

All you Need to Know About: The Cultivation Theory

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Abstract

In this paper, the researcher comprehensively examines the cultivation theory. Conceptualized by George Gerbner in the 1960s and 1970s, the theory has been questioned with every media technological development. In the last six decades, the mass communication field witnessed the propagation of cable, satellite, video games and most recently social media. So far, the theory seems to have survived by continuous adjustment and refinement. Since 2000, over 125 studies have endorsed the theory, which points out to its ability to adapt to a constantly changing media environment. This research discusses the theory since its inception, its growth and expansion, and the future prospects for it. In the first section of the paper, an overview is given on the premises/founding concepts of the theory. Next is a presentation of the added components to the theory and their development over the last sex decades including: The cultivation analysis, the conceptual dimensions, types and measurement of cultivation, and the occurrence of cultivation across the borders.

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20 **Index terms**— propagation of cable, satellite, video games and most recently social media.

1 Introduction

In this paper, the researcher comprehensively examines the cultivation theory. Conceptualized by George Gerbner in the 1960s and 1970s, the theory has been questioned with every media technological development. In the last six decades, the mass communication field witnessed the propagation of cable, satellite, video games and most recently social media. So far, the theory seems to have survived by continuous adjustment and refinement. Since 2000, over 125 studies have endorsed the theory, which points out to its ability to adapt to a constantly changing media environment. This research discusses the theory since its inception, its growth and expansion, and the future prospects for it. In the first section of the paper, an overview is given on the premises/founding concepts of the theory. Next is a presentation of the added components to the theory and their development over the last sex decades including: The cultivation analysis, the conceptual dimensions, types and measurement of cultivation, and the occurrence of cultivation across the borders. Both sections are followed by a discussion on the ability of the theory to meet changes in the media environment in light of recent developments in the media field.

2 II.

3 Overview

Cultivation theory tackles the long-term effects of television on viewers. The theory proposes that the danger of television lies in its ability to shape not a particular view point about one specific issue but in its ability to shape people's moral values and general beliefs about the world. The theory stands on a number of concepts: the symbolic environment, story telling, the symbolic function of television, the television traits, the cultural model, the cultivation of value system, the multidirectional process, and the cultural indicators.

40 4 a) Symbolic Environment

41 Human beings are the only creatures that we know of that live in a world beyond the threats and gratifications
42 of their immediate environment. Our knowledge is acquired not from personal experiences, but from a variety of
43 stories. 1 cultural impact stronger than that of the serious programs, studies, and seminars. 5 Melvin Defleur and
44 Sandra Ball-Rokeach, founders of the Dependency Theory, suggest that the "information quantum" presented
45 through "entertainment" may be equal to that presented through "news". The belief that "news" is relevant to
46 information, whereas "entertainment" is not, is a wrong one. Most often a person uses entertainment contents
47 in comprehending his world, and all what extend beyond his direct experience. Consequently, entertainment
48 materials help him or her normalize with society, and to discern how he or she should behave, and how should
49 his or her interactions be with others. 6 The cultivation theory empathizes that television does not reflect what
50 is happening in the outside world, but it presents an artificial world that focuses on certain issues depending on
51 the will and interest of those controlling the media. Eventually, the accumulation of exposure to TV and the
52 lack of direct experience in various issues, create an artificial world, which becomes more and more real to the
53 recipients.

54 There seems to be a risk in having the masses dependent on media means, especially TV, in constructing the
55 image of the surrounding environment. For, the media does not reflect reality. The media may present untruthful
56 information, distorted stereotypes or misguided positive images. So, if the recipient has no means for comparing
57 what is presented to him or her through media with other sources of information, his or her perception becomes
58 distorted, stereotyped, and biased.

59 5 d) Television Traits

60 This symbolic function is based on three traits for TV: 8 i.

61 TV is pervasive. It penetrates people's lives as it exists in most households and people spend long times in
62 front of it. ii.

63 TV is accessible. It does not require precedent skills to be exposed to it, such as literacy, nor does it require
64 effort, as there is no need to leave the house as in the case with cinema. iii.

65 TV is coherent. For the messages it presents about society are homogeneous through out its various programs
66 and times.

67 III.

68 6 Cultural Model

69 Culture is defined as the knowledge that regulates and reproduces social relations and that one must possess to
70 function adequately as a member of society. The cultural model suggests that television is capable of shaping
71 viewers' perception at a cultural level. Studies showed that heavy television viewers have a high degree of
72 consensus concerning numerous cultural aspects presented on TV, such as perceptions of women and how
73 materialistic people are, whereas light television viewers do not share the same degree of consensus. Moreover,
74 heavy viewers of a particular genre of TV might share a distortion in their cultural understanding. For example,
75 recent research suggests that heavy viewing of the romance genre of TV such as romantic comedies, soap operas,
76 daytime talk shows, and reality-based shows about relationships idealized expectations of marriage and failed to
77 present it as effortful, difficult, or risky.⁸ F 9 IV.

78 7 Cultivation of Value Systems

79 Cultivation theory suggests that the entire value system made of ideologies, assumptions, beliefs, images and
80 perspectives is formulated, to a great extent, by television. TV portrays hidden and pervasive values, rules, and
81 moral for what is right, what is important, and what is appropriate in a social discourse in an invisible manner.
82 The repetitive 'lesions' we receive from television, starting with childhood, would become the basis for our broad
83 worldview. Various studies have confirmed this concept. For instance, people who spend long time watching
84 television, in which violence is casually presented, suffer from the "mean world" syndrome -perception of the
85 world as mean and dangerous. In another study investigating a relationship between TV portrayal of women and
86 prejudice against them, most groups of heavy viewers -with other characteristics held constant-scored higher on
87 the "sexism scale."⁹ F 10 V.

88 8 Multi-directional Process

89 Cultivation is not a synonym for TV effect, for the public contribute in shaping TV content just as television
90 contributes in shaping publics' views. TV neither creates nor reflects the social, personal, and cultural elements
91 presented on its screen. First, television doesn't create as these elements do not originate out of void, but derive
92 from a dynamic process in which society, the public, media institutions, and interest groups influence the creation
93 and distribution of mass-produced messages. These messages, in turn, would generate, influence, and suit the
94 needs, values and ideologies of the public. For example, presenting a somewhat realistic image of an adolescent
95 female member of a given social class may help viewers define and form various distinct identities. Second,
96 television doesn't reflect these social, personal, and cultural elements, as interest groups and media institutions

97 influence the sorties presented. For example, gate keepers in media institutions formulate policies that control
98 and direct the massive flow of media messages. 11 VI.

