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AUTHOR Shatzer, Milton J.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

Working on the assumption that young people in the midwestern United States do not have many opportunities to witness an extensive representation of a remote culture, a study was designed to describe the social and psycho-sociological characteristics of those youngsters who were likely to be exposed to "Shogun" on television. Specifically, the study explored the possible linkages between exposure to the program and knowledge about Japanese history, language, and customs; attitudes toward interaction with the Japanese; and stereotypes of Japanese. Two days after the termination of the broadcast of "Shogun," a questionnaire was administered to 676 high school students. The instrument contained several sections corresponding to the following: general television exposure; exposure to "Shogun"; reasons for watching "Shogun"; experience while watching "Shogun"; knowledge of Japanese history, language, and customs; general reasons for watching television; attitudes toward learning about other cultures; stereotypes associated with the Japanese; notion of social distance; ethnocentrism; and demographics. Findings revealed that heavy TV viewers would be among those watching specials like "Shogun." These same viewers would watch in order to expose themselves to other cultures and to try to understand them. For those who watched TV for stimulation, this exposure would lead to a more negative stereotype of other cultures. The most impressive findings seemed to be the amount of knowledge that was predicted from exposure to "Shogun." At least on a short-term basis, special TV broadcasts can be useful in increasing the knowledge of adolescent viewers. (HOD)

SHOGUN ON TV:

WHO WATCHED AND WITH WHAT EFFECTS

AMONG U.S. MIDWESTERN TEENAGERS

Milton J. Shatzer
Department of Communication
Michigan State University

Felipe Korzenny
Comunicologia Aplicada de Mexico

Betty Ann Griffis de Korzenny
Comunicologia Aplicada de Mexico

with

Patricia Cannon
Department of Communication
Michigan State University

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INTRODUCTION

Adolescents are in the period of their lives when knowledge and attitudes toward other cultures are susceptible to creation or change. These youngsters are at the stage of development when parental influence diminishes, peer influences take preeminence, and more settled adult ways are shaped. As Lewin (1975, p. 44) has noted: "A period of radical change is naturally a period of greater plasticity...".

The acquisition of knowledge about other cultures, and the attitudes and stereotypes formed about other cultures can be expected to be a function of experience and information acquisition. When few information sources and experiences are available, then relatively infrequent spurts of information or symbolic experience may take on increased importance as in the case of a special television program such as SHOGUN.

During the week of September 15, 1980, the TV program SHOGUN was broadcast Monday through Friday evenings in prime-time for a total of twelve hours. SHOGUN is an adventure story set in feudal Japan approximately three centuries ago, and it addresses aspects of: 1) the interplay of cultures, 2) Japanese language, 3) Japanese culture, 4) ethnocentrism, and 5) Japanese and European history (Brussat and Brussat, 1980).

The special opportunity that this broadcast represented for adolescents in small communities to learn about Japan and develop and/or change their attitudes toward the Japanese, prompted the research reported here. Previous research conducted to investigate the antecedents and consequences of exposure to special TV programs dealing with cultural aspects suggests that: a) selective exposure appears to be prevalent, e.g. egalitarian individuals were found to be more likely to be exposed to "Roots II" (Ball-Rokeach, Grube, and Rokeach, 1981); b) attitudes do not seem to be affected

by exposure, e.g. egalitarianism was not affected by exposure to "Roots II" (Ball-Rokeach et al., 1981); and c) emotional reactions (i.e. feelings of sadness, guilt, anger, and hostility) and reported informational gains tend to be produced by this type of TV entertainment (Surlin, 1978).

This study was designed to describe the characteristics, social and psycho-sociological of those youngsters who were more likely to be exposed to SHOGUN on TV, and to explore the possible linkages of exposure to the program and knowledge about Japanese history, language, and customs; attitudes toward interaction with the Japanese (social distance); and stereotypes of the Japanese. One underlying notion behind conducting the study was that young people in the Midwestern United States do not have many opportunities to witness an extensive representation of a remote culture such as the Japanese, and thus the TV program could be an important input in their cultural socialization.

METHODS

On Monday, September 22, 1980, two days after the termination of the five day sequential broadcast of SHOGUN, a questionnaire was administered to high school students in two small Midwestern communities during their History classes. The number of students responding to the questionnaire was 676. Most respondents were students in the 11th grade, with an average age of 16. Of the respondents, 49% were female. The average total weekly TV exposure of the sample was 21 hours. On the average, the respondents reported having traveled to 1.8 foreign countries, and to have 6.5 friends or acquaintances who are from countries other than the U.S. Almost without variability the respondents indicated that the main occupation of their fathers was in the category of "semi-skilled" workers, and that the main occupation of their mothers was housewife or in the category of clerical or "semi-skilled" workers.

