8:00	COMMAND PERFORMANCE	WHEELY DEAR HAYRICE		DANNY THOMAS
8:15	"	"	"	"
8:30	"	MURRAY PARTY	BURNS & ALLEN	COUNTER POINT
8:45	"	"	"	"
9:00	THE CHRISTOPHERS	THE UNIVERSITY ATTORNEY	LED & LICK	SURVIVORS
9:15	"	"	"	AGREEMENT
9:30	HEART OF THE CITY	VIDEOSCOPE NEWS	THE UNIVERSITY ATTORNEY	NEWS
9:45	"	SPORTS & WEATHER	"	SPORTS

CHICAGO, ILL. T-V THURSDAY SEPT. 16, 1954

	WGN	WBKB	WNBQ	WBBM
4:00	BANDSTAND ACTINAM	FRED PIPER	PINKY LEE	SHOPPING WITH MISS LEE
4:15	"	"	"	"
4:30	"	GARFIELD GOOSE	HOLDY DOODY	LOOKING FORWARD
4:45	"	"	"	"
5:00			ELMER - J. CONRAD	
5:15			"	
5:30	NEWS	NEWS	CLOSE UP	
5:45	AND I'LL TELL ONE KERNIE SIMON	SPORTS + WEATHER	"	
6:00		MARLA FINE + CLIE	NEWS, WEATHER + SPORTS	SPORTS
6:15	VINCE LLOYD	NEWS	D. CONNORS TRAVEL NEWS	NEWS
6:30	"		VAUGHN MONROE	NEWS
6:45	NEWS		NEWS	JANE FROMAN
7:00	THEY STAND ACCUSED	NEWS	GARDING MARY	RAY MILLAND
7:15	"	"	"	"
7:30	"	MELODY TOUR		SEMA PLAYHOU
7:45	"	"		"
8:00	BEHOLD THY MOTHER	SO YOU WANT TO LEAD A BAND		PANEL QUIZ
8:15	"	"		"
8:30	HOME SWEET HOME	THEATRE DRAMA	THEATRE	
8:45	"		"	
9:00			VIDEO THEATRE	
9:15			"	
9:30		VICTORY AT SEA DOCUMENTARY	"	NAME THAT
9:45			"	
10:00				

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF. TV

THURSDAY - SEPT. 16, 1954

	KRON	KPIX	KGO	KOED	KYOR	KSAN
4:00	NEWS HILL	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT		
4:15	FRY LOVE	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT		
4:30	THE FOUR	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT		
4:45	ASSOCIATE	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	WILE IS	
5:00	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	
5:15	FRANK	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	DAVE WILLIAMS
5:30	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	REGIUS
5:45	DRIFT	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	TEEN NEWS	FILM + PUPP
6:00	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	FILM
6:15	DRIFT	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	NEWSREEL	DANCE TIME
6:30	DRIFT	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	FARM NEWS	"
6:45	NEWS	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	FILM	
7:00	DRIFT	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	
7:15	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	NEWS
7:30	DRIFT	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	FILM	FILM
7:45	NEWS	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	NEWS
8:00	DRIFT	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	NEWS
8:15	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	"
8:30	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	"
8:45	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	"
9:00	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	"
9:15	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	"
9:30	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	"
9:45	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	"
10:00	"	DRIFT	GENERAL	THE GREAT	"	"

KANSAS CITY, MO. TV FRIDAY-SEPT. 17, 1954

WDAF KCMO KMBC

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:00			
:15			
:30		AROUND THE TOWN	
:45		"	
:00	SPOTLIGHT	NEWS	EXPLORATION
:15	NEWS & WEATHER	"	"
:30	KODIE FISHER	STV ERWIN	NEWS
:45	NEWS	"	PERRY COME
:00	DRODDLES	OZZIE & HARRIET	MAMA
:15	"	"	"
:30		RAY BOLGER	TOPPER
:45		"	"
:00		PRIDE OF THE FAMILY	
:15		"	
:30	DEAR PHIBE	IN OUR TIME	OUR MISS BROOKS
:45	"	"	"
:00	BOXING	CHANGE OF A LIFETIME	FRIDAY STAR THEATRE
:15	"	"	"
:30	"	TIME WILL TELL	PERSON TO PERSON
:45	BIG PLAYBACK	"	"
:00	NEWS & SPORTS	STOP THE MUSIC	NEWS, WEATHER & SPORTS
:15	IMITATION PLAYHOUSE	"	"
:30	YOUR HOME & MINE	NEWS	HAVE THAT SKETCH
:45	"	SPORTS	"
:00			

DALLAS, TEXAS TV
MONDAY - SEPT. 13, 1954

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	WFAA	KRLD	WBAP
:00	KIDDE KARNIVAL	VARIETY FAIR	MINIE MARQUEE
:15	"	MARTHA MCDONALD'S KITCHEN	ANN ALDEN
:30		"	
:45		BARKED BILL CARTOONS	
:00		PARTY TIME	SEE SAW ZOO
:15	NEWS	"	"
:30	TONY MARTIN	D. EDWARDS	CARTOON TIME
:45	NEWS	PERRY COMO	NEWS
:00	EVENING EDITION	BURNS & ALLEN	ROUGBY THRILLS
:15	BASEBALL HALL OF FAME	"	"
:30	BACKGROUND NEWS	TALENT SCOUTS	WEATHER VOICE OF FIRESTAKE
:45	"	"	"
:00	THE MEDIC		TO SERVE THE FLEET
:15	"		"
:30		MASQUERADE PARTY	
:45		"	WONDERS OF WILD
:00		SUMMER THEATRE	TEXAS IN REVIEW
:15		"	"
:30		"	LIBERAGE
:45		"	"
:00	EDGODLES	TEXAS IN REVIEW	WRESTLING
:15	"	"	"
:30	ROYAL PLAYHOUSE	KING'S CROSS ROADS	"
:45	"	"	"
:00			

**ATLANTA, GA. T.V.
WEDNESDAY - SEPT. 15, 1954**

WSB WAGA WLW-A

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:00	PINKY LEE	VALIANT LADY	CARTOON CARNIVAL
:15	"	SEEKING HEARY	"
:30	NOODY DOODY	PORTIA FACES LIFE	BANDSTAND MATINEE
:45	"	NEWS	"
:00	WOODY WILLOW	MEMO FOR MILADY	"
:15	"	"	"
:30	ACTION THEATRE	"	"
:45	"	"	"
:00	CARTOONS	STAR MATINEE	WESTERN PLAYBOYS
:15	NEWS + WEATHER	SPORTS	NEWS
:30	EDDIE FISHER	NEWS	NEWS + WEATHER
:45	NEWS	PERRY COMO	HOMELAND HARMONY
:00	"	ARTHUR GODFREY	BOBBY BODE
:15	"	"	"
:30	MY LITTLE MARGIE	"	SPOTLIGHT ON MUSIC
:45	"	"	"
:00	TV THEATRE	STRIKE IT RICH	"
:15	"	"	"
:30	"	I'VE GOT A SECRET	"
:45	"	"	"
:00	THIS IS YOUR LIFE	BEST OF BRADY	WRESTLING
:15	"	"	"
:30	PRESS GALLERY	"	"
:45	"	HARRY WISNER	"

**CLEVELAND, OHIO T.V.
TUESDAY - SEPT. 14, 1954**

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	WNBK	WEWS	WXEL
00	HAWKINS FALLS	MIXING BOWL	BRIGHTER DAY
15	FIRST LOVE	"	SECRET STORM
30	BOB SMITH SHOW	ON YOUR ACCOUNT	KING JACK
45	"	"	"
00	PINKY LEE	UNCLE SARE	
15	"	"	
30	HOWDY DOODY	NEWS CARTOON SHOW	
45	"	DINNER PLAYERS	
00		"	"
15		"	BOB NEAL
30	WEATHER	D. FOLDSHEIN	WEATHER
45	NEWS	SPORTS	THIS IS THE STORY
00	JANEY SEAN - R.N.	POOCH PARADE	
15	"	MEET SCHOOLS	NEWS
30	VAGHON MADROE	D. EDWARDS	STEPHEN MITCHELL
45	NEWS	JO STAFFORD	"
00	WHEWEST HAYRIDE		THE GOLDBERGS
15	"		"
30	ARTHUR MURRAY	JUVENILE JURY	20 QUESTIONS
45	"	"	"
00	FRESNO THEATRE	MEET MILLIE	DANNY THOMAS
15	"	"	"
30	CIRCLE THEATRE		U.S. STEEL POINTS
45	"	"	"
10:00			