99 **9 Cultural Indicators**

100 The notion of cultural indicators is an important theoretical component in cultivation theory. In fact, the original
101 project led by Gerbner and his associates in 1969 was titled "the Cultural Indicators Project." According to the
102 cultural indicators concept, TV content and systematic message patterns not only reflect underlying cultural
103 values in society but also act as a reference of the direction of social change in society. 12 In a recent study
104 titled "A return to cultural indicators," the author James Shanahan examines the notion of cultural indicators
105 in relation to issues of portrayals of violence on television and portrayals of minority groups. The research
106 concludes that in relation to social representation of some groups such as gays, African Americans, or women,
107 TV programs and their messages do reflect social change and act as strong cultural indicators. Though television's
108 representations may be delayed in comparison to the actual rate of social change regarding the acceptance of
109 marginalized groups, eventually, TV programs, start to catch up and even over represent the groups in question.
110 On the other hand, the case of violence as a cultural indicator was not as clear. While FBI crime index show
111 decline in violent crimes, the overall rate of violence per program and per hour measured by the 'Violent Index'
112 13 seems constant. Shanahan rationalizes that the validity of violence levels as a cultural indicator needs more
113 sophisticated thinking than simply "counting" violence, such as examining types of violence and their relation
114 to social context and to audience reactions. 14

115 **10 VII.**

116 **11 Discussion**

117 Many core concepts of the cultivation theory are presumed to be still valid. People will continue to live in a
118 world beyond their physical environment. Television will continue to disseminate stories about their symbolic
119 environment. Television content will continue to be derived from multi-directional processes that involve society,
120 the public, media institutions, and various interest groups. Television message patterns will continue to be an
121 indicator of the direction of the ongoing social change.

122 However, even with the assumption that all these propositions will remain valid, we still can't answer the
123 central question of whether television will continue to influence viewers' perceptions about the world and their
124 cultural and social values. I.e. will television be able to exert a cultivation effect in presence of massive choices
125 for information and entertainment?

126 The answer of this question lies on the validity of two premises in relation to television traits: 1) Television is
127 pervasive 2) Television messages are coherent.

128 **12 a) Television is pervasive**

129 To examine this premise, we pose a couple of questions. Are people watching more or less television in the world
130 of video games, Internet, and social media? Can television exert a cultivation effect in the presence of other
131 sources for information and entertainment?

132 Nielsen, a leading global information and measurement company, reported that Americans are spending more
133 time watching video content on traditional TVs, mobile devices and the Internet than ever before. In addition,
134 Nielsen data shows that television remains the dominant source of video content for all demographics with an
135 average increase of 22 minutes per month per person over last year. The report however detects a trend led by
136 young consumers, ages 18-34, in which light television viewers stream more internet videos and heavy internet
137 streamers underindexing for television viewership (Nielsen, 2011). Social media was considered a medium that
138 could potentially eat away time spent on television. Patel, Kunur, Slutsky, Irina (2011) in their article "Is Social
139 Media Killing TV?" stated that social media are actually doing the opposite. Social media are boosting television
140 viewing, especially live programming. The article reads: "After years of declines in live tune-in, Twitter, Facebook
141 and some mobile startups appear to be luring audiences back to appointment TV. While DVRs unglued us from
142 TV schedules, the desire to tap into the tweets, posts and check-ins in real time may just bring us back," (Patel
143 and al 2011). A recent Nielsen study seems to back this proposition as it shows that fans tweeting about programs
144 during live broadcasts lead to increased viewership (Nielsen 2013). 16 On a different note, social media seem
145 to be breaking the monopoly on information and influencing media coverage of news. For instance, during the
146 coverage of the Israeli and the Palestinian conflict during the war on Gaza in July 2014, the Palestinian side
147 was given more attention on mainstream media compared to previous conflicts. Social media was accredited for
148 opening the door for them to voice their sufferings. Benjamin Wallace-Wells from the New York Magazine writes:
149 "Social media have helped us to see more deeply inside war zones in this case, inside Gaza, and allowed viewers
150 much fuller access to the terror that grips a population under military attack." 17

151 **13 b) Television messages are coherent**

152 Does television content of drama, commercials, news, and other programs really presents a coherent system of
153 images and messages? Dmitri Williams (2006) argues that online video games might break this homogeneity

154 as much of the proceedings of the game depends on the actions of the players. Online "networked" video games
155 on both console and PC systems are on the rise. According to Pew Internet and American Life Project (2004),
156 75% of Americans who use Internet play games, half of whom do so online (Fallows, 2004). Online gaming is
157 different from television is that unlike the scripted programming of television, game programmers can create
158 games which are driven to a high extent by the players. Thus game content depends not only on the coding of
159 the programmer, but also on the actions of the players. Hence the cultivation that might occur from online video
160 gaming would stem from players' actions. Williams (2006) proposes that repeated interaction patterns among
161 players online could fuel perceptions of offline life. For example, a virtual world in which players see cheaters
162 move ahead might start to think that people who are successful in the real world are probably unethical. In
163 contrast, one that rewards ethical behavior might lead to the perception that the real world is virtuous. Ultima
164 Online, for example, is a game that preaches ethical behavior.

165 In online gaming, players from around the globe interact in a shared fantasy that can involve competition,
166 collaboration, or socialization.

167 14 VIII.

168 15 Cultivation Analysis

169 Gerbner cited four steps to be followed when conducting a cultivation research 18 a) Message System Analysis :
170 In this step, the researcher tries to identify the most repeated, steady and standing out patterns of TV content
171 including images, portrayals, and values presented across different types of programs. The identified messages
172 should be embedded in TV as a system rather than in certain programs, types or genres.

173 16 b) Assessing Exposure Time

174 In this step, the researcher notes the amount of time respondents spend watching TV on an "average day" then
175 compares heavy viewers with light viewers.

176 17 c) Investigating People's Views about the World

177 In this step, the researcher asks respondents to answer a list of questions without making any referral to TV.

178 18 d) Establishing Relationships

179 In this step, the researcher examines whether amount of viewing is related to tendency to respond to these
180 questions in similar to the dominant and repetitive facts, values, and ideologies of the world of TV. These
181 relationships would reflect TV's contribution to viewers' conceptions of social reality. Different groups typically
182 have different opinions, so television influences are detected not when people give similar answers but when heavy
183 viewers across these groups give less different answers. Similarly Online video games particularly offer much more
184 variety than television. 16 Nielsen (2013, October 7). Nielsen Launches 'Nielsen

185 19 Conceptual Dimensions a) Perceived Reality

186 According to Robert Hawkins the portrayal of TV content as being real acts as an 'intervening' variable mediating
187 the effects of television' on viewers, i.e. the more 'real' viewers perceive programs to be, the greater the influence
188 of these programs is likely to be on their behavior and/or attitudes.

