

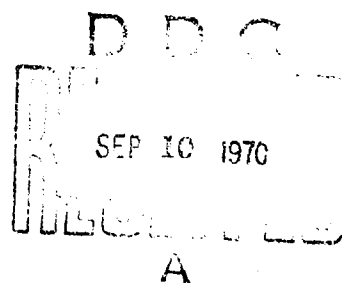
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Mass Media and Social Change

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Mass Media and Social Change¹

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Any general examination of the relationship between mass media and social change must begin by acknowledging a few salient cautions. First, the concepts being portmanteau terms are too diffuse to be lodged in other than gross and imprecise statements of relationship. Both terms require specification so that the aspects operative as influences or responsive as consequences can be more precisely delineated. In negative paraphrase, media are not media are not media. They differ in structure and contents, in traditions, organization and utility as shaped by societal and competitive needs, in the psychological requirements of interaction, and, by virtue of the preceding, in the profiles of the attracted audiences. Also, among examples of a particular medium, there are sufficiently marked differences in these attributes that general assertions about a medium should be viewed as imprecisely defined in reference. Again in paraphrase, the press is not the press is not the press. In regard to social change, the conceptual problem is similar, in view of the open-ended diversity and heterogeneity of potential and actual changes. Unfortunately, there is no systematic dimensional analysis of kinds of effects on types or groupings of receivers to which units of media stimuli can be related. Complicating all is the temporal dimension for the operation and assessment of effects. The empirical and analytic problems added by time are deepened by the absence of baseline data derived from continuous systematic assessments of relevant social changes. Hence, it is only by a conceptual leap and more than a touch of faith and hope that categories emerge for empirical and theoretical relationships. Nevertheless, general and loosely

drawn statements of relationship have been made and found useful in some degree, and constitute the thin understanding currently available of this societally significant topic (see Weiss, 1969, 1971).

Secondly, while discussions of the relationship tend to refer to the mass media, at whatever level of analysis, the effective concept implicitly is exposure to the media. The usual elliptic reference implies exposure, but the absence of explicit recognition can lead to confusion between availability and what people are actually aware of, between analyses of content and the psychological import of the media experience, and between physical units of media and the media's social impact (Weiss, 1969, 1971).

Thirdly, the media are themselves societal institutions (cf. DeFleur, 1966). Hence, questions about media and social change are intrinsically questions about the relations between a dynamic and potent societal institution and other societal institutions, aspects or activities. For instance, the media operate within social contexts of personal relations, feeding and interacting with personal channels of communication, and contribute with other influences and institutions to the facilitation or obstruction of change. Also, as an institution, changes in the media do themselves constitute societal changes and are responsive to general societal changes.

This acknowledgement leads to a fourth and critical caution. The general relationship between mass media and social change can be viewed from the perspective of the contribution of media to social change or in terms of the effects of social change on the media. The dynamics and fluidity of the relationship undoubtedly require a shift from one perspective to another whenever the relationship is examined over time. But, the mutual interaction between the two must always be kept in focus.

Furthermore, to complete and complicate the transactive relationship, the influence of other factors on both should also be entertained. For example, technological developments such as advances in communication satellites and computer technology can have strikingly pervasive, if not revolutionary, effects on both (Schramm, 1968).

General functions of the media.---Societal functions of the mass media have been conceived as threefold: the media act as public 'watchman,' by providing surveillance of the near and far environment; they aid social decision making by providing information, opinions and appraisals of events and persons; and they teach by providing information and skill-related knowledge to the general public or by formal use in educational settings (Schramm, 1964). Essentially, all three functions constitute outcomes of the general informational-educational utility of the media. Although not mentioned in this narrowly instrumental catalogue, the coordinate function of providing entertainment, diversion and relaxation and a leisure-time resource for personal development has received emphasis in recent writings (Dunazadier, 1967; Stephenson, 1967). However, from a functional perspective that reflects a behavioral or receiver-determined focus, no media experience is solely informative or solely entertaining. What is predominantly diverting and relaxing inevitably carries some information or cultural potential, offering new facts, ideas and images. And what is basically informative and educational may also be diverting, having entertainment values or providing personal gratification, self-enhancement or the raw pleasure of vicarious social contact.