**PHILADELPHIA, PENNA. T-V
MONDAY - SEPT. 13, 1954**

WFIL WCAU WPTZ

4	:00	BANDSTAND	BRIGHTER DAY	MARION'S FALLS	
	:15	"	SECRET SYMB	FIRST LOVE	
	:30	"	ON YOUR ACCOUNT	BERTIE THE BUNYIP	
	:45	"	"	REX TRAILER SHOW	
	:00		STARR HI-JINK	PICKY LEE	
	:15		"	"	
	:30			READY JOODY	
	:45			"	
	:00		EARLY SHOW		
	:15		"		
	:30	SPORTS	"		
	:45	TV NEWSREEL	"		
	:00	NEWS & WEATHER	NEWS		
	7	:15			NEWS
		:30	US HIGHWAY PPK	NEWS	TAMM MARTIN
:45		"	PEAKY COME	NEWS	
8	:00		BURNS & ALLEN	3-2-1-8	
	:15		"	"	
	:30	THOMAS L. THOMAS	TALENT SCOUTS	"	
9	:45	"	"	"	
	:00	JUNIOR PRESS CONF.		PEDIC	
	:15	"		"	
	:30	FIGHT PRELIMINARIES	MASCORADE PARTY		
	:45		"		
	1000				

Scenes showing acts of crime and violence on Washington, D. C., stations

The kind of crime and violence material to which reference has been made is best illustrated with specific examples. A film with sound track was prepared by the subcommittee staff for the hearings held in Washington, D. C., on October 19, 1954. This film consisted of a composite of scenes or acts of violence presented in programs which were telecast over Washington, D. C., stations during the week of September 12 to 19, 1954. These scenes introduced at the hearings represented only a small portion of the scenes of that type which were brought to the television screens during that period. It should be pointed out, however, that they were not selected to give a representative sample of the programs for children, but rather to illustrate the variety of acts of crime and violence which are common to daily television fare.

A cursory view of program content shows clearly that a large amount of the crime and violence in television programs is from film.

The following are scenes shown in the film which was prepared from movies shown over Washington stations during the hours that television has a vast audience of child viewers.

There were several scenes from a Hopalong Cassidy film telecast on channel 4, Washington, D. C., between 6 and 6:45 p. m. on Monday, September 13, 1954, which received more than casual attention at the hearings. The story behind this film is that the principal actor is asked by the Texas Rangers to join a gang of outlaws engaged in large-scale rustling operations. The first scene showed the shooting of a Texas Ranger by a member of the rustler gang, and that was followed by the shooting of the member of the rustler gang by Hopalong Cassidy, played by William Boyd, who appeared on the scene. As he shot the rustler, it was noted that the rustler was standing there with a revolver in hand about to dispatch the wounded ranger. Hopalong's true identity is discovered by the rustler gang. The gang then kidnaped his friend and a small crippled girl to hold as hostages. Hopalong secured their release by surrendering himself to the leader of the outlaw gang. Later he is successful in physically overpowering the leader of the outlaw gang but in doing so, suffers a gunshot wound. A scene showed them struggling for the gun. Boyd was shown slowly losing consciousness as a result of loss of blood from the leg wound. A scene showed Boyd seeking to check the flow of blood as it drips from the wound in his leg.

Several scenes from River Patrol, which was shown on channel 5, Washington, D. C., between 8 and 8:30 p. m., on Wednesday, September 15, 1954, brought out the techniques of several crimes and exhibited examples of sadistic brutality. In one of the scenes, a member of the gang of smugglers was shown as he carefully prepared to strangle a suspected informer. It was then shown how the murderer proceeded to kill his victim by garroting him from behind, illustrating the technique of crime. Another scene showed the leader of the gang brutally striking a witness and threatening him with dire consequences if he reveals what he has seen. Another scene showed the leader of the gang drawing a concealed sword from a cane and impaling his next victim through the abdomen with the weapon. In another extensive fight sequence a brutal scene is shown in a closeup

shot of the gang leader crushing the hand of a police investigator by stepping on his outstretched fingers on a metal stairway. Another closeup shows the expression of agony on the officer's face as he elicits an agonizing scream.

Two of the scenes of violence in the *Flame of the West*, which was telecast on channel 9, Washington, D. C., between 4 and 5:30 p. m. on Monday, September 13, 1954, included a shot of a saloon brawl in which one of the men is the object of a shattering smash over the head with a bar stool. The other scene is another closeup of a western marshal pistol-whipping one of the men engaged in a fight from behind.

The film, the *Crimson Ghost*, which was shown in serial form on the *Black Phantom* program on channel 7, Washington, D. C., on successive days from Monday through Friday, September 13 to 17, 1954, contained more than the average amount of crime, brutality, and violence for such programs. Scenes viewed by the subcommittee staff included: (1) The *Crimson Ghost* overpowering a girl during a violent struggle in a warehouse. (2) A member of the gang striking a young criminologist over the head with what appeared to be a metal stool during a fistfight. (3) A member of the *Crimson Ghost* gang swinging a shovel at the prostrate criminologist as he is about to reach for his pistol. (4) A truck being driven through a warehouse wall, over a pier and into the water carrying to his death an unconscious man who is in the cab of the truck. (5) A scene showing an agent of the *Crimson Ghost* about to be executed by electrical remote control for revealing gang secrets. He clutches at a metal apparatus around his neck and while the following scene did not show the actual execution, a puff of smoke is seen rising into the air with the sound effects indicating that the man had been "fried." (6) The criminologist's secretary being tortured by gangsters in an effort to obtain information. One scene shows the girl in anguish as her arm is twisted behind her and forced upward and another shows the girl's hand being crushed in a drawer by her interrogators. (7) A member of the gang being pushed from a window to fall to his death on the pavement several stories below. A sequence shows the body as it falls and lands, facing the viewer, on the concrete.

These scenes were subject to considerable comment during the course of the hearings—comment as to whether or not the acts portrayed constituted violations of the NARTB code. Several spokesmen for the industry took the position that no judgment could be made of an individual scene even in terms of good taste unless it was viewed in the context of the entire program. If virtue eventually triumphs, questionable scenes may become quite acceptable, it was held.

The motion pictures from which these scenes were taken were viewed later by the NARTB review board and by the production code administration of the Motion Picture Association of America at the request of the subcommittee. Their respective reports are reproduced in full in the appendix.

The subcommittee is aware of many criticisms of television programs by reviewers of the various newspapers and magazines. Well thought-out letters, have been received from all over the Nation with complaints from concerned individuals. The communications contain documented evidence of violations of the NARTB code. One of the

subcommittee's correspondents quoted Time magazine's capsule description of several of television's top programs, which read:

A man was brained with a monkey wrench. A woman tied to a chair was tortured with a knife till she died. Two stripteasers were sliced to death with razors. Four gangsters were shot down. A bartender was murdered in his own saloon. A small boy was killed by a hit and run driver. Two teen-agers were beaten to a pulp and a woman in flimsy negligee was mauled by masked intruders—all on TV of course.

Dr. Ralph S. Banay, a research psychiatrist from Columbia University, appeared before the subcommittee on April 6, 1955, and told of doing an analysis of the program themes for the week just before he testified as a witness. His statement read:

Dr. BANAY. Well, Hopalong Cassidy at 9 o'clock wipes out a gang.