189 Perceived reality has been argued by Robert Hawkins to be a multidimensional concept where various
190 dimensions influence the viewers' judgments about whether an object, character, event or setting on TV is
191 'real'. Among the most famous dimensions are Hawkins' Magic Window and Social Expectations dimensions. 19
192 i. The magic window. This dimension is defined as the degree to which television permits viewers to observe
193 ongoing life whether in another place in the real world or in the set itself through fictional drama.

194 Alternatively, Aimée Dorr uses the term 'Fabrication' 20 and Marguerite Fitch and colleagues use the term
195 'Factuality' 21 The reality of the magic window dimension is perceived based on two subcomponents to refer to
196 whether a television programs is perceived by the viewer as 'made up' or to be portraying events that actually
197 happen in real life.

198 20 22

199 . First is the Syntax subcomponent, which refers to a belief in the reality conveyed by the style of the message. It
200 is drawn from the visual program elements and closely relates to the background or context in which a narrative
201 occurs, e.g. clothes, actors' accent, etc. Second is the Semantic subcomponent, which refers to a belief in the
202 reality of embodied meaning or substance of the message. It is more related to narrative and the occurring themes
203 and behaviors. It is suggested that when viewers judge realism of programs, the focus of their assessment tends
204 to be on the narrative rather than the syntactic details. 23 ii.

205 Social expectations or social realism. Hawkins' social expectations dimension, on the other hand, refers to "the
206 degree to which the viewers believe television characters and events U doU or do not match their expectations
207 about the world."2 3 F 24 It stresses the notion that despite the fictional nature of content, characters and plots

208 may be perceived as similar to people and events in the real world, e.g. Lion King.² 4 F 25 So, whereas the
209 Magic Window dimension deals with perception of the TV program itself, the Social Expectations dimension
210 deals with the viewer's experience of the world and whether a person or event shown on television is known to
211 exist or happen in real life. Correspondingly, scientists developed three criteria for assessing social expectation
212 or 'social realism.' First is the criterion of Physical Actuality which is used by children to assess whether TV
213 material is real or not. For example, young children would cite TV material to be real if they considered that a
214 person or event on TV existed or happened in the real world rather than considering if it is about something that
215 could exist or happen in the real world. Second is the criterion of Possibility, which refers to whether something
216 could happen in real life. For example, portraying people flying with wings could easily be detected as physical
217 impossibility.² ?? F 26 Third is the criterion of Plausibility or Probability, which is similar to the possibility
218 criterion but considered to be more refined.² 6 F 27 Plausibility relates to whether the phenomenon observed
219 on television could exist in the real world while probability refers to the likelihood of something observed on
220 TV existing in the real world or the frequency with which it occurs. Another term is Typicality, which refers
221 to the extent to which people or situations were like most people or situations in the real world. Typicality is a
222 combination between plausibility and probability.² ?? F 28 Other scholars prefer the term 'Representativeness,'
223 which refers to the viewers accepting people and/or events in a TV program as fictional, but still considering
224 them to be representative of every day reality. ??9 Equally to Hawkin's division of the Magic Window and Social
225 Expectations dimensions is Hodge and Tripp's definition of internal and external criteria. ??0 External criteria
226 involve comparisons with the viewer's knowledge and experience of the world. Whereas Internal criteria, also
227 referred to as 'formal features of the medium,' deal with medium-specific cues used by the viewer to determine
228 how real a program is, ranging from TV genres (news, sports, documentaries, cartoons, etc) to physical features
229 (presence or absence of stunts, camera tricks, costumes, props, editing deceptive techniques, etc) and performance
230 features (which includes whether the program was acted, scripted, rehearsed, live or filmed, etc). ??1 b) The
231 Modality Judgments Modality, developed by Hodge and Tripp, refer to the reality status attributed to television
232 programs by viewers. Television has 'weak modality' if the programs aired are perceived to be far from everyday
233 reality while TV is considered to be of 'strong modality' if the programs aired are perceived to be presenting
234 a 'window on the world.' In accord with the cultivation theory and the presence of the 'perceived reality' as
235 an 'intervening variable', in making modality judgments, the more reality you attribute to a message, the more
236 likely you will be affected by it in some way ??2 A number of empirical research support the idea that 'perceived
237 reality' or 'strong modality judgments' enhances cultivation, including Feshback's widely-cited experiment, in
238 which subjects who were told that the violent clip they watched was from the news showed significantly more
239 aggression than the control group who was told that the clip was fictional. a. Active variables.

240 ? Real life experience. According to the cultivation theory there is no relationship between personal experience
241 and the perception of the portrayals of particular groups (families, policemen, businessmen) as being real.³ 4
242 F ??5 Here we introduce the term Identity, which seems to play a more important role. Identity refers to the
243 degree to which a person sees a match between situations and characters on television and people and situations
244 experienced in real life.³ 5 F 36 Two ideas were later added to the identity concepts closeness and superficiality.
245 Closeness refers to the number of times a viewer thinks or talks about a character, or the extent to which he
246 or she thinks of a character as a close friend. Hence identity is closely related to the degree of involvement the
247 viewer has towards a program or character.³ 6 F 37 Superficiality, on the other hand, is defined as the extent to
248 which a program is considered to be dealing with trivial matters in a repetitious manner, i.e. feelings portrayed
249 by actors to be too shallow to be real. ?? 7 F 38 ? Television exposure. First of all we need to highlight the fact
250 that there is no pre-exposure period.

251 Children begin viewing several years before they begin reading and even before talking. ? Secondly, cultivation
252 theory assumes that viewers who are heavily exposed to TV are more likely to perceive TV as being realistic
253 then lighter viewers³ 8 F 39 .

254 Recently however, a study that examines the cultivation course of action revealed a more complex pattern.
255 Conducted by Amir Hetsroni and Riva Tukachinsky,³ 9 F 40 this study investigates the relationship between the
256 amount of TV viewing and viewers' account of TV-world estimates as well as real-world estimates in regards to
257 three topics: criminality prevalence, the share of violent crimes, and the number of old people. Results show that
258 the lightest viewers are able to give correct estimates for the real world but do not recognize the right TV answer,
259 hence they are considered to be experiencing distorted no cultivation. If viewing slightly increases, viewers give
260 correct estimates for both the real world and the TV world, which is referred to as simple no cultivation. In
261 the next level of viewing, respondents are divided into two groups. First is the Simple cultivation group, which
262 refers to viewers who give accurate estimates for the TV world but tend to exaggerate estimates for the realworld.
263 Second is the double distortion group, which refers to viewers who can distinguish between TVworld and the
264 real-world but tend to exaggerate both estimates. The third and last group constitutes of the heaviest viewers
265 and is referred to as the over-cultivation group. People in this group have extremity of perception and fail to
266 distinct between the real world and the TV world.