In modern industrialized countries, the full diversity of the media's actual and potential contributions are somewhat obscured and narrowed. This is a consequence of the current societal complexity in which the media

operate, their seriatim development over time within an evolving matrix of other institutions, and the very pervasiveness of mass communications in modern society. Some responsibilities and potential have been absorbed or preempted by or are shared with other institutions (e.g. education). Hence, it is in the developing areas of the world that the wide spectrum of the media's contributions and functions can be most vividly appreciated.

Nation building.---The key role of mass media in nation building and national development can perhaps best be instanced by considering the general development model proposed by a number of analysts. Despite some divergences among them, a collation and abbreviation of their views would lead to the following model (the arrows should be read as "fosters"):

economic adequacy, manifested by GNP or indexes of urbanization and industrial development —→ educational resources and the spread and upgrading of education, with a consequent reduction in illiteracy and with the production of a variety of educational effects (e.g. on cognition, intellection, attitudes, values, personality) —→ the expansion of means of mass communication and their greater use by the populace —→ a variety of modernization outcomes. The elements of this part-model are bound in mutually interactive relationships, such that changes in one reflect back as well as ahead of other elements in this linear array. Also the model is not merely descriptive but implies action-decisions; for example, it suggests that the effective use and development of the mass media, a necessity for successful modernization, requires the prior establishment of an adequate economic and educational base. (A significant report by Guthrie (1970) underscores the constraining influence on innovational behavior in a developing country of existing social norms and reinforcement contingencies, despite the acceptance of modern-oriented attitudes.)

To effect nation building, the contents of the direct and indirect informational functions of the media are crucial (Schramm, 1964; Lerner & Schramm, 1967). It is by virtue of information and news about development projects and related governmental actions, decisions and policies that development activities can be fostered through popular understanding and support. General information about the wider environment which need mean no more than news about other communities or areas of the country, as well as about other nations, contributes to a wide-angled perspective and makes far off and abstract events locally and personally relevant. References to national activities of all kinds fosters a sense of national identity or at least of identity with a wider social entity than the village or tribe. And a fuller awareness of nationhood can induce support for national policies that may require local or personal deprivations or commitments of resources. In addition, national media provide governmental or societal wide interpretations and evaluations of significant events and persons (Lane, 1969). This accepted picture of the surrounding world is not only important for broad support of governmental policies but also aids in producing cohesion among socially and geographically disparate groups and gives to the believing individual a necessary sense of social support for his views and hence an organized perception of a complex world. Additionally, the media's role in the development of national identity and the diffusion of national policies and interpretations has the crucial function of providing the ground for governance of large and physically dispersed populations. Through the media, coordination of efforts and actions over the country or over wide areas becomes possible, even though mere behavior and not assent is the key requirement and even when coercion is available. The importance of the support of

public opinion need hardly be belabored; and while media do not guarantee it, even in a closed society, without the means of rapid, repeatable mass communication such understanding and active public support becomes much more difficult of attainment.

Rising aspirations and deferred gratification.--As the modernization process becomes established, direct personal contacts with the wider environment as well as vicarious, mediated contacts through mass communications lead to rising aspirations (Lerner, 1958). Here the key is presumed to be a psychological state of empathy which permits a person not merely to observe new possibilities but to adopt an "as if" perspective in relation to himself as a participant in a new way of living. But rising aspirations can become a volcano of rising frustrations, if unrealistic expectancies are developed or instant changes demanded. Hence, another function of the media is to channel rising aspirations into activities that will facilitate development and to impress a realistic stamp upon them (Dube, 1967; Lerner, 1967; Rao, 1966). The principal channeling is in terms of the fostering of a value of deferred gratification and its supporting behaviors; that is, people must understand and accept the importance of taking actions now that will not bring immediate gratifications but whose full fruition will occur some time in the future. Of course, other societal institutions are involved and probably more centrally in the development of such a value. In fact, education itself is the grand example of the acceptance of deferred gratification, as well as its fosterer. But, aside from exhortation, the media can also contribute by providing information and appraisals for realistic actions and expectations; for deferred gratification requires risk taking and to engage in sound risk taking requires valid information about possibilities and likelihoods.