The instrument contained several sections corresponding to the following:

General Television Exposure

The students were asked to respond to each of the following questions: "First of all we are interested in knowing how much TV you usually watch.... How many hours during a regular weekday?....normal Saturday?....normal Sunday?" They could respond by half hour intervals from zero to five or more hours. An index of general weekly TV exposure was formed by summing the five weekday exposure reports plus the Saturday and Sunday exposure. The mean exposure was 21 hours per week or, 2.94 hours for a weekday, 3.2 hours for Saturday, and 3.1 hours for Sunday.

Exposure to SHOGUN

In measuring exposure to SHOGUN, a grid was presented in the questionnaire which was divided into sections representing each of the 5 days the series was broadcast and further subdivided into half-hour segments of air time. The respondents were asked to place X's within each box corresponding to the half-hour segment or segments of the program that they watched. Thus exposure was measured in half-hour increments with .5 hours being the minimum and 12 hours being the maximum possible. The average length of time reported for those viewing on Monday evening was 1.4 hours; for Tuesday, 1.1 hours; for Wednesday, 1.0 hours; for Thursday, 0.9 hours; and, 1.0 hours for Friday evening. The total average viewing time was 5.4 hours. The index for exposure to SHOGUN was created by summing viewing time across all five broadcast days.

Reasons for Watching SHOGUN

Seven reasons for watching SHOGUN were presented to the respondents who watched at least part of the program. Likert-type scales were used by the respondents to record their answers (strongly agree=5, agree=4, neither

agree nor disagree=3, disagree=2, and strongly disagree=1). These items were submitted to a principal factor analysis with varimax rotation, using the criterion of an eigenvalue of 1.0 as the cut-off point for the extraction of factors. Items loading .30 or more on a factor were summed, or subtracted in the case of negative loadings, to form indices of reasons for watching SHOGUN. The first index reflected a learning dimension (the function of "watching SHOGUN for learning") which contained the following items as to why the individuals watched SHOGUN: e.g. "for excitement", "to learn about Japan", "to learn about history" and "because I like special TV series". The mean for this index was 13.1.

The second index measured the function of watching SHOGUN in order to have something to talk about (termed the function for "watching SHOGUN to talk about it"). The items composing this index were: "I watched SHOGUN: because everyone was talking about it", "for the same reasons I usually watch TV" and "to have something to talk about in school". The mean for this index was 8.1.

Experience While Watching SHOGUN

Twenty-one items measured on five-point, Likert-type scales (strongly agree=5 to strongly disagree=1) were also factor analyzed (as above) to aid in the formation of indices to assess the respondents' personal experience while watching SHOGUN. The first index dealt with the individual's feeling of identification with the main characters of the story. The 6 items in this index were: "As I watched SHOGUN I could feel what Blackthorne was going through, as if I were in his shoes", "When Blackthorne couldn't understand how to deal with the Japanese, I just wanted him to get away fast", "I came to respect Mariko as I learned about her", "I felt uneasy at the beginning of the show when Blackthorne couldn't speak for himself", "I felt

I was living through Blackthorne's adventures with him" and "I felt helpless myself when Blackthorne didn't know how to behave with the Japanese". The mean for this index was 20.

The second index which reflected personal enjoyment of the program (labeled "enjoyed SHOGUN") was constructed by adding two items, i.e. "I liked the show" and "I felt this program was entertaining"; while subtracting a third: "I felt there was too much violence in the program". For this index the mean was 6.0.

A third index which attempted to assess the respondent's motivation toward learning about other cultures was composed of seven items of the five-point, Likert-type variety (as above). These were: "This program makes me want to learn more about other cultures". "After watching Blackthorne, I think I could learn how to get along in another culture", "As I got into the program I began to understand how some of the Japanese characters felt", "This program makes me want to learn more about the Japanese", and "The show makes me want to read the book". They were added to form the index. Two items were subtracted in constructing this index, i.e. "When Blackthorne couldn't understand how to deal with the Japanese, I just wanted him to get away fast" and "I don't want to try living in another culture". The mean for this index was 10.7.