267 ? Instructional motives or perceived utility. Some motives were found to be linked to levels of exposure and of
268 perceived reality. For instance, people who believe television portrays real life will expose themselves to it more
269 than others to acquire information and instruction. Instructional motives refer to the degree to which a person
270 considers information or events observed on TV useful in real life and uses television to seek social knowledge.

271 This construct is developed from uses and gratifications studies. 41 c) Attribute variables. ??2 ? Age. Research
272 conducted with children and adolescents shows that while the magic window perception decreases linearly with
273 age (i.e. the belief that television content is real decline as children grow), there is a curvilinear trend in regards
274 to social expectations (i.e. the belief that television content resembles real life decreases from nursery school age
275 to young adulthood, and then increases again).

276 ? Sex. Results about gender are mixed. Some research suggests that females have higher perceptions of reality
277 than males. Some research suggests that males have higher perceptions of reality than females. Other research
278 didn't find significant distinction due to gender difference.

279 ? Socio-Economic Status. Most findings show that out of all demographic variables, socio-economic factors
280 seem to be the most influential when it comes to how viewers perceive TV reality.

281 **21 d) Summary of social perspective**

282 Most cultivation studies do control for a variety of variables be it active variables related to TV viewing such as
283 exposure, genre viewing, concentration and other methods of estimation, or attribute variables, such as sex, age,
284 income, education, minorities, occupations, etc. When comparing studies, using different methods for assessing,
285 results tend to reveal generally similar effect sizes. It is noticeable however that smaller samples and studies, which
286 sensitize respondents by mentioning TV at the start yield somewhat higher effect sizes. Also it was noticed that
287 political ideology is a significant mediating factor. This diagram by Shanahan and Morgan illustrates the average
288 cultivation effect sizes for various data subgroups and clearly shows that liberal people show a higher cultivation
289 effect size. e) The modality judgment: psychological perspective Whereas cultivation is considered to be a
290 social rather than an individual process, some researchers maintain, that psychological perspective investigating
291 individual processes must be integrated to the cultivation concept.

292 It is suggested that 'realism is the default,'⁴ 3 F 44 i.e. accommodating fictional information as true is
293 the default cognitive mode for human beings. Disbelieving requires effortful critical evaluation. Although
294 thorough analysis can be activated under special circumstances, most of the time viewers are not provoked
295 to think critically as it may interfere with 'following the narrative, emotional involvement and the pleasure of the
296 experience.' In the next sections, we will present five models illustrating when and how people make modality
297 judgments. Global Journal of Human Social Science -Year 41 Potter, W. James (1988). Op. Cit. P 33. ??2
298 Ibid. P 31. ??3 Shanahan, James & Michael Morgan. Shanahan, James & Michael Morgan (1999). Television
299 and its Viewers: Cultivation Research and Theory. Cambridge University Press. P 130. ??4 Busselle, Rick,
300 Ryabovolova, Alina, & Wilson, Brian (2004). Op. Cit. P 372. ??5 Bilandzic, HeLena & Rössler, Patrick (2004).
301 Life According to Television. Implications of Genre-Specific Cultivation Effects: The Gratification/Cultivation
302 Model. Communications. V 29. P 294.

303 **22 Retrieval and construction of cultivation judgments**

304 This model explains how steps one and three, which involve encoding, storage, and retrieval of information and
305 construction of judgments, function. ??6 This process involves three steps. Selection refers to people attending
306 to the information and choosing it for processing. Rehearsal refers to having the information kept in working
307 memory and potentially sent to long-term memory. Elaboration refers to people adding their own interpretations
308 and opinions to the actual information. 47

309 **23 g) Construction and Retrieval**

310 Researchers Wyer and Srull invented the Bin Model of Memory, ??8 which suggests that human memory resembles
311 a storage bin. People store information and continue to add to them, placing the most recent information on top.
312 When asked to make a judgment, the person uses that information which is most accessible. Accessibility is highly
313 affected by frequency, recency, and vividness. When a person recalls information about a topic, the contents of
314 the bin are searched from top to bottom. Thus information that has been frequently repeated, recently obtained,
315 dramatically presented has more chance of being retained. ??9 Based on "bin model" of memory, Shrum and
316 O'Guinn (1993) suppose that heavy viewers have a higher probability of being exposed to repeated TV messages
317 and of having these messages fresh in their minds, which will put TV messages on top of the 'storage bin' making
318 them the most accessible. Consequently, the person might base his or her judgment of social reality on them.
319 ??0 Model 2: The event-indexing situation model. ??1 According to this model, the process of comprehension
320 necessarily involves the mental representation of narrated events.

321 When people encounter a narrative they automatically take note of characters, their goals and desires, and
322 the characters' location within a spatial-temporal context. People process these mental representations and
323 connections among them based on the five dimensions stated above: Time, place, causality, intentionality (the
324 motivation of the characters) and antagonists/protagonists (i.e. agents involved in the situation). The model
325 further assumes that events are the fundamental units of situation models and those events can be linked to
326 each of these five dimensions. Moreover, people continuously monitor the five specified dimensions and any
327 discontinuity along any of these dimensions requires a person to update their situation model to reflect the change
328 that happened. The event indexing model predicts that heavy viewing of TV influence judgments regarding the
329 circumstances of an event such as what types of events are likely to occur, what kind of people are likely to be

330 involved, how would people act in certain situations and why, and where the events are likely to occur, and when.
331 Model 3: Levels of specificity.5 1 F 52 Greenberg and Reeves suggest perceived reality is judged at three levels:
332 Television in general, such as people on television; specific subject groups, such as minorities, families, doctors on
333 television, and specific characters such as James Bond. But, Bussel and Greenberg note that this measurement
334 fails to detect potential bias. First, whether respondents' awareness is based on their most recent exposure, such
335 as the characters in the last program they watched, or their most frequent exposures e.g. characters in their
336 favorite programs, or some mental averaging of all past exposures leading to their perceived prototype of TV
337 people. Second, whether viewers are considering only a subset of characters such as older viewers focusing on
338 odder characters when making their judgments. Busselle and Greenberg offer an alternate way of measurement
339 based on four or more levels of abstraction: 1. Global level: How much people on TV match people in real life?
340 2. Genre level: How much people on Soap Operas match people in real life? 3. Series level: How much people on
341 Friends match people in real life? 4. Episode level: How much people in the program that was just viewed match
342 people in real life? Model 4: Objects of realism. These are categories determined by the focus of the portrayal or
343 the focus of the realism judgment e.g. people, behaviors, issues, and settings. For instance, in sitcoms, TV people
344 may seem real, but the issues confronting them may seem unrealistic like. These judgments were suggested to
345 have been made through the semantic (substance) vs. syntactic (presentation) realism dimensions. But in 1978,
346 The fourth level can further be extended to more specific program elements, such as a single scene, incident, or
347 person.