Personal channels.--Since developing countries have longstanding traditions of oral transmission of news and views, the mass media even without planning become linked to personal channels of communication (Weiss, 1969, 1971). That the linkage is unplanned is unfortunate, for the multiplying effect of media transmission of information can be made more efficient and potent if skillfully connected to existent modes and contexts of person-to-person transmission. Given that personal transmission is crucial in developing countries and will continue to be so for some time, a mapping of conversational linkages and personal contacts would be of particular value. For when personal contacts and hence the flow of information by word of mouth is vertical, diffusion of news is rapid and reasonably complete over a wide segment of the populace. In contrast, when it is horizontal and within socially segmented strata of society, diffusion is limited; and as a result, the more modern-oriented people who are in contact with the media and with extra-local sources of information do not contribute their full potential to national development.

Personal contact in the diffusion process is important not only for the rapid flow of information but also for behavior and attitude changes that require social support or group action. One technique for overcoming traditional ways has been the development of organized group exposure to radio and television, followed by group discussion and decision making (Weiss, 1969). Although most such forums have focused on community projects or the acceptance and adoption of agricultural innovations, some have been designed to induce changes in other kinds of behavior and attitudes (e.g. hygiene and child care) or have such effects as a derived outcome of changes in traditional ways of living and thinking (Weiss, 1971).

The significance of person-to-person transmissions also invites caution in regard to assessing the spread or reach of mass media in terms of the number of newspapers circulated or sets available per some fraction of the population. The linking of media to personal channels multiplies considerably their potential significance. For instance, a single newspaper copy is often read by a number of people and may be read out loud to many others who are illiterate. Similarly, even without organized listening and watching, group exposure to broadcast media occurs. For instance, programs broadcast through the one radio set in a coffee house or a village meeting place may reach a fair number of listeners. It is because of this one-many linkage between media units and exposure contacts, as well as the general significance of personal channels in the diffusion of news, that the social impact of the mass media in developing countries will be underestimated by indexes composed of physical units per some amount of population (Weiss, 1971).

Modernized areas.--Turning to industrialized and modernized countries, we find that all media functions and contributions noted in regard to developing countries can be discerned here too. But some no longer are dominant or that evident on casual glance, as a result of the prior development of supporting traditions and values and the sharing of responsibilities with other vital institutions. Nevertheless, it takes but a breakdown in the availability of the regularly used media to reveal people's deep dependence on them (Berelson, 1949; Kimball, 1959). Their general informational and entertainment functions are vividly etched on the modern scene. They even have utility as a means of symbolic social contact or as a means of relating ourselves to others. Also, they are used in supplementing fashion and, except under special circumstances, are the principal sources of and resources for both topical and

background information and knowledge (Bogart, 1968-69; Wade & Schramm, 1969).

The significance of the media for national interpretations and coordination of national actions and attitudes and, thereby, for governance is well understood. But the media also provide a means of transmitting information and views from the public to government and from one segment of the public to relevant others. In these days, this is accomplished not merely by the reporting of ordinary happenings but by the reporting of pseudo-events or public demonstrations designed to achieve media access for the views of special interests or inadequately publicized groups. In a sense, the media provide two-way channels of communication to connect different societal units, although the frequency and efficiency of transmission is not likely the same in both directions (cf. Chaffee, 1967).

Personal channels do not loom as large in industrialized as in developing countries. They operate primarily on personal or highly involving or dramatic matters and, even then, are often complementary to the mass media (Weiss, 1969, 1971). Here too, little is known concerning routine or regular conversational linkages or the ordinary substance of conversations. In industrialized countries, two other means of personal communication, though not literally face-to-face, are regularly used: the telephone and the mails. However, their roles have not been given adequate recognition or systematic attention. It takes interference with their use to vivify the considerable part they play in modern communication systems.