The next program, Buffalo Bill, Jr., there is a false accusation of murder; at 11 there is a crooked insurance deal.

At 1 o'clock there is a story of kidnaping; at 1:30 there is a western story with cattle rustling; the sheriff is either shot in the back or is in cahoots with the gang.

At 2:15, 3 pirates, revenge; at 3 o'clock, a western story again with violence; at 5 o'clock, Roy Rogers; 2 desperadoes blow up the train; at 5:30, an orphan boy eludes the authorities.

Chairman KEFAUVER. Orphan boy does what?

Dr. BANAY. Eludes the authorities.

Chairman KEFAUVER. Yes.

Dr. BANAY. At 6 o'clock, a cowboy G-men story; at 6:30, the Black Phantom; at 7 o'clock, a vicious sabotage ring by Gene Autry.

At 8 p. m., a western, young man ruthlessly runs the cow country; then there is the Lineup, a crime story, safe robbery, and mugging.

At 10 o'clock there is International Police. I do not want to read it any further, because probably by that time most of the children are in bed.

Chairman KEFAUVER. Read a little further.

Dr. BANAY. All right; I will.

At 11:30, Man Behind the Badge, Mr. District Attorney; at 11, The Crooked Way; at 11:15, a western, with a lot of action and shooting; at 12 o'clock, Hit and Run, a man convicted and framed on a hit-and-run accident; Danger, several murder investigations. That was 1 day's programs.

The next day is Sunday, which is relatively free of crime stories.

At 10 o'clock western movies; at 11 o'clock a reluctant burglar, jilted rich girl plots revenge; at 1:30, Roy Rogers—a double-feature movie, western plus an ex-convict attempt to expose loan sharks.

Five-thirty, Captain Gallant, gang attacks a caravan; at 6 o'clock, Sky King, saboteur blows up a secret desert project; 7 o'clock, Big Town, crime drama; 7:30, steamship captain robs and deserts passengers; 9 o'clock, Watch Me Die, a man seeks a perfect method of murdering his wife, divorce won't do; he wants her money.

9:15, Public Prosecutor, seeks out murderers and other criminals.

9:30, Front Page Detective; 10 o'clock, Ellery Queen, mystery; 10:30, Ellery Queen, mystery.

Do you wish to have a further recital?

Chairman KEFAUVER. Well, suppose we put it in the record.

Dr. BANAY. Should I read it?

Chairman KEFAUVER. No; do not read them now.

Dr. BANAY. I will turn it over to the reporter.

Chairman KEFAUVER. Let them be continued at this place in the record.

Dr. BANAY. Yes.

Monday: 4 p. m., Gene Autry, Law of the West, film; 4:30 p. m., Black Phantom, serial; 5:30 p. m., western film; 6 p. m., 5 westerns and Superman; 7 p. m., movie, chorus girl murdered. Ramar of the Jungle; 11 p. m., movie, murder; 11:15 p. m., drama, gangsters shoot cops; 11:25 p. m., mystery, a young woman is charged with poisoning her husband.

Tuesday: 4 p. m., Gene Autry, Lone Shark; 4:30, Black Phantom, serial; 5:30, western; 6 p. m., 4 westerns and prison drama; 7 p. m., Superman, the Cisco Kid, western; 9:30 p. m., the Circle Theater, western, Mark Saber, and the Crime Man, and the Elgin Theater, a western with bigamy; 10 p. m., Danger, duelling;

10:30 p. m., Badge 714, beating and robbing; 11:15 p. m., Danger, escape murder, et cetera, the Signet Theater, a woman leaves her crooked husband.

Wednesday: 4 p. m., Gene Autry and western film; 4:30 p. m., Black Phantom, serial; 5 p. m., Studio 7, drama, guide accuses boss of murder, and western; 5:30 p. m., western; 6 p. m., four westerns, movie, avenging a father's death; 7 p. m., Ramar of the Jungle, Superman; 10 p. m., Follow That Man, mystery; 10:30 p. m., Big Town; 11:15 p. m., Signet Theater, suspense thriller about a murder epidemic; 11:25 p. m., western prison film.

Thursday: 4 p. m., Gene Autry, western movie; 4:30 p. m., the Black Phantom, serial; 5 p. m., western; 5:30 p. m., western; 6 p. m., three westerns; 7 p. m., Wild Bill Hickok; 7:45 p. m., movie, the Creeper, "serum turns people into cloying murderers"; 8:30 p. m., Justice, "wiretapping" and T-Men in Action; 9 p. m., Dragnet, Counterpoint, drama, "foolproof way to steal"; 10 p. m., the Public Defender; 10:30 p. m., Public Prosecutor, the Falcon, mystery, Paris Precinct, "a French dragnet"; 11 p. m., western.

Friday: 4 p. m., Gene Autry, and western; 4:30 p. m., the Black Phantom, serial; 5 p. m., Studio 7, drama, "doctor kills a patient," western; 5:30 p. m., western; 6 p. m., four westerns; 7 p. m., Badge 714, and two westerns; 9 p. m., the Big Story, "stealing and terrorizing"; 9:30 p. m., Paris Precinct, the Vise, drama; 10 p. m., the Line-Up, Mr. District Attorney; 10:30 p. m., mystery movie; 11:15 p. m., Signet Theater drama, "man discovers crime of his future father-in-law," crime movie.

Saturday: 95 TV hours; 23 hours of programs obviously having crimes, 24 percent.

Sunday: 110½ TV hours; 15¼ programs containing crime, violence, et cetera, 14 percent.

Monday, 4 p. m. to 10 p. m.: 48 TV hours; 8½ TV hours containing crime, et cetera, 18 percent.

Tuesday, 4 p. m. to 10 p. m.: 48 TV hours; 11½ TV hours with crime, violence, et cetera, 24 percent.

Wednesday, 4 p. m. to 10 p. m.: 48 TV hours, 8½ hours with crime or violence, 18 percent.

Thursday, 4 p. m. to 10 p. m.: 48 TV hours; 12 hours with crime or violence, 24 percent.

Friday, 4 p. m. to 10 p. m.: 48 TV hours; 12 hours with crime or violence, 25 percent.

Dr. Banay stated that because juvenile delinquency is primarily a problem of emotional health or emotional disturbance he felt that the effect of this saturation of crime and violence on emotionally disturbed children is great and that they are the ones who are candidates for delinquency.

Dr. Banay dramatically stated that:

If the proverb is true that prison is college for crime, I believe for young disturbed adolescents, TV is a preparatory school for delinquency.*

Many social scientists, as will be discussed in the next section, believe that the type of television program reported above has its most detrimental effect on emotionally disturbed children, or children with incipient delinquent proclivities. On the other hand, some industry spokesmen refer to this group as a very small part of the juvenile population and not within the purview of the industry as regards television programming or its effects. However, the subcommittee would like to refer at this point to the study of David Abrahamsen, Status of Mental Hygiene and Child Guidance Facilities in Public Schools in the United States, in the Journal of Pediatrics, volume 46, No. 1, January 1955. In that study a sample of the school popula-

* Testimony of Dr. Ralph S. Banay in the hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., on April 6, 1955, pp. 79-86.

tion of the United States was surveyed. Results in the study represented a total of 2,540,888 children. One of the purposes of the study was to determine the percentage of emotionally disturbed children in need of psychological help in the Nation's schools. It was found that in some schools as high as 60 percent of the pupils enrolled were experiencing some sort of emotional difficulty. The average shown for all schools was 10 percent. Projected onto the entire school population of the United States, there are approximately 2 million emotionally disturbed children in this age range. Needless to say this is a large group of children. It is a group to be reckoned with by all the responsible people in a field of mass communication in view of the conclusions reached in the following section.