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349 **25 f) Encoding and Storing**

350 Reever found two dimensions in making realism judgments. First dimension refers to pro-social behaviors: "the
351 way people help each other on TV is just like the way people help each other in real life." Second dimension refers
352 to anti-social behaviors: "TV stars yell at each other the same way people yell in real life." 53

353 ? Online judgments. Those are made while relevant information is being encountered and acquired. Factors
354 operating during on line judgment may be attention, elaboration, and involvement. Attention during viewing
355 is measured using Rubin, Perse, and Talyor's five-item Viewing Attention Scale. Elaboration is measured using
356 Epstein, Pacini, Denes-Raj, and Heier Need for Cognition (NC) scale. Need for cognition relates to the extent
357 to which people enjoy thinking and solving puzzles. Studies that used these scales revealed that those higher in
358 attention while viewing exhibited greater cultivation effect than those lower in attention. Likewise, those who
359 were higher in NC showed a much stronger cultivation effect than those lower in NC.

360 Cultivation occurs when television information is used to make a judgment. This could occur when
361 encountering the information: on line judgment or in retrospect: offline judgment also called memory based
362 judgment. 54 systematic processing, the process involves the exertion of effort to carefully scrutinize the message
363 presented. The strength of argument, the credibility of the source, and relevance of the information play an
364 important role in constructing judgments.5 ?? F 56 The following diagram summarizes the process of cultivation
365 from a psychological point of view.

366 **26 Types of Cultivation**

367 TV essentially reflects society's cultural mainstream. There are differences among audience groups due to
368 multiplicity of cultural, social, and political circumstances of such groups. TV, by imposing one trend, that is
369 the mainstream, minimizes such differences, or furthermore, eliminates them completely, especially among heavy
370 viewers. Whereas mainstreaming promotes coherence and homogeneity among society individuals, it increases
371 resistance to change in some aspects of culture and life, which might be in the interest of society. Hence is the
372 importance to investigate under which social circumstances does mainstreaming occur and in which direction.5
373 7 F ??8 Shanahan & Morgan suggest that mainstreaming flaws toward "the cultural center of gravity," i.e. the
374 most common homogeneous, dominant stream in society rather than toward conservative views or liberal views.
375 Groups who deviate from the cultural mainstream pose the greatest threat to the stability of the social system,
376 and hence are pressured toward the center. Thus regardless of whether the distance is in the conservative or
377 liberal direction, groups who are furthest from the social-ideological "center of gravity," are the ones mostly
378 subjected to mainstreaming. In cases where the groups furthest from the core position are toward the liberal
379 side, the mainstreaming would flow toward the conservative side. Similarly, in cases where the distance is toward
380 the conservative side, the mainstreaming would flow in the liberal direction.5 8 F 59

381 ? Offline judgments or memory based judgment.

382 These judgments happen when persons recall and use information that originated from past viewing to make
383 consequent judgments about the real world.

384 Researchers suggest that respondents use memory based judgments in answering questionnaires as they are
385 asked to reflect back and judge the realism of content previously viewed. Factors influencing their judgment might
386 include the ability to recall information, the consideration of other viewing experiences occurring at different
387 points in time, or the willingness to expend the effort to recall. So online realism judgments are influenced
388 by one set of program elements while off line based judgments are influenced by a different set. ??5 Moreover
389 researchers claim that respondents are subject to heuristic processing conditions rather than the systematic

390 processing conditions. Heuristics tend to be used when ability to make the judgment is impaired whether because
391 of time constrained respondents usually want to finish the questionnaires as soon as possible-or lack of knowledge
392 of the topic in question or when -Volume XV Issue VIII Version I 53 Reeves, B. (1978). Perceived Reality as a
393 Predictor of Children's Social Behavior. Journalism Quarterly. V 55. P 689. ??4 Shrum L.J. (2004). Op. Cit. P
394 336. ??5 Busselle, Rick & Greenberg, Bradely (2000). Op. Cit. PP 263. ??6 Ibid. P 297. ??7 Bilandzic, Helena
395 & RÖssler, Patrick (2004). Op. Cit. P 310. ??8 Miller, Katherine (2002). Op. Cit. P 273. ??9 Shanahan, James
396 & Michael Morgan (1999). Op. Cit. P 143. Gerbner, on the other hand, predicts that mainstreaming occurs in
397 the direction targeted by media owners and gate keepers. Gerbner refers to the dynamics of mainstreaming as
398 "the 3Bs: Blurring, blending, and bending." Blurring refers to the fusion of traditional distinctions.

399 Blending refers to the emergence of new conceptions into television's cultural mainstream. Bending refers to
400 shifting the mainstream to the institutional interests of the medium and its sponsors. 61 i. Resonance Sometimes
401 television severely influences perceptions within particular groups of society in comparison to other. These groups
402 are more receptive to TV content, whether due to direct experience with such issue, or as a result to a special
403 interest in it. For instance, women may be more vulnerable to TV content dealing with violent and aggressive
404 crimes, as they are more frightened than men of becoming victims to such types of crimes. 62 XI.

405 **27 Measuring Cultivation**

406 Cultural cultivation could be measured by two manners: "first order" and "second order": 63 This is a qualitative
407 measure investigating the perception of people's beliefs regarding a phenomenon in the society. In this measure,
408 various phrases are designed to describe the world, for example portraying society as ethical, or wicked, etc.
409 Viewers are then asked which of these phrases they agree with. Then the responses of light and heavy viewers
410 are compared to depict the occurrence of a cultivation effect. Second order judgments are made either on-line or
411 off-line. Updating beliefs and attitudes about the world, women, minorities, etc are likely to occur while viewing.
412 Whereas attitudes and references about TV content that is not relevant to everyday reasoning or impression
413 formation are likely to occur if and when provoked. ?? 3 F 64 XII.