The usual media content, including advertising, continues to influence wants and aspirations. Empathy and deferred gratification while fostered by the media are initiated and sustained principally by other

societal institutions and traditions. However, deferred gratification requires some assurance of the stability or predictability of the future, as well as a sense of being able to cope through personal or group efforts. Hence, the media can and do contribute significantly to the requisite future orientation, by providing valid knowledge and objective appraisals of situations, resources and likelihoods so that risk taking can be put on a more realistic basis.

Mirror vs. molder.--In view of the functions of the media and their interconnections with other societal institutions, it is evident that, in the most general way, the media are both mirrors and molders of society. However, in any given instance of social change or lack of change or tension for change, the role of the media cannot be simply assayed or extracted from the manifold of operative influences. To say that the Orson Welle's broadcast, "The War of the Worlds," caused a panic in New Jersey is true in that, if the production had not been broadcast, no panic would have occurred. But differential receptivity and susceptibility to the broadcast, the occurrence or absence of checking behavior and the kinds of behavior elicited following belief in the broadcast must all be given their due in the total outcome (Cantril, 1940). National publicity given to the civil rights movement in its early days undoubtedly facilitated further civil rights actions, affected the response of civil officials and police, and encouraged civil rights changes. But if the times were not propitious, would changes have occurred? Consider what would probably have been the result if the same actions occurred 20 or 30 years earlier, even if television had been available. Similar complexities of analysis apply to the relationship between public taste and the entertainment function of the media (Weiss, 1969).

Even the very nature of the events selected from the welter of all possible ones for reporting and analysis is conditioned by a variety of factors. Some of those involved are the nature and professionalism of news personnel, the presence of a diverse assortment of "gatekeepers" or influentials, the organizational and financial structure of the industry, and the meaning of newsworthiness and normative dimensions of appropriateness for news (Weiss, 1971). Since the economic base of the media is essentially predicated on audience use, media contents cannot diverge too far from audience views, expectations, needs, and interests. But should the latter change as a result of the influence of other factors (e.g. rising education), so will the formats and contents of the media (DeFleur, 1966; Potter, 1966). In sum, economic or political dependence on mass audiences means that the standards, values and requirements of the general public are controlling in regard to media content and form, and constitute the context to which the media adapt and within which they function.

In addition, the media as a societal institution will reflect the general values and standards of the society. At best, they may lead society slightly or sporadically with a few brave or deviant ventures. But, when social change does occur, the media as is true of any public institution or activity will also be affected. It is in this sense that the media both reflect and lag social change. Nevertheless, by giving voice and publicity to the first stirrings of change, they can influence its trend and speed.

The media and the black social revolution.---In the U.S., the reflection of the black social revolution in the media should exemplify these points. Although quantitative content analyses have not been done,

there is no doubt that during the past 15 years the major media have devoted considerable space and time to news reports and analyses of civil rights activities. This continuous publicity principally for salient events has kept black strivings in the focus of public attention and kept them from being swept under the societal rug, and has inspired black groups and given to black voices sometime access to public thinking and the public conscience. However, it has also had an adverse effect on the weekly black press, which had previously depended on its function as the almost sole source of black news for its principal appeal to a large group of black readers (Lyle, 1967; Roshco, 1967). Circulation has dropped markedly; and the only black-oriented news service, the long-lived Associated Negro Press, terminated when the major wire services began to provide regular news on black activities to the black press (Beard & Zoerner, 1969). However, the black weeklies are still the only source of news of the ordinary run of events of interest to a black audience and the principal locus of a continuing Negro perspective on the news. Interestingly, the limited achievement of greater economic, educational and residential mobility of Negroes has also caused the black press to lose an important core of readers. The psychological and physical movement away from the ghetto has led to a less geographically bound interest in black news and hence to a reduced use of the ghetto press (Lyle, 1967; Roshco, 1967).

The complex of economic, social and legal changes that have occurred in the status of blacks in American society have already had their effects on media depictions of Negroes. These are visible in two forms. First, the number of black professionals in the news media have increased, although they still constitute an insignificant percentage of the total.