A dimension of experience while watching the mini-series that concerned the social interaction stimulated by the program was measured by the fourth index (labelled "social interaction stimulated by SHOGUN"). The additive items comprising this index were: "I talked about this program with my parents", "...with my friends" and "...with my brothers and sisters". The mean was 9.7.

The remaining items measuring experience while watching SHOGUN did not load on any of the factors and were analyzed individually. The item which mirrors the belief in the historical validity of this fictional drama was: "I think SHOGUN was a story that could have been true". The mean for this item was 4.1. The item "I learned new things from this program" had a mean of 3.8. All of the items comprising these indices were of the five-point, Likert-type with strongly agree=5 and strongly disagree=1.

Knowledge of History

Five items assessed the knowledge of the historical period in which SHOGUN was portrayed to take place. In this case the index was formed by counting the number of correct responses to five-answer, multiple-choice questions with the last possible response being "don't know". Only those students who watched at least part of the program were administered this section (N=366). These items asked the following questions: "When did the program take place?" (17th century), "What reason did Blackthrone and his crew have for going to Japan?" (to trade for silks and other valuables), "What nationality were the Jesuits?" (Portugese), "The Japanese considered Blackthorne and his crew to be?" (barbarians), "At the time this program was set in, Japan was ruled by?" (Five Lords known as the Council of Regents) and "What is a 'rutter'?" (logs made by seamen which charted their course). The average number of correct responses for this index was 1.9.

Knowledge of Language

In measuring the knowledge of Japanese language, again this index was contructed by counting the correct responses to seven five-answer, multiple choice items with "don't know" as a possible choice. These were: "What is the word which means 'honorable', and is added to names as a gesture of politeness" (san), "What is the Japanese word for 'yes'?" (domo), "What is

the Japanese word for 'no'?" (iye), "Wakarimasen means:?" ("I don't understand), "Domo, dozo and kudasai are three Japanese words which have the same meaning. In English it means...?" (please), "The Japanese word Seppuku means...?" (suicide) and "The Japanese word Samurai means...?" (to serve). Only those students who viewed at least a portion of SHOGUN were asked to respond to these items. The average number of correct responses for language was 1.8.

Knowledge of Customs

Knowledge of Japanese customs was assessed by four or five-answer, multiple-choice items (again with "don't know" as a possible option) in the same manner as described above. These four items were administered to all respondents (N=676). They were: "The most important thing to a Japanese person is...?" (honor), "Japanese people tend to...?" (be very close-mouthed even among themselves), "Japanese people tend to...?" (have a special room where the entire family sleeps) and "Bowing in Japan means..." (the same as shaking hands in the United States). The mean number of correct responses here was 1.8.

General Reasons for Watching Television

In this area, fourteen items were administered to the entire sample of 676 respondents. Again, these items were measured by utilizing five-point, Likert-type scales ranging from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1). Three indices resulted from submitting these items to a principal factor analysis with varimax rotation (as above). The first index, which was labeled "general function of TV watching for learning" had the following items: (I watch TV...) "to find out what is going on in the world", "to

learn new things", "to learn about how other types of people live" and "to get to see people and places I wouldn't be able to see otherwise". The mean for this index was 13.9.

A second index which was labeled "general function for watching TV for distraction" was comprised of these 5 items (I watch TV...) "to forget my problems", "to have something to talk about with my friends", "to keep me out of trouble", "to distract myself for a while" and "to calm me down after a busy day". This index's mean was 19.4.

In assessing other general reasons for viewing television, a third index which reflects a "general function of TV watching for stimulation" had four additive items. In response to the stem "I watch TV..." these items were: "for relaxation", "to keep me company when I am alone", "when there is nothing to do', "to entertain myself when I am bored" and "for amusement". The mean for this index was 13.7.

Attitudes Toward Learning of Other Cultures.

In this portion of the instrument, fourteen items, measured by five-point, Likert-type scales (strongly agree=5 to strongly disagree=1) were factor analyzed (as above) resulting in the construction of two indices. One of these indices, labeled "general attitude toward understanding of other cultures" was composed of the following items: "I am interested in understanding how people from other countries feel", "I like to try foods from other countries", "I would like to have the opportunity to travel to other countries", "I am interested in understanding how people from other countries think", "I would like to see how people from other countries do things", "I am interested in understanding how people from other countries see things", I would like to know more about the art of other countries", and "I would like to learn other languages well". One item, "I am not curious about how people in other countries live" was

subtracted in the formation of the index. This index was made up of nine items and its mean was 28.