414 **28 Sixth: cultivation Across Borders a) International Cultiva- 415 tion Analysis**

416 This concept deals with American cultural invasion. American TV programs are exported to many places in
417 the world. Embedded with these programs are values, ideologies, and life patterns that differ and sometimes
418 contradict what is prevailing in the recipient cultures. The discrepancy between the imported production and
419 that of the local production would cause a conflict in the cultivation process.

420 **29 b) Cultural Hybridity**

421 Many researchers now strive for formulating theories that address the process of cultural hybridity. These theories
422 are based on the premise that globalization will lead to fusion among cultures, which will lead towards the creation
423 of new culture or cultures superior than any of these separate cultures that led to its/their creation.

424 Whereas most theories presume that the age of the open skies would lead to "globalizing" local cultures and
425 confining them, the hybridity premise predicts that the world will experience "localization" of the global culture
426 to form national cultures. For instance, some eastern artists would take some elements of world music and arabize
427 it into special local hybrid. The new hybrid is local, because such hybrid can not be created in other country, as
428 it is a fusion between world culture and Arab culture in specific.6 5 F 66 XIII.

429 Cultivation About the Other TV can, through what it presents of stereotypical and national images of a group
430 or people, create a mental image in the mind of the individual (viewer) about "the other". This is a quantitative
431 measure, where subjects are asked about their quantitative expectations about the occurrence of some phenomena
432 in the society, such as the possibility of becoming a victim of a violent crime. The answers of light and heavy
433 viewers are then compared to infer the presence or lack of a cultivation effect. First order judgments are likely
434 constructed offline (based on memory). For few people spontaneously generate percentage estimates of set-size
435 or probability during viewing.

436 **30 b) Second Order**

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438 **31 (A)**

439 The mental image is an image that a person or a group of people would have when perceiving another person or
440 group of people. Its importance lies in that it influences the social interaction between people. For this image
441 determines whether a person or group would deal positively, negatively, or neutrally towards the other person or
442 group, particularly when that 'other' belongs to a different culture, race, or religion. 67

443 32 b) Stereotype Image

444 It is necessary to distinguish between the mental and stereotype image. For these two concepts are not identical.
445 The media do not portray mental images, as mental images formulate in the mind of the individual. Media may
446 present a stereotype image that leads the audience to formulate a mental image about some individuals, groups,
447 or peoples, which would be described then as stereotype. 68

448 33 c) National Image

449 There is an overlap between the concept of national image and stereotype image, but the national image
450 conception is peculiar to the impressions a people forms about the features of another people or country. Since
451 it is difficult for any individual to travel to all world countries, the principle source for formulating a national
452 image takes place through exposure to different means of communication. ??9 XIV.

453 34 Critiques for the Cultivation Theory a) Imprecise Content 454 Measure

455 Cultivation measures the total time a person is spending viewing TV. According to Potter and Chung, unless the
456 content is wholly uniform, the content in question should be program specific. Because if the repetition of certain
457 messages is more frequent in certain genre, exposure to a genre would be a better predictor of a cultivation effect
458 than overall TV would. ??0 Three types of genre were thoroughly studied in cultivation research: crime drama,
459 soap operas, and talk shows. And some studies suggest that viewers are differently cultivated according to genre.
460 ??1 In a study titled Examining Effects of TV News Violence on College Students through Cultivation Theory, the
461 authors investigated responses to a discrete event which is TV news coverage of the September 11, 2001 attacks.
462 The authors examined whether the amount of TV news viewing in the wake of the attacks have influenced
463 perceptions of violence initiated by people outside the United States and cultivated negative personal emotions
464 and attitudes towards Muslim peers. Questionnaires were distributed on a sample of 234 college students six
465 weeks after the September 11 th attacks. Results showed that the greater the time individuals spent in viewing
466 TV news coverage following the terrorist attacks, the more negative personal emotion students held towards
467 their Muslim peers and the strongest is their rejection to developing friendships with them. The results extend
468 the work of Rossler and Brosious (2001) who, after examining daytime talk programs, found that cultivation
469 effects are due to repeated viewing of specific content or genre-based programs. This was also consistent with
470 the work of Chorly-Assad and Tamborini (2001), who found that portrayals of TV physicians varied by genre.
471 The importance of this study lays in broadening previous work to another non-fictional genre and for studying
472 responses to a distinct event rather than a generalized coverage of an issue.7 1 F 72 But Gerbner renounces
473 the use of genrespecific measures based on two assumptions. The content of TV is homogeneous, so whether
474 the viewed content is comedy, crime, or news, it typically contains the same mix of images and messages that
475 conforms to the norms and values of the people. The use of TV is ritualistic and unselective; viewers fit their
476 viewing into their time schedule rather than choosing according to content. Heavy viewers are usually those
477 who watch three or more hours of prime time. Therefore, it is unlikely that they would miss the frequent and
478 significant patterns of TV content. Hence a measure of total viewing rather than specific selections is more
479 efficient in cultivation analysis.7 2 F 73 Meta-narratives: Meta-narratives substitute division of content based on
480 genres with division according to the underlined message. For example, crime drama and situation comedy would
481 be classified together if they were seen to share the same meta-narrative, such as 'no matter what problems occur,
482 everything will turn out just fine,' 'truth' The person with the most amount of TV exposure should be the most
483 cultivated; the person with the second most amount of TV exposure should be the second most cultivated, and
484 so on. In reality, people differ; the time of viewing needed for one to be cultivated could vary from one person to
485 another. It is possible that on some issue, a heavy viewer doesn't get cultivated while a light viewer does.

486 Following the cultivation analysis model, the measures taken from these two people will cancel each other.
487 This could explain the persistently weak cultivation coefficients witnessed over the years with research on the
488 Cultivation Theory. An alternative for the Cultivation Theory is the Media Gravitation Theory developed by
489 James Potter. This theory substitutes the micro-level measurement with a macro-level measurement. In other
490 words, a person is not the unit of analysis, but groups of people are.

491 This theory seems to be a progressive development for the Cultivation theory and is very tempting to use had
492 it not relied so much in its constituent on public data that is not always available in developing countries.

493 35 c) Ambiguity between 'Media' and 'Real' Answers 76

494 As cited by D. Williams, researchers have given respondents choices between 'television-world' answers and 'real-
495 world' answers without addressing how and why their choices match respondents' conceptualizations (Potter
496 1991). These choices often disregard the circumstances of the events or actions within the media world (Newcomb
497 1978). This imprecision in the answers in relation to the real and media worlds would deter any study.