Second, Negroes have become more visible in movies and television and are portrayed in many different roles. Also, depictions of Negroes in national advertising directed at the general public have shown a twelve-fold increase over 18 years (6%-71%) in their representation as skilled or white-collar workers, in place of their former dominant representation as unskilled or service personnel (Cox, 1969-70). One commentator has suggested that these visible changes in the employment and depiction of Negroes in the media serve not only to encourage black aspirations, pride and dignity but more significantly to contribute to a greater acceptance by whites of the idea that blacks belong in the mainstream of American life (Colle, 1968).

The effects of the black social revolution should not only be reflected in the media addressed to the general public but also in the media directed at black audiences. Since black media are also economically dependent on their audiences, they cannot be too discrepant from them in expressed views or themes or values. Consequently, analyses of the contents of black media should intimate Negro perspectives and salient concerns and thereby the effects of their changed and changing status. However, there has always been a dearth of attention to the contents and functions of media vehicles designed for specific ethnic, racial or religious groups. Instead, research has focused almost exclusively on the media for the general public. Hence, it is not unexpected although unfortunate that despite the black social revolution there has been relatively little research on the Negro press or other media addressed to black audiences.

In order to examine the changes over time in media contents for a black audience, Michael Chapko² and I undertook an exploratory content

analysis of the advertising in Ebony magazine. Our choice of advertising as the content was predicated on the assumption that major advertisers use market research and copy testing as an intelligence operation for determining how best to appeal to an audience. Hence, changes in audience views and values should affect their responses to advertisements and therefore should be taken into account by the advertiser. This argument could even be pushed to the point of suggesting that advertising research might turn up attitudinal changes that are not yet publicly visible. But even without such an assumption, it is reasonable to expect that over time advertising directed to a black audience would exhibit changes in accord with the development of black dignity and pride and the un-freezing of the social status of blacks.

Ebony and Life.--Lacking close competition, Ebony is the premier national Negro magazine of its kind. Its readers number more than 900,000, are almost exclusively black and, compared to the general Negro population, are better educated, have higher incomes and hold proportionately more white-collar jobs (Hirsch, 1968). Although appealing to a middle-class segment of the Negro community, Ebony also draws from the lower-class sector, with 31% of its readers earning less than \$5000 per year and 41% not completing high school. Its editors admit to a responsive sensitivity to the views, desires and aspirations of the majority of its readers (Hirsch, 1968).

In general appearance, size and format, Ebony resembles Life magazine. While the readership profiles of the two diverge in the same manner as do the general black-white profiles in the country, both readership groups are higher socioeconomically than their respective general population groups. Because of the similarities between the magazines, the general

types of advertisements found in Life were used as a baseline against which to reflect some of the data gathered from Ebony.

Issues sampled.--Issues from 1964, 1966 and 1968 were analyzed. Since Ebony is published monthly, all 12 numbers from each of these years were included. For Life, a weekly, the first issue of each month was used. Hence, the total sample comprised 36 issues of each magazine over the period from 1964-68.

Categorization of advertisements.--Each advertisement that was at least one quarter of a page in size was included in the analysis. The Ebony ads were categorized in terms of type of product, race(s) and sex(es) of the model(s), and the relative lightness-darkness of the black model(s). Since only a few Life ads contained a black model, only type of product could be used as a basis of categorization.

The ratings of lightness-darkness of the black model(s) were made in the following way. From Ebony's advertisements, a sample of 16 models representing a wide diversity of skin tones of black models were rank ordered from lightest ("1") to darkest ("16") by ten judges. Based principally on mean rankings and degree of consensus in rankings, four of these photographs were then selected as the reference standards for scoring the advertisements in Ebony. Their mean rankings were 1.0, 5.8, 12.0 and 14.2; for convenience, they will be referred to as A, B, C, D respectively. If the skin tone of a model in an advertisement was judged to fall between A and B, the model received a rating of "1"; if between B and C, a rating of "2"; if between C and D, a rating of "3"; and if darker than D, a rating of "4." When more than one black model appeared in an ad, the average skin tone of the models was used as the rating for the ad as a whole.