IV. INQUIRING FOR A CAUSAL RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE VIEWING OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE ON TELEVISION AND DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

Concern expressed for cumulative effect of crime and horror

The cumulative effect of crime-and-horror television programs on the personality development of American children has become a source of mounting concern to parents. Several generalizations can be made concerning many of the programs shown during children's viewing hours.³¹ It was found that life is cheap; death, suffering, sadism, and brutality are subjects of callous indifference and that judges, lawyers, and law-enforcement officers are too often dishonest, incompetent, and stupid. The manner and frequency with which crime through this medium is brought before the eyes and ears of American children indicates inadequate regard for psychological and social consequences. What the subcommittee tried to determine was: Are these presentations a contributing factor in juvenile delinquency?

The subcommittee is aware that no comprehensive, conclusive study has been made of the effects of television on children. On October 1, 1954, a 2-year study of the effects of television on adolescents and young people was initiated by the Nuffield Foundation, Nuffield Lodge, Regents Park, London, N. W. 1. Research teams are being selected of scientists, educators, statisticians, and psychologists. The British Broadcasting Corp. has expressed approval of the study and has also announced that its Audience Research Department is to study the effects of television on adults.

There is reason to believe that television crime programs are potentially much more injurious to children and young people than motion pictures, radio, or comic books. Attending a movie requires money and the physical effort of leaving the home, so an average child's exposure to films in the theater tends to be limited to a few hours a week. Comic books demand strong imaginary projections. Also, they must be sought out and purchased. But television, available at a flick of a knob and combining visual and audible aspects into a "live" story, has a greater impact upon its child audience.

Views of representatives of the television industry

Several spokesmen for the television industry during the initial hearings testified to the effect that there is nothing wrong with television programs today and all children may view them without harmful effects.

³¹ Surveys have shown that in the United States children see more of all television programs than grownups do. This is borne out in annual surveys made by Cunningham & Walsh, Inc., a New York research organization, of a "secret test" city—"Videotown." There is general agreement among observers that children's viewing is excessive.

During the hearings on television, Merle S. Jones, vice president in charge of Columbia Broadcasting System-owned stations and general services, cited Doctors Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck's study, "Unraveling Juvenile Delinquency," as revealing a major finding:

That the basic causes of delinquency behavior appear to be in faulty child-parent relationships during the first 6 or 8 years of the child's life.* * * The authors of this monumental study find it unnecessary to discuss the role of mass media as a possible cause of juvenile delinquency.

It should be pointed out, however, that the Gluecks were not concerned with the mass media in their study of delinquency simply because this wasn't within the focus of their study. When they appeared before the subcommittee in December 1953, Senator Hennings questioned them as to whether they had considered the effects of television directly in connection with their studies. Professor Glueck replied:

Not in the kind of detail * * * that one would like to. The question you raised * * * is a very fundamental one, because you are dealing there with influences that permeate our whole culture.

He went on to say—

* * * we may say that a consistent hammering away influence of an exciting or a salacious kind, day in and day out, day in and day out, must have an erosive effect on the mind of the youth * * *.

Professor Glueck did point out that these influences are always selective, which is in accord with the subcommittee's belief that these presentations are sought out by those children who are least able to tolerate this kind of material.

Many spokesmen for television have pointed out that most of the other outstanding studies of juvenile delinquency do not take into consideration the effects of the mass media. The subcommittee does not believe, however, that this can be necessarily attributed to the fact that they were not considered important since their inclusion would entail methodological problems requiring great effort and financial backing which has not been available for that purpose.

James L. Caddigan,³³ director of programing and production, Du Mont Television Network, Allen B. Du Mont Laboratories, Inc., said:

The broadcaster's responsibility toward children cannot be discharged by the scheduling of a special group of children's programs. Every moment of every program telecast must be tailored to the highest standards of respect for the family and the home.

Statements of the above nature were prevalent during the hearings. However, the program content as monitored not only by the subcommittee staff but by other research groups reveals the fact that the chasm between what the television people feel is good programing and what is actually telecast is indeed a wide one.

Mrs. Grace M. Johnson,³⁴ director of continuity acceptance, American Broadcasting Company Television Network, said in referring to criticism of radio programs in 1942:

At that time management stated that if it could be proven that these programs were harmful to children, they would be eliminated.

³³ Jones, Merle S., testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, television programs, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., October 19, 1954, p. 82.

³⁴ Caddigan, James L., testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, television programs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., October 19, 1954, p. 146.

³⁵ Johnson, Grace M., testimony in ibid., Washington, D. C., October 20, 1954, p. 247.

Mrs. Johnson referred to the early movies she attended as a child: Which included stereotypes of racial and religious groups, and the standard cliff-hanging scenes to be continued the next time. We attended these make-believe shows—excited and exhilarated to fever pitch and then we went home to a cold glass of milk or hot cup of cocoa, depending on the season. Were we to examine these pictures today and compare them with the present well-planned and executed TV programs we would find that the present fare is far superior to the past.

In regard to Mrs. Johnson's first statement, the subcommittee believes that the proof that the programs are not harmful should be obtained before the programs are shown, not afterward. Parents would never feed their children food which contained possible harmful ingredients. The food must be tested before it is put on the market for public consumption. As to Mrs. Johnson's second observation, the subcommittee would like to point out that many of the shows viewed by its staff actually were the same serials and westerns she referred to. What is different is the fact that this material is shown not once a week or once a day, but 22 to 28 hours (taking the total for several stations) per day, every day, creating an entertainment diet containing violence in volume unknown to any previous generation of children.

Joseph V. Heffernan,³⁵ vice president of the National Broadcasting Co., Inc., referred to a questionnaire study conducted by Dr. Robert M. Goldenson³⁶ in which a majority of 18 authorities responded "No" to the question: In your judgment, are television programs responsible for juvenile delinquency? A close examination of the article in question reveals that these authorities were not rejecting the possibility that certain television programs might not be detrimental to children, but that delinquent acts could not be attributed to television or any other mass media alone. The subcommittee concurs in this view.

The television officials who testified, stated their belief that the number of crime and western shows, when considered within the total program time of any given day, actually did not represent undue saturation.

Views of certain other observers as summarized in hearings

Conclusive research is lacking, but there are available opinions on the effects of crime and violence presentations upon children based on opportunities for observation by qualified persons. Such opinions are not in unanimous agreement. The opinions of those expressing fears regarding the effects of such presentations upon children might be summarized in the following terms: First, they point out that violence materials are anxiety and tension producing. The well-adjusted child may well be able to tolerate added tension that would be acquired through viewing television, but the emotionally crippled or damaged youngster may have very little tolerance for this added tension that has been introduced into his life through the television set in the front room. Although it is likely that no well-adjusted child will be badly warped by make-believe violence, on the other hand, it isn't easy to tell which children are insecure or maladjusted.

³⁵ Heffernan, Joseph V., testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, television programs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., October 19, 1954, p. 182.

³⁶ Goldenson, Robert M., Ph. D., Television Programs and Our Children, in Parents' magazine, October 1954, pp. 37, 76, 78, 82.

The second possible detrimental effect, they point out, is that materials presented, scenes of crime and violence, may well teach techniques of crime. The police chiefs of Boston, New Haven, and other cities reported the arrests of both adults and children who claimed they picked up their ideas and techniques from watching crime shows and reading crime stories. Heman G. Stark,³⁷ director of the California Youth Authority has stated:

It has been our observation in talking with many boys who are now coming before the Board of the California Youth Authority that the modus operandi used in crimes of violence and aggressive crimes against persons has frequently been taken directly from a crime television program.

The third contention was that acts of crime and violence may provide both suggestions and a kind of support for the hostile child, leading him to imitate these acts in expression of his own aggression.

Fourth, it was also feared by some that repeated exposures to scenes of crime and violence may well blunt and callous human sensitivity to, and sympathy for, human suffering and distress—that is, what the effects may be, on a child seeing 5, 6 or 7 people killed each afternoon, in terms of making callous his normal sensitivity to that kind of human destruction, is an unknown quantity.

Testimony of experts in the field

During the April 6, 1955, hearings, representatives of the NARTB gave examples of many experts who indicated that, in their opinion, television programs were not responsible for, nor did they cause, juvenile delinquency. The chairman indicated concern over the fact that other professionals had opposing points of view.