498 **36 d) Fake Causation**

499 A link between exposure and attitudes is not necessarily causal. For a correlation to be solid, first, there must
500 be a clear time order and second, possible alternative explanations must be ruled out.

501 According to Paul Hirsch (1980), the mainstreaming effect of cultivation theory could be the result of a
502 statistical artifact known as "regression to the mean." Regression to the mean occurs when a single group of
503 respondents is questioned twice "pre-test, post-test." After the first test, the groups scoring extremely well or
504 extremely badly are singled out. Their performance is then compared with their result on the second test.
505 Subgroups scoring extremely poorly will, on average, almost always seem to perform better the second time,
506 while the high-scoring subgroups will which Gerbner detects "mainstreaming" carries a clear resemblance to
507 regression to the mean. Gerbner and his associates look for mainstreaming effects by selecting subgroups for
508 both light and heavy viewers. They then compare the difference between the mean of the subgroups' scores of
509 the heavy viewers to the mean of the subgroups' scores of the light viewers. If the variation in the answers of the
510 heavy viewers is significantly smaller than the variation in the answer of the light viewers, the researchers speak
511 of a mainstreaming effect of television. Hirsch, however, view the mainstreaming effect caused by the difference
512 among the subgroups to be caused by random effects.⁷ ?? F 77 Some studies have stretched their criticism of
513 the mainstreaming effect to deny its presence all together. For instance, in a study that expanded the range of
514 dependent variables subjected to mainstreaming to include: current public affairs issues, general attitudes and
515 beliefs about human nature and the state of society, and beliefs about one's personal status, results revealed
516 that media create a diversity of public opinion or 'scatter-streaming' rather than 'mainstreaming'. ??7 7 F 78
517 However, Jan Van Bulck in a recent study has defied all this criticism. He was able to prove that mainstreaming
518 does exist and that even though it is calculated in a way similar to regression to the mean, the resemblance
519 is only superficial. First, regression to the mean is typically associated with panel research where a group is
520 studied twice, once before the occurrence of an event and second after the occurrence of that event. In contrast,
521 cultivation analysis measures two measurements of one variable and two groups rather than two measurements
522 of the same group. Second, and most importantly, in cultivation research, respondents are grouped according
523 to various binary variables such as gender, race, political orientation, etc. They are not grouped based on their
524 presentation of extreme elements like in the case of regression of the mean in which subgroups are formed of
525 outliers. Thus extreme scores are to be present in each and every subgroup. 79 Other scientists such as Shanahan
526 state that even though the process might be to complex for a causal order to be established, if the variables are
527 "functionally interdependent" they could reflect other meaningful patterns of relationships. What he refers to as
528 the Interaction Model. XV. Future of Cultivation in the World of Cable and Satellite Channels

529 In Shanahan model depicted above, television viewing does affect dependent variables, but is influenced by
530 other factors (hence presented by the dotted line). Demographic variables also cause direct effects, but they are
531 more resistant to influences (hence presented by the solid line). Additionally, television viewing "interacts" with
532 demographic and other control variables, and these interactions are significant within the context of multiple
533 control, showing the existence of provisional associations (again, presented by the solid line). Frequently the
534 interactions cause mainstreaming patterns.

535 As ownership concentrates, cultivation assumptions strengthened even as programming channels increase
536 number. More channels provide and intensified opportunity for cultivation, not a variation of the conditions under
537 which cultivation occurs. Gerbner's point is that the mere availability of more channels does not fundamentally
538 change the socio-economic dynamics that drive the production and distribution of programs. On the contrary,
539 that dynamic is intensified by increased concentration of ownership and control and by the dissolution of the
540 traditional barriers between and among networks. 81 XVI.

541 **37 Conclusion**

542 Findings of tremendous number of studies, conducted in the past twenty years, support the idea that cumulative
543 exposure to television assimilates worldviews and cultivates images and ideas matching what is seen on TV,
544 and that long-term television exposure do influence social change. Studies conducted by Gerbner and associates
545 found an average cultivation effect size of 0.078, while those conducted by others averaged 0.10. ?? 1 F 82
546 While cable and satellite might not have left a change a change in the media institution system, the DIY (Do It
547 Yourself) technology might change the dynamics of the media environment. Online gamming and social media
548 will influence mainstream content as it will be influenced by it. For instance, during the Israeli-Palestinian crisis
549 of July 2014, CNN and NBC correspondents Diana Magnay and Ayman Mohyeldin were both removed from
550 their assignments in Gaza over a tweet considered to be Pro-Palestinian.⁸ 2 F 83 Two days later, NBC reversed
551 its decision, which was attributed to a social media outcry.⁸ 3 F 84 The fact that Mohyeldin was removed over
552 a posting on social media and was returned as a result of social media pressure marks a shift in the media
553 institution system currently in place. This however still functions within the parameters of the cultivation theory
554 as the "multi-directional" component of the theory states that the media both influences and is influenced by a
555 complex interface among society, the public, media institutions, and interest groups. ¹



Figure 1:

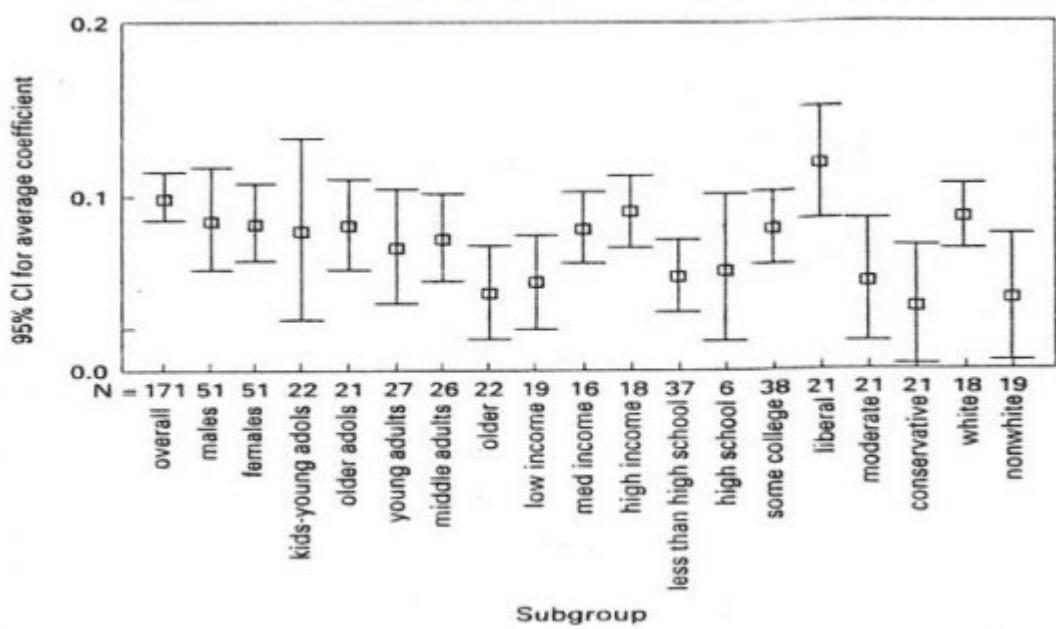


Figure 2:

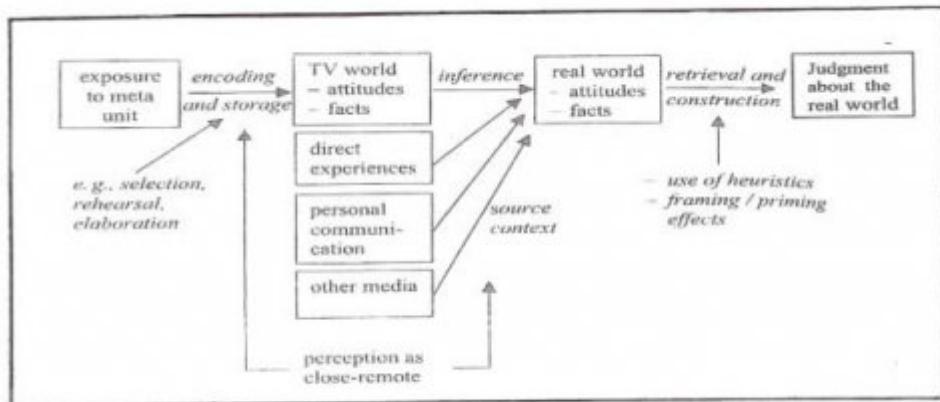
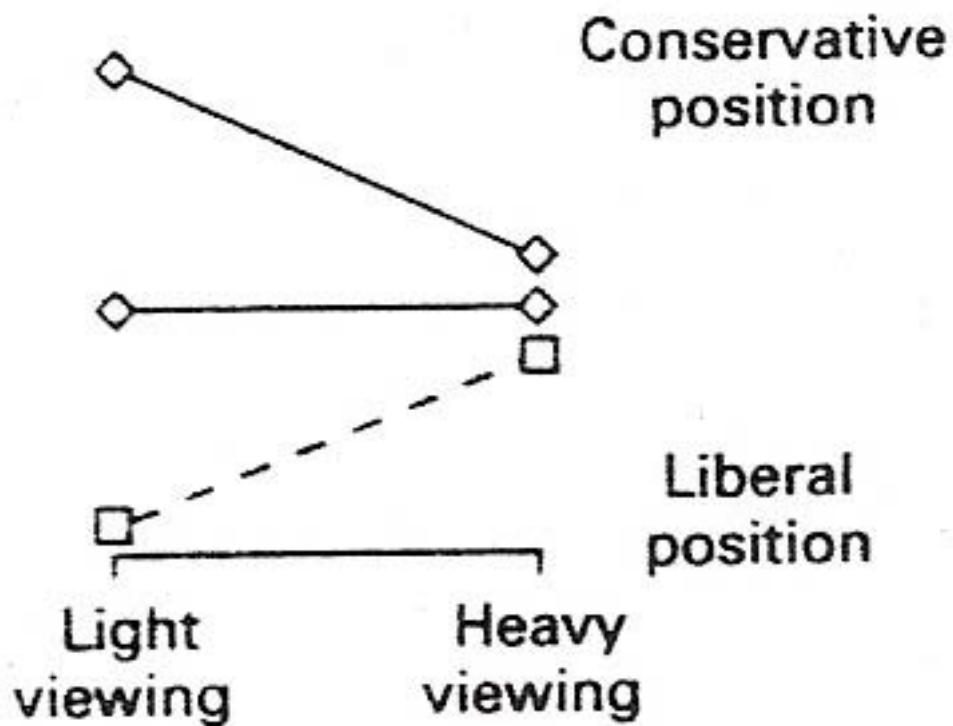


Figure 3:



1

Figure 4: Figure 1 :

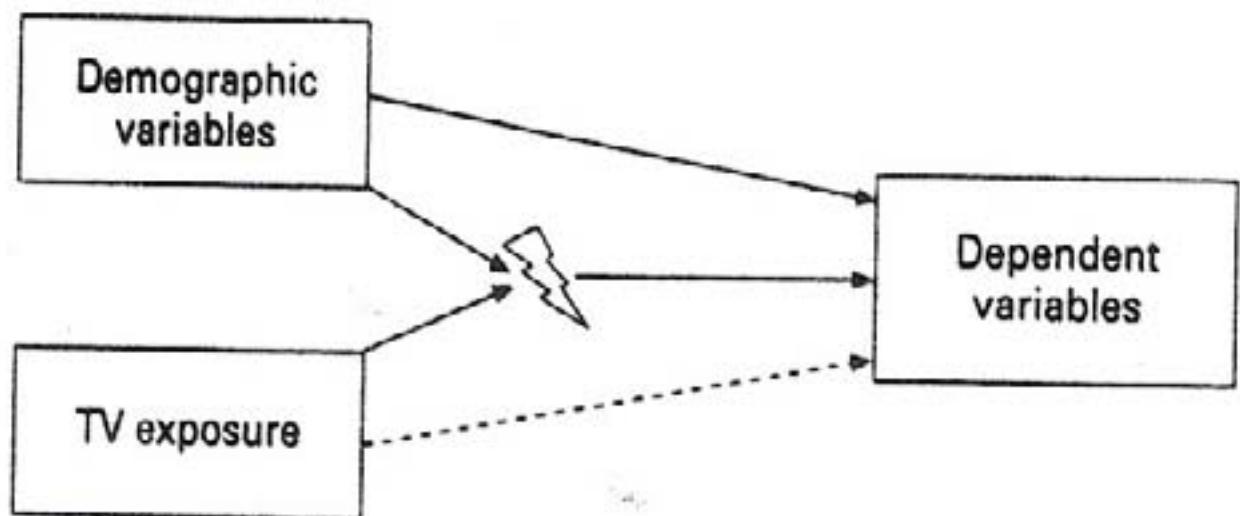


Figure 5:

Figure 6:

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