Categorization of type of product was initially as discriminating as possible. Then functional groups were employed to aggregate very infrequently occurring subcategories. Finally, these were further coalesced to yield larger but meaningfully interrelated clusters. Table 1 contains the final groupings of product types employed in the analyses of the advertisements.

Table 1 about here

Ebony vs. Life.--Although on the average Ebony contains 1.7 times as many pages as Life, approximately 9% fewer of its pages contain ads of a quarter page size or larger. Table 2 presents for each magazine

Table 2 about here

the percentages of ads placed in the major content categories. Particularly striking is the dominance in Ebony of ads pertaining to personal appearance, with slightly more than one out of three falling into this category and with percentages averaging $2\frac{1}{2}$ times that of Life's. Even when products specifically designed for the black market are removed, the differences though diminished are still considerable. Also, the trend for this category is upward in Ebony over these years, in contrast to the downward turn in Life.

But these results based on the conglomerate category of personal appearance obscure some contrasting trends. While skin lighteners declined steadily from 3.6% to 1.5%, hair straighteners showed a consistent upward trend from 1.4% to 3.8%. Ads displaying wigs also increased continuously from 2.0% to 5.2%, and only a few of the wigs displayed were of the Afro kind even in 1968, the first year for the appearance of Afro

products; in that year, the latter products constituted less than 2% of all ads. Hence, in terms of ads principally for women, the appeal of the natural black look was evidenced at best in the avoidance of skin lighteners; but an opposing trend appeared in regard to hair straighteners and wigs.

Ads for alcoholic drinks was the second largest category for Ebony, and it was the only other one in which Ebony had a considerably higher percentage of ads than did Life. Of particular interest is the steady downward trend of such ads in Ebony but not in Life, perhaps suggesting related shifts in attitude on the part of Ebony's readers. Ebony's persistent weakness relative to Life in ads for automotive and household products was also found by Berkman (1963). Two trends in Ebony worth noting, since they are reflective of changes in black mobility, are the consistent increases in ads for travel and for job opportunities.

Use of black models.--Since the percentage of ads using models varied both by product category and by year, data on the race of models are based on percentages of ads that contained one or more models of either race or sex. Table 3 reveals that more than four out of five ads in any

Table 3 about here

year contained only black models, but also that there was a slight but steady overall decline in the use of such ads. A similar decline occurred for white-only ads; whereas, ads displaying mixed racial models showed a continuous overall increase from 3.5% to 9.4%.

As can be seen, there is a considerable range over product categories in the use of black-only models from an overall low of 18.8% for automotive products to a high of 94.7% for drugs. Although the data are not fully

consistent, it seems as though the product categories whose ads feature the use of the product by one person or in limited social settings involving primarily pairs are the ones with the high percentages of black-only models. This factor of social setting with its implication of wider black mobility and acceptability is most clearly evidenced in travel and soft drink ads, where there is a sharp and steady decline in black-only models coupled with a compensating increase in the use of mixed racial models.

Home products which exhibited a steady decline in black-only models also evidenced a rise in the use of both white-only and mixed racial models. Although approximately three out of four of all automotive ads contain only white models, the percentage of such all-white ads has declined from 77.1% to 65.%; but, rather than an increase in the use of black-only models, there has been a sharp upswing in ads with mixed racial models. In general, the trend seems to be toward the introduction of white models where the categories in 1964 were dominated by black-only models (even personal appearance shows a slight but steady rise in the use of mixed racial models; drugs is the main exception to this conjecture) and the introduction of black models into the one category dominated by white-only models. The overall result, as previously noted, is a slight but steady movement toward the use of mixed racial models in ads.

Relative lightness-darkness of black models.--Although models were rated on a four-category scale, the data will be presented in terms of the percentages of models assigned to either of the lighter two categories (ratings 1 and 2). Table 4 contains these percentages broken down by year,

Table 4 about here

racial composition of ad and sex of the model(s). The general trend is toward a decrease in the use of relatively lighter models. The major decline occurred from 1966-68, the likely period of growing emphasis on the "black is beautiful" sentiment. However, in ads containing only black models, the models are lighter than in ads of mixed racial composition. Also, the models in ads containing only females tend to be lighter than the models in mixed-sex ads, which in turn are lighter than the models in ads containing only males. This pattern which is essentially due to a female-male difference probably fits existent sex-related differences in the population, although it may also reflect evaluative standards of femininity and masculinity.