Dr. Ralph Steven Banay, testified before the subcommittee on April 6, 1955. Dr. Banay is consulting psychiatrist for the United States Bureau of Prisons and his testimony was based on his clinical experience with a great number of individuals who were delinquent or criminal. He was of the opinion that certain television programs do have a deleterious effect on a certain portion of the child audience, that is, the emotionally disturbed children. He said:

Inasmuch as juvenile delinquency is primarily a problem of emotional health or emotional disturbance, I feel very much inclined to put on the record that the effect of this violence on emotionally disturbed children is much greater, and they are the ones who are candidates for delinquency.³⁸

In view of these statements, the chairman questioned Dr. Banay as to his professional associations, and as a result of this discussion, the subcommittee was furnished with the names of the members of two organizations, the Medical Correctional Association and the Academy of Forensic Sciences, who concern themselves with the medical aspects of crime and crime prevention and the problems of crime detection, therapy, and prevention. Believing that these clinically trained men could contribute greatly to any realistic inquiry into the problem, the subcommittee is now making a survey of the entire membership of these two organizations.

Although not all returns from the members of the Academy of Forensic Sciences and the Medical Correctional Association have been

³⁷ Stark, Heman G., statement in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, television programs, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., October 19, 1954, p. 66.

³⁸ Banay, Dr. Ralph Steven, testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, television programs, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., April 6, 1955, p. 83.

received, the majority have supported the statements made by Dr. Banay as may be seen in the appendix of this report. The subcommittee would like to point out that this is not positive proof, but does represent a well-thought-out, educated body of opinion of professionals who come into everyday contact with delinquents and criminals. It would also like to point out to the television industry and the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, that there is a substantial body of opinion that is contrary to those they ordinarily present in defense of television programming.

The subcommittee would like to reiterate: this is not positive proof that television programs are harmful; that there does exist a controversy among professional people in the field; that there is enough professional opinion to warrant the inauguration of long-range research; and that it is expedient that measures be taken at the present time.

An indication of the type of research to be undertaken was given by Dr. Eleanor Maccoby. Although her study does not offer conclusive proof, the theoretical implications of her limited research again indicates the need for immediate action by those people responsible for television programming.

Dr. Maccoby pointed out that this subcommittee has received contradictory testimony; that witnesses have felt that the acts of violence children see on television and in the comics simply provide a harmless outlet for the aggressive impulses all children have; while others have felt that that constantly viewing violent episodes must leave a lasting mark on the child, sometimes even providing the stimulus for outright acts of delinquency. Dr. Maccoby felt that there is some truth in both points of view, in that some kinds of television content results in lasting effects on some children, under some conditions. We are, however, just beginning to find out what some of the conditions are that govern the influence of the mass media.

Dr. Maccoby said:

The first question we must ask ourselves is why children are so interested in TV in the first place. There are many reasons, of course, including a natural and healthy curiosity about the outside world. But one motive is a desire for escape from unpleasant situations in real life. * * * We have found that the children who spend the most time watching TV are the children who are most severely punished by their parents, whose parents are not particularly affectionate toward them, and who are subject to many restrictions on their freedom of action in the house.

So there is an element of escape here, at least, in many children. Sometimes the child is escaping from frustration, sometimes from simple boredom. When he sits down to watch a program, the child puts himself, in imagination, in the place of the hero. He feels afraid, momentarily, when the hero is threatened, and has a sense of power when the hero defeats an enemy. Now we come to the question of TV programs as a harmless outlet for aggression. Basically, the idea is this: If a person is thirsty, and takes a long drink of water, there is a period of several hours when he won't want a drink of water again. His need has been satisfied. Similarly, the theory goes, when a person is frustrated and angry, if he does something aggressive, this will discharge his anger and he will be more quiet and peaceful afterward. The next step in the theory is that it is possible to discharge one's anger vicariously, by watching a prizefight or a gun battle on TV. Now a number of questions come to mind about this point of view: First, if it is true that a child can get some discharge of his aggressive feelings by viewing aggressive activity on TV or other media, how long does the relief last? Presumably, if he reenters a frustrating situation when the TV show is over, he will be made angry again, and will be just as ready for real-life aggression as ever. Another question is: If a child sits down to watch a TV show when he is not angry, but merely sits down out of habit or because he is bored, is there any

danger that aggressive feelings will be aroused, rather than quieted? While the research on this question has yet to be done, it is my conjecture that aggressive feelings are sometimes increased, rather than reduced, by aggressive scenes on TV or in the movies. Mothers report instances in which there is a flurry of quarreling among the children in a family just after an exciting TV program, as though aggressive feelings had been aroused which had not been discharged and which spilled over into real life. And here is a final question: Assuming it is true that some children experience a certain relief for their aggressive feelings when they see fighting and murder on TV, is it not true that while they are having this vicarious experience they are practicing what the hero does and adding his acts to their own repertoire of possible future behavior?

There is no doubt that children pick up all sorts of content from the programs they watch. Teen-aged girls watch the stars closely to find out what the proper thing to wear to the theater or a nightclub is, or how to act at a wedding. The situation has not yet occurred for them to use this knowledge, but they store it up for future reference. We are currently carrying on an experiment at Harvard, in which we test children a week after they have seen an adventure movie, to see how much they can remember of the aggressive content. We have found that if a child is angry or upset when he sees the movie, he is more likely to remember the aggressive content a week later. This means that the very children who are presumably using the movie as an outlet for their aggressive feelings are the ones who carry away the aggressive content in their memories, for how long we do not know.

Dr. Maccoby did not claim that every child who sees a murder on a television show is going to make use of the information he has gained about killing to commit a real-life murder. As she explained, for most children the situation will never arise in which this knowledge could be put to use, for the real-life restraints on the expression of aggression are very great. For some children, however, it could be incorporated into action. Dr. Maccoby gave an example of two boys who performed a potentially dangerous act on their brother after having witnessed the act in a movie. As she explained it:

Here is an instance in which a movie channeled the activity of the two brothers in a particular way—provided ammunition, as it were—but the motivation to deal harshly with their brother was already present before the boys saw the movie. The movie simply added to their repertoire of possible things to do to their brother, and triggered-off activity which already had strong potential behind it. All this means that a TV program or movie will have 1 function for 1 child, and a different function for another child, depending upon what particular elements in the program fit in with the child's real-life situation.

Dr. Maccoby also pointed out that certain programs may have desired effects on the behavior of children. She stated:

I have been talking about how children can have aggressive feelings aroused or quieted by TV programs, and have also indicated that under some circumstances, certain aggressive actions can be learned from TV. We must not overlook the fact that a child can also learn from TV that wrongdoing will be punished. Some of the things he learns from programs, in other words, may operate to inhibit aggressive activity by providing the child with warnings about the possible consequences of his actions. The child may learn that aggressive action is permissible under certain conditions (for example, in battle, when the action is directed against an enemy) but can also learn that unprovoked aggression against members of one's own society will bring retribution. It becomes important, then, to know not only how many killings a child sees on TV programs, but to know who does the killing, why he does it, and what the outcome is.²⁰

²⁰ Maccoby, Eleanor E., testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, television programs, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., April 6, 1955, pp. 4-23.

Conclusions regarding crime and violence on television programs

1. Certain children exhibit a need to watch programs with an underlying theme of crime and violence.⁴⁰

2. If a child has a need to watch television presentations of a violent nature, the fact that there are 15 or 25 percent crime or violence shows does not make any difference to this child, because if there were only 2 percent of this type of program on television, the child who needs this type of program would seek it out and would still be saturated with it. (However, the probability of finding one is increased if there are 20-25 percent.)

3. If a percentage of these children view crime and violence in order to vicariously reduce aggressive impulses by watching and identifying with TV heroes, we can assume that after the show is over, the child is still in the real-life situation that is producing his frustration and leading to aggressive impulses.

4. Thus, while the vicarious reduction of aggression sometimes can be temporarily accomplished by television viewing, the basic cause of the frustration still remains and the child may focus more and more on this type of program.

5. By identifying with the television heroes, the child develops a frame-of-reference for reacting to frustration, e. g., aggression. It is conceivable that when a child experiences aggression in fantasy via watching television programs, he is learning to be aggressive in fantasy but not in reality. The carryover from fantasy to reality is something which occurs more easily in some children than in others. Some children learn the discrimination partly by being punished when they try to behave in reality as they would in fantasy. This means that it is by no means certain that a great deal of fantasy experience with aggression will carry over into real life, especially if there are firm real-life controls against the expression of aggression.

6. When real-life controls are absent, as is the case with many of the type of children under consideration, the long-range effect theoretically could be that the child, after a period of time, could reach the point where he may focus his aggression on the actual person or persons causing his frustrations, and the probability that he will react toward these real-life objects as his TV heroes did in fantasy, is increased. In other words, instead of trying to solve the problem, he may knock it out of the way like the television superman, who, because he has continually provided this frame-of-reference, may offer the only course of action the child is aware of.

One of the witnesses before the subcommittee referred to the statement of a psychologist, who said, "In general, television programs tend to reflect existing attitudes in our culture rather than create new ones." This is true, of course, so far as it goes. That stories featuring sex and violence have appeal values in our society is evidenced by the public reaction to what might be called "Mickey Spillaneism." Millions of these volumes have been eagerly bought; the main themes of these books centering around sadism, violence, and illicit sex.

Granting then that these attitudes of sex and violence are reflected in the various art forms in our society, that is, in the motion pictures, on the radio and television, and in books, to carry modern-day social-

⁴⁰ Maccoby, Eleanor B., *Why Do Children Watch Television?* in hearings before the Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee, television programs, U. S. Senate, April 6, 1955, pp. 4-23.

psychological thinking a step further, the subcommittee believes that not only are these attitudes of crime and violence influencing these media, but after a time these media pass on or transfer these attitudes to the younger generation.

Thus it is found that while viewing or reading about a specific act will not cause an average child to go out and commit a similar act, reading and looking at a great amount of these acts could create on impressionable young minds a permissive atmosphere for this type of behavior—an atmosphere of acceptance—which can result in increasing behavior of this nature.

The generally violent mood in which our society dwells must be counteracted with a more positive, relaxed environment for the child to grow in. Of course the ultimate responsibility for such an atmosphere rests with the parents. But another place to break the vicious cycle of constant stimuli of violence is in the communication media. During the years that the child looks at television he forms the whole set of firmly held convictions about the world with which he will meet adulthood. The people who are instrumental in helping him form these opinions—whether they be parents or television programers—have a great opportunity and an awesome responsibility.

V. CERTAIN CONSIDERATIONS IN TELEVISION PROGRAMING

Programing is the industry's primary public responsibility

The primary responsibility of the television industry to the public is in programing. Program content is selected by network and station management with a view to attracting sponsors and viewers. In the economics of television programing there are two dominant considerations: the drawing power of a particular program in attracting viewers and the amount the advertiser is willing to pay in reaching that segment of the television audience. It is the responsibility of the industry in programing to equate considerations of public responsibility with those which are economic in the exercise of its franchises over the commercial television channels. There is an increasing awareness of that fact on the part of many spokesmen for the industry.

During the early period of television broadcasting in the United States, many of the television stations operated at considerable annual losses due to the short supply in the number of television receivers. That fact greatly restricted the television audience at that time and, likewise, placed limitations on the possibilities in advertising revenue.

Television is surpassing radio in total advertising revenue

In 1946, television revenues were only \$500,000. The following year revenues were \$1,900,000. In 1948, the total was \$8,700,000. Revenues in 1949 totaled \$34,300,000. In 1950, television revenues were \$105,900,000. In 1951, the total increased to \$235,700,000. In 1952, television revenues reached \$324,700,000. In 1953, revenues for television totaled \$433 million. During the same year, radio advertising revenues reached an all-time high of \$475 million.⁴¹ The statistics for 1954 are being compiled by the Federal Communications Commission. The Commission reported that when the compilation is completed it will show that the total television revenue for 1954 will be

⁴¹ Statistics compiled by the Economics Division of the Federal Communications Commission.

between 550 and 600 million dollars. It is estimated that the billings through the top 32 national advertising agencies apart from other accounts for television time were at least \$500 million in 1954.

It is seen that a larger percentage of television advertising is scheduled and billed through the advertising agencies than in the case of radio advertising. Radio billing through the major advertising agencies actually declined through 1954, whereas the increase in television advertising is continuing its phenomenal pace.

Broadcast revenues are far more concentrated in the case of television stations. There are over seven times as many radio stations as there are television stations. Despite the limitations of transmission range of the television station because of technical considerations, television continues to take a greater share of advertising revenue from radio. The television audience is much more concentrated in the more densely populated urban areas of the Nation.

Programing costs continue to mount.

Not only are the revenues per station much higher in the case of television as compared with the average radio station, but the total broadcast expenses is much higher. The cost of producing television programs has continued to mount. This high cost of producing live shows has had a far-reaching effect upon television programing. The result is that an ever-increasing portion of television programs are telecast from films and, to a considerable extent, from old films. The demand has increased so rapidly that, if available, all the current production of Hollywood would fill but a part of the need. For example, during 1951 the combined motion-picture output of all Hollywood studios was only 432 feature films, which would provide only 648 hours of running time. It has been pointed out that this would be approximately sufficient to supply 1 television station with film for 6 weeks.

Hollywood motion-picture producers, viewing the declining theater attendance with concern, have withheld most of their recent productions from the television stations. Consequently, there has been a demand for old films which have been shown and rerun repeatedly. The demand has been such that buyers have gone outside the American market. Many British films have been purchased and foreign films, which were originally made in other languages but later have had English sound tracks dubbed in, have been utilized. In numerous instances the cutting, which is necessary to fit the time interval, has certainly been less than expert.

By and large, the antiquated motion-picture films have lost their drawing power at the box office: Certainly, in the form in which they are shown, a vast number are unsuited for showing to children. There is scarce evidence that many of those who are entrusted with the editing of such old films are either equipped, or sufficiently concerned, to determine what is suited for children.

The television networks are distributors of both new and old film, if not directly then through controlled subsidiaries. The networks maintain their own film archives to supplement their own network programing, apart from such rental film services for individual stations which they usually control through a subsidiary for rental sales.

Many of the old films are rented by the individual television station on the package-rental basis. The information supplied regarding each

film is meager, aside from the running time of the film and a brief synopsis.

Prices on film rentals frequently vary with the location of the television station. Some comparison may be made with the variation in film rentals to motion-picture theaters and the wide latitude distributors evidence in negotiating with the exhibitors in booking their releases.

British experience cited

Miss Enid Love, specialist for children's and school programs, television service of the British Broadcasting Corp., London, England, told of the British experience when she appeared before the subcommittee on October 20, 1954.⁴² She pointed out that the BBC is not, and never has been in peacetime, subject to governmental control or censorship in program matters. The standards of the BBC's programs are safeguarded by the (1) creation of advisory councils, (2) maintenance of a staff training school for new recruits, (3) regulation of internal staff with regard to corporation policies and practices, and (4) recruitment of the corporation's services of men and women from whom high professional standards are expected.

The BBC is not a commercial system of broadcasting. Until recently it has been the only television system service in the United Kingdom. A second system, however, the Commercial Television Authority, has been in existence since July 1954 and will soon begin broadcasting. Parliament has attempted to impose safeguards upon the new system. The authority will be regulated by a board of governors appointed by Parliament, similar to the board of nine governors which directs the British Broadcasting Corp. This board will be responsible for general standards of taste in the presentation of all its programs.