The preceding trends and patterns generally appear in most of the product categories. As might be expected, the percentages vary over the product categories, from a high of 84.7 for personal appearance (which includes a percentage of 25.0 for Afros) to a low of 49.0 for home products. The latter category contains a sharp difference between a percentage of 68.0 for ads for large appliances or household items and a percentage of 38.2 for ads for food and kitchen products. This predominant use of darker models in ads for products associated with mundane homemaking routines contrasts with the trend for all other product categories (excepting Afros) and is suggestive of an image-related association involving the lightness-darkness dimension.

Although a diversity of speculative inferences are easily generated by different segments of the total data, such posits have been eschewed at this time. To give them greater validity or to draw the most plausible probes from the data requires, at the least, an input of knowledge of the empirical and policy bases of the advertisers' decisions, the value

perspectives and attitudinal reactions to the ads of Ebony's readers, and the editorial policies of the magazine's editors (see Hirsch, 1968 for the latter). Nevertheless, it is evident that by 1968 Ebony's ads still exhibited relatively little impact of a militant version of the publicly salient themes of black dignity. The modest increase in the use of racially mixed models and the trend toward darker models, along with some modifications in the advertising weight given to selected product categories seem the principal responses to changes in black socioeconomic status, social mobility and pride. Although it should be kept in mind that Ebony's readers constitute a special, self-selected segment of the general black population, it is probable that the customary reaction of advertising to evolving social changes is one of delay and tentativeness.

The general value of any approach to an examination of the relations between the media and social change depends fundamentally on its being used continuously, systematically and routinely. One-shot, limited or sporadic efforts cannot provide the knowledge base for the broad and varied conceptual perspectives needed, if mass communications research is to flourish.

Table 1.

Descriptions of Product Categories

Category	Description	Examples
Personal Appearance		
Afro	Any product that is used for personal appearance and the Afro-look.	Afro hair spray
Wigs	Any advertisement for wigs or falls	
Straightener	A product used to straighten the hair	
Skin-lightener	A product used to lighten skin color	
Personal-Female	Any product used for personal care by a female, including makeup, skin care, hair care	Lipstick, powder, hairspray
Personal-Male	Any product used for personal care by a male, including skin care, hair care, shaving	Hair lotion, razor blades
Personal-Both	Any product used for personal care by both male and female	Deodorant, soap
Clothes	All clothing and accessories	Pants, underwear, hats, dresses, jewelry
Alcohol		
Wine	Any wine	
Beer	Any beer, ale or malt liquor	
Liquor	Any alcoholic beverage having an alcoholic content over 20%	Whiskey, gin, vodka, brandy
Automotive		
Autos	Any new automobile	
Truck, Skooter	Any new truck or skooter	
Auto products	Any product used for the running or upkeep of a car	Gasoline, tires, oil

Table 1. (Continued)

Category	Description	Examples
Home		
Kitchen	Products to be used in the kitchen for cooking, and cleaning products for the home	Pots, silverware, detergent, pet products, cleaners
Household	Products used by the family for play, work, or school	Toys, lawn equipment, furniture, pens, carpets, T.V.
Large Appliances	Any large appliance	Refrigerator, washer, stove, air conditioner
Food	All food products except those included in other categories	
Smoking		
Cigarettes	Any cigarette	
Other Tobaccos	Any tobacco product excluding cigarettes	Cigars, pipe tobacco
Soft Drink	Any carbonated non-alcoholic beverage	Cola
Travel	Any mode of travel or destination	Airline, bus, rent-a-car, Bermuda, England
Drugs	Products found in a drugstore and not included in other categories	Aspirin, cough drops, female sanitary products
Books, Magazines, Records	Any book magazine, or record	Book of the Month Club, Columbia Record Club
Job Solicitation	An advertisement, usually placed by a large corporation, containing the name and address of individual to contact for job application	
Insurance	Advertising for some type of insurance	

Table 2.