Although it is not contended by the British that television or radio by itself can either cause or cure juvenile delinquency—or that the BBC should be a remedial agency for young delinquents—the BBC does claim that broadcasting can make a positive contribution in building up desirable attitudes in children and in stimulating them to new interests and activities. In order not to arouse anxieties, emotional outbursts or fear, the British seek to avoid programs that might stimulate such reactions in children and concentrate upon the positive.

VI. REGULATION OF THE TELEVISION INDUSTRY

In television operations, two organized methods of regulation have evolved. One is the Federal Communications Commission which is governmental. The other is self-regulation by the industry.

The Federal Communications Commission

When television equipment had been developed to the stage that it is mechanically efficient, matters of immediate concern to the Federal Communications Commission were the number of television channels which could operate within a given area and the selection of individuals who would be permitted to own and operate these stations. At the

⁴² Love, Enid, testimony in the hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., October 20, 1954, pp. 200-210.

time of application for first license, the licensee(s) is required to outline plans for the physical plant and location of the proposed station and to give evidence of financial ability to underwrite such facilities. He may make brief mention of program content contemplated, but he is not required to list even an approximation of the number of hours to be allocated to particular types of programs.

Applicants for the original license of stations in the Washington, D. C., area were heard before the Federal Communications Commission in 1946—only 8 years ago. The testimony is illuminating when considered in the light of the unknowns of that time, among them: (1) When the networks would be established; (2) what quantity and quality of film and of live talent would be available; (3) what would be the sensitivity of outside receiving apparatus, and (4) what would the public want to see. Some mention was made of programs to present events of local and nationwide interest and one person, Samuel H. Coff, general manager of the television broadcasting division of DuMont Laboratories, Inc., went so far as to say “* * * Our schedule calls for a ratio which never falls under 30 percent of educational and cultural programs.” It is well to recall, however, the original applicants guaranteed only 28 or sometimes 38 hours of program broadcasts and that several contemplated going off the air between 4 and 6 p. m. There was no comment on children’s programs as such.⁴³

In October 1948, there were 108 authorized (so-called prefreeze) stations in the United States. Not all of these were on the air at that time but all have since been completed. The Federal Communications Commission was encountering engineering problems with regard to the distance by which stations should be separated from one another. Until these difficulties could be resolved the Federal Communications Commission instituted “freeze” proceedings whereby no license was to be granted an additional station beginning in September 1948. Hearings, usually referred to as “Television Allocation Proceedings,” were conducted by the FCC. When completed, the FCC issued its Sixth Report and Order of 1952 and lifted the “freeze” as of July 1952. A table of assignments had been established for the Nation whereby the location of 2,000 stations was provided. This opened the door to considerable expansion of the television industry.

By May 1, 1955, authorization had been granted for a total of 604 television stations. Applications were pending for 58 commercial stations and 13 noncommercial or educational stations. The situation shown in the following statistics:⁴⁴

Commercial stations in operation.....	418
Commercial stations authorized but not completed.....	152
Commercial stations for which applications are pending.....	58
	<hr/>
Total commercial channels in demand.....	628
	<hr/>
Noncommercial stations in operation.....	11
Noncommercial stations authorized but not completed.....	23
Noncommercial stations for which applications are pending.....	13
	<hr/>
Total noncommercial channels in demand.....	47

⁴³ Federal Communications Commission, Dockets Nos. 7014, 7016, 7017, and 7019.

⁴⁴ Statistics supplied by the Federal Communications Commission.

Thus, it may be seen that approximately one-third of commercial channels on the table of assignments are in demand, whereas only about one-fifth of the noncommercial or educational television channels on the table of assignments are now in demand.

It has been estimated by the Federal Communications Commission that 90 percent of the population of the United States is today within the receiving area of at least one station. As additional stations are authorized it will obviously bring the impact of television to all but a very small percentage of the people of the United States.

Mention was made early in this report that the Federal Communications Commission Subcommittee of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives, held hearings on House Resolution 278 during June, September, and December 1954. That subcommittee was empowered to recommend action toward the elimination of radio and television programs found to contain immoral and otherwise offensive matter or to place improper emphasis upon crime, violence, and corruption. These hearings did not result in recommendations to the Federal Communications Commission.

The Commission has consistently taken the position that it is expressly prohibited by section 326 of the Communications Act from exercising any powers of censorship over the contents of programs. The text reads:

Nothing in this Act shall be understood to give the Commission the power of censorship over the radio communications or signals transmitted by any radio stations, and no regulation or condition shall be promulgated or fixed by the Commission which shall interfere with the right of free speech by means of radio communication.

Rosel H. Hyde mentioned that section when he appeared as a witness before the subcommittee in October 1954. He opposed the assigning of censorship board powers to the Federal Communications Commission or to any other Government agency. He said that it was his belief that the Commission could refuse licenses to those who persist in broadcasting obscenity, indecency, and profanity, lotteries, or fraudulent advertising, or to those who refuse to serve the public interest by presenting a well-rounded program. He explained that the Commission does not attempt to carry on any regular or comprehensive monitoring of the programming of the individual stations for the purpose of determining or evaluating their program content. Therefore, license renewal, which is required annually and which involves completion of FCC Form 303, has become a fairly automatic procedure.

In the exercise of its licensing functions,

Mr. Hyde said,

the Commission has only very rarely, on the basis of the facts available to it, been able to determine that a station's programming standards have so far deteriorated as to warrant a finding that its continued operation would not serve the public interest.⁴⁶

Commissioner Hennock stated views on FCC responsibility

Frieda B. Hennock, Commissioner, Federal Communications Commission, disagreed with her fellow commissioners in a statement submitted to the subcommittee in which she asserted that the Federal Communications Commission should not be considered devoid of any

⁴⁶ Hyde, Rosel H., Commissioner, in testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, television programs, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., October 20, 1954, p. 280.

function or responsibility relating to program content. She was outspoken in pointing out that the air waves belong to the people and not to the broadcasters. She believes that the Commission must first determine that the public interest is being served in each instance before a license renewal is approved. It was pointed out that the legal interpretation was spelled out in the United States Supreme Court decision of May 10, 1943, in the case of *National Broadcasting Company v. U. S.* (319 U. S. 190, 215 et seq.) :

But the act does not restrict the Commission merely to supervision of traffic. It puts upon the Commission the burden of determining the composition of that traffic.

The Commission's licensing function cannot be discharged, therefore, merely by finding that there are no technological objections to the granting of a license. If the criterion of "public interest" were limited to such matters, how could the Commission choose between two applicants for the same facilities, each of whom is financially and technically qualified to operate a station. Since the very inception of Federal regulation by radio, comparative considerations as to the services to be rendered have governed the application of the standard of public interest, convenience, or necessity.

This evaluation of services rendered can be accomplished not by the Commission's directing a licensee against broadcasting an individual scene or a particular program, but rather by viewing programing as a whole. The present position of the Commission should be first to hold a hearing whereby all facts would be assembled, then to announce to the broadcasters "a firm policy against the future renewal of the licenses of any broadcasters who persist in failure to meet their responsibilities to the public by continuing to subject the children and the youth of this country to the concentrated and unbalanced fare of violence, brutality, crime, and horror from which there is little escape under present programing."⁴⁶

Self-regulation within the television industry

Appearing before the Federal Communications Commission Subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in 1952, and before the Senate Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency in 1954, responsible representatives of the television networks and of certain television stations testified to the ability of station personnel to control the subject matter and the moral quality of programs broadcast. At the hearings of both subcommittees, the existing system of check points within the network or station was explained. The program department or continuity department is obligated to review all material before it is broadcast, to delete objectionable portions of films or to redirect undesirable spots in live performance. The head of such a department may refer a matter of judgment to station or network executives.

The subcommittee has listened attentively. The facts, however, speak for themselves. The check points are either bypassed or are ineffective in many instances. It is difficult by any other approach to explain the abundance of programs dealing with crime and violence on television today in the United States.

How else can one explain the code violations found in the small 1-week sample of scenes presented at the subcommittee hearings?

⁴⁶ Hennock, Mrs. Frieda B., Commissioner, statement in the hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, television programs, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., October 20, 1954, p. 290.

To quote from the frank statement issued by the Television Review Board after viewing the films from which the scenes were taken :

Despite the fact that some of the films were the subject of considerable editing by the stations, both for the purpose of time and deletion of objectionable content, the Television Code Board expresses doubt as to whether portions of certain of the films are wholly within the spirit of the code.⁴⁷

Individual representatives of the television industry and the industry-wide association, NARTB, insisted that the responsibility for good programming rested exclusively with the station management. John S. Hayes, president of station WTOP, Washington, D. C., exemplifies the thinking of station managers who have deliberately refrained from joining the NARTB and from subscribing to the code. When asked why he had taken this stand, Mr. Hayes replied :

Basically, I think it seems the feeling we have that this is a matter, rather, of individual responsibility. We feel as the licensee of WTOP-TV in the last analysis we are ultimately responsible.⁴⁸

Harold E. Fellows, president and chairman of the board of the NARTB, represented the attitude of the board and of association members when he said :

The code's whole structure, therefore, is based upon the individual sense of responsibility of the man or woman who operates the broadcasting station. To place the responsibility elsewhere, even in the hands of a board made up of broadcasters themselves, would be to withdraw from such management an authority vested in that management by the terms of the license which permits him to operate.⁴⁹

Mr. Fellows stated further that :

The purpose of the NARTB Television Code Board is to establish a set of minimum principles for programming and advertising which, while not limiting in any sense the arena for creative thought, does establish guideposts for good taste and good judgment.

Some of the difficulties in the operation of the code are (1) the lack of precision in the code wording, and (2) the fact that each section of the code is subject to 252 individual interpretations by the 252 station managers, who subscribe to the code, were mentioned at the subcommittee hearings. To cite one example, the subcommittee construed as kidnaping an incident in the Hopalong Cassidy film presented on channel 4 in Washington, D. C., between 6 and 6:45 p. m. on Monday, September 13, 1954. A member of the staff of the subcommittee interpreted this action as follows :

The rustler gang proceeds to learn Hoppy's true identity and kidnaps a friend of his and a small crippled girl to hold as hostages.⁵⁰

Joseph V. Helfernan, vice president of the National Broadcasting Co., Inc., said on the other hand :

We have reviewed that picture and the scene, as we see it, was the taking of a little child with the adult companion, holding them as a hostage for a very brief period. Hopalong Cassidy came along and offered himself in place as a

⁴⁷ Complete statement appears in the appendix of this report.

⁴⁸ Hayes, John S., testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., October 20, 1954, p. 114.

⁴⁹ Fellows, Harold E., testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., Oct. 20, 1954, p. 258.

⁵⁰ Clendenen, Richard, testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., Oct. 19, 1954, p. 72.

hostage and was accepted by the bad men. It was not, as we construe it, a kidnaping.⁵¹

When asked to clarify this difference of opinion, Thad H. Brown, Jr., director of television, NARTB, said, "I do not know of a case where the Code Review Board has had occasion to interpret 'kidnaping' and at the present time, yes, all 231 (station managers) are giving their individual attention to interpretation of kidnaping insofar as the code is concerned."⁵²

The view has been expressed before the subcommittee that a scene should not be judged out of context. This position is of concern to the subcommittee since, if pursued to its logical conclusion, it means that any particular scene or action would be acceptable, provided that what is referred to as its context is approved. Such a conclusion would obviate the possibility of ever developing a code which could serve as a real guide to producers on the one hand or be used by the public to evaluate the program on the other.

Of the various alternate methods for regulating the content of crime, violence and horror in television programs today, the subcommittee endorses self-regulation in the industry through its association, the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters. To this end the subcommittee has made a thorough appraisal of the NARTB Television Code.

VII. THE TELEVISION CODE AS AN INSTRUMENT OF ENFORCEMENT

The purpose of the code, as stated by the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, is "cooperatively to maintain a level of television programming which gives full consideration to the educational, informational, cultural, economic, moral, and entertainment needs of the American public to the end that more and more people will be better served." Approximately two-thirds of the television stations now on the air in the United States, or 252, are subscribers to this code. This figure, when subtracted from 418, leaves a remaining number of 166 stations that do not subscribe.

While there are weaknesses within the code itself and its administration, remedying them will not achieve the desired results unless the television industry as a whole subscribes to it and complies with its provisions, both its letter and its spirit. The euphemistic juggling of terms which would justify a kidnaping by calling it a holding of hostages would serve to discredit the code.

What have been the accomplishments under the code?

The code has been in force only since March 1, 1952. It had been enforced by a staff of 3 in addition to the 5 members of the Television Code Review Board. When he first testified before this subcommittee, Mr. Fellows pointed out that his staff had monitored 42 television stations in 20 cities and the 4 television networks. This included a total of 630 hours of local programming and a total of 1,149 hours of network programming.⁵³ In the following 5 months, November 1954 through

⁵¹ Heffernan, Joseph V., testimony op cit., p. 186.

⁵² Brown, Thad H., Jr., testimony op cit., October 20, 1950, p. 266.

⁵³ Fellows, Harold E., testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., October 20, 1954, p. 263.

April 1955, the NARTB stepped up its monitoring, including 64 stations in 29 cities, with a total of 729 hours of local programming and 660 hours of network programming.⁵⁴ Mr. Fellows testified before the subcommittee on October 20, 1954, that the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters handled 625 complaints sent to the NARTB by referring each complaint to the station concerned with a letter from the board.⁵⁵ Although the board has occasionally set to review a film or a kinescope of a program that has been the subject of a complaint, the board has not seen fit to revoke from any subscriber the privilege of utilizing the seal. It appeared that the board might avail itself further of the powers to which it is entrusted by the bylaws of the NARTB to enact, amend, and promulgate standards of practice or codes for its television members and to establish such methods to secure observance thereof as it may deem advisable.

The Television Code Review Board, through the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, is now retaining a nationally known research firm with monitoring facilities in over 200 cities to do the actual monitoring, according to NARTB's director of television.⁵⁶ This was an increase of more than 500 percent in the 5-month interval between appearances of representatives of the NARTB before the subcommittee.

It was also pointed out that a special monitoring program was being conducted in relation to children's programming and covering 22 stations in 9 cities. This survey was dealing with "mystery, adventure and western" programming for children and covered 136 programs. This survey was underway at the time of the April 6, 1955, hearings, and additional information was submitted by NARTB to the subcommittee subsequent to these hearings.⁵⁷

It is reported that there were 21 alleged violations of the NARTB code, and "consistent with past code review board procedure, these programs are being reviewed by the code review board staff."⁵⁸ The code staff indicated to the subcommittee that additional statements will be made relative to the board action on these possible violations.

A pilot study was conducted by W. R. Simmons and Associates Research, Inc., a widely recognized firm for studies of this type, for the guidance and information of the Television Code Review Board, and staff to determine what might be done along similar lines and in greater detail in the future. This pilot study, according to Mr. Bronson, was being reviewed by a subcommittee of the code review board for this purpose.⁵⁹

It is the opinion of the subcommittee that continued efforts to obtain 100 percent membership of television stations and obtain adherence to the principles of the code from producers and distributors, some of

⁵⁴ Statistics supplied the subcommittee by Edward H. Bronson, director of Television Code Affairs, National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters, Washington, D. C.

⁵⁵ Fellows, Harold E., testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, United States Senate, Washington, D. C., October 20, 1954, p. 203.

⁵⁶ Bronson, Edward H., testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., April 6, 1955, p. 63.

⁵⁷ See appendix.

⁵⁸ Letter of Harold E. Fellows, president, NARTB, to the subcommittee, dated May 9, 1955.

⁵⁹ Bronson, Edward H., testimony in hearings before the Subcommittee To Investigate Juvenile Delinquency, Television Programs, U. S. Senate, Washington, D. C., April 6, 1955, pp. 63-64.