Percentages of Advertisements in Different Product Categories

	Ebony				Life			
	1964	1966	1968	All	1964	1966	1968	All
Personal Appearance	32.9	34.6	35.8	34.3	15.3	12.2	12.2	13.4
Alcohol	22.0	18.2	15.6	18.6	7.9	11.4	8.1	8.8
Automotive	4.5	5.0	5.4	5.0	14.5	14.8	15.5	14.8
Home Products	16.3	13.4	13.8	14.6	30.3	28.4	34.9	30.8
Smoking	4.4	3.4	3.8	3.8	7.0	5.8	5.6	6.2
Soft drink	1.9	2.5	2.0	2.1	2.9	3.1	1.2	2.6
Travel	2.0	2.8	3.6	2.8	1.2	4.2	1.9	2.6
Drugs	9.0	9.3	6.0	8.1	7.1	5.7	4.0	5.7
Books, Magazines, Records	2.4	2.6	4.8	3.3	2.4	1.7	3.7	2.5
Job Solicitation	1.6	3.3	3.4	2.7	0.0	0.1	0.5	0.2
Insurance	1.0	2.3	2.2	1.8	3.0	3.7	3.0	3.3
Miscellaneous	2.1	2.9	3.6	2.8	8.5	8.8	9.5	9.0

Table 3.
 Percentages of Ads Showing Only Black Models
 (Based only on ads in which a model appeared)

	1964	1966	1968	1964-68
Personal Appearance	92.8	93.5	90.3	92.3
Alcohol	69.8	82.4	78.4	78.4
Automotive	20.0	20.0	15.0	18.8
Home Products	94.5	82.6	72.1	84.1
Smoking	97.7	86.1	89.2	91.4
Soft Drink	100.0	85.0	55.0	78.2
Travel	90.0	56.0	51.4	62.5
Drugs	95.9	91.1	98.2	94.7
Job Solicitation	80.0*	100.0*	71.4	79.2
Insurance	83.3*	36.7	83.3	67.4
Books, Magazines, Records	81.2	100.0	94.7	92.3
Miscellaneous	<u>24.1</u>	<u>50.0</u>	<u>53.8</u>	<u>53.6</u>
Average	85.2	83.9	81.8	84.2

*N < 10

Table 4.

Percentages of Ads Containing
"Relatively Lighter" Black Models (Ratings 1 and 2)

Racial Composition	Sex of Model	Year			
		1964	1966	1968	1964-68
Black only	Only Female	86.0	87.7	73.9	82.7
	Only Male	59.0	53.9	49.7	54.2
	Both Sexes	<u>71.8</u>	<u>72.3</u>	<u>60.5</u>	<u>68.3</u>
	Average	75.0	74.0	63.6	71.0
Mixed	Only Female	83.3	72.2	41.7	58.3
	Only Male	37.5	37.5	16.1	25.5
	Both Sexes	<u>42.8</u>	<u>75.0*</u>	<u>45.0</u>	<u>52.2</u>
	Average	50.0	60.9	32.0	44.3

*Small N.

Footnotes

1. Preparation of this paper was aided by Contract NONR 4309 (00).
2. Mr. Chapko, a City University doctoral student, gathered and organized the data. His contributions merit consideration as a co-author of the reported content analysis.

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13 ABSTRACT The relationships between mass media of communication and social change are discussed, and the significance and roles of the mass media in developing and modernized countries are summarized. On the assumption that the contents of the mass media mirror as well as affect the perspectives and values of their readers, a content analysis of the advertisements in Ebony, the major Negro national magazine was undertaken. The object was twofold: to provide some data on a particular type of content, contained in a black vehicle of mass communication, that often is finalized on the basis of market research and pretests of effectiveness; and to examine changes over time in such content, as they may reflect and illuminate the changes in black social and economic mobility, acceptability and pride that have been occurring in the U.S.		

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