The second index ("general attitude toward exposure to other cultures") had five items, two of which were added together in its formation. These were: "I would like to have the opportunity to live with a family from another country for a while" and "I would enjoy participating in a student exchange program with Japan". The remaining three items were subtracted. These were: "I think it is too hard to learn a new language", "I would like to always live in the United States" and "I would have a hard time trying to live in a country other than the United States". The mean for this index was -3.2.

Stereotypes of the Japanese

Following Barlund (1975), the most frequent and least frequent stereotypes associated with the Japanese were presented to the respondents and these items were then factor analyzed. This resulted in the following indices--"positive stereotype" and "negative stereotype." These items elicited the individual's response on five-point, Likert-type scales (strongly agree=5 to strongly disagree=1) to various adjectives characterizing Japanese stereotype. They were presented under these comments: "Here are some things people say about the Japanese. Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements". The index which measured positive stereotype was comprised of the following three items: (People from Japan are...) "warm", "cooperative", and "responsive". The index which measured negative stereotype was constructed of seven items in response to the statement that Japanese people are: "formal", "serious", "tense", "reserved", "silent", "distant" and "cautious". The mean for positive sterotype was 9.9 while the mean for negative stereotype was 24.4.

Social Distance

Based on Bogardus' (1925) recognition of the incipient notion of social distance within Sumner's (1906) larger construct of ethnocentrism, seven items were administered to the respondents which resulted in one main index according to a factor analysis. This index was formed by adding six items: "I would accept having Japanese as close friends", "I would accept having Japanese as neighbors", "I would accept having Japanese as classmates", "I think that Japanese should be allowed to become citizens of the United States", and "I would accept a Japanese as a member of my family". The seventh item, i.e. "I think that Japanese should not be permitted to come to the United States" was subtracted in the construction of the index. The mean for this index was 12.9.

Ethnocentrism

From the seminal work of Sumner (1906) and subsequent elaboration by Levine and Campbell (1972), nine items were administered to the respondents. A factor analysis resulted in two main indicies labeled: "ethnocentric values" and "ethnocentric behavior". The index measuring ethnocentric values was composed of five additive items. These measured responses to the notion of how the subjects felt about "Americans" on five-point, Likert-type scales which ranged from strongly agree (5) to strongly disagree (1). The items were as follows: (Americans...) "are generally more generous than people from other countries", "are generally more intelligent than people from other countries", "value freedom more than people from other countries", "are generally more fair than people from other countries" and "value truth more than people from other countries". The mean for the "ethnocentric values" index was 15.9.

Ethnocentric behavior was measured in like manner as ethnocentric values except the items which composed this index were; (Americans...) "Protect human rights more than people of any other country" and "are the strongest country in the world". The item "are more likely than other countries to have bad leaders" was subtracted from the others to complete the three-item index. The mean was 4.3.

Demographics

The demographic variables measured by the instrument included the names and, hence, the number of countries visited by the respondents who travelled outside of the United States ($\overline{X}$ = 1.8). The number of friends and acquaintances from other countries was also measured by those who reported such friends ($\overline{X}$ = 6.5). Sex was reported as a dichotomous, nominal variable with 'male' being equal to 1, and 'female' being equal to 2. Fourty-nine per cent were female. For those who reported that someone recommended they watch SHOGUN, their replies fell within four categories of individuals: "teacher," "friend", "relative", or "other." These four classifications were used to create nonmutually exclusive dichotomous variables. These were coded as either zero or 1. An additional dichotomous variable (termed "teacher discussion") assessed whether the various teachers stimulated discussion of the program with their students in class or not. This was coded as either 1 (yes) or 2 (no). The final demographic variable was an index created by adding the age of the respondent plus her or his grade in school. This index was labelled "age plus grade" ($\overline{X}$ = 27). The average age was 16, and the average grade was 11th.

RESULTS

Exposure to SHOGUN

The first analysis consisted of the prediction of exposure to SHOGUN. Two sets of results were computed, one for the entire sample and one for

those who watched at least some portion of the miniseries. In both cases, the dependent variable was exposure to SHOGUN. The independent variables for both models were: 1) the total amount of general television watched per week, i.e., "exposure to TV", 2) the age plus grade of the respondent, 3) sex of the individual, 4) who recommended watching SHOGUN, i.e., "teacher, friend, relative, or other," 5) whether the teacher discussed the show in class, 6) ethnocentric values, 7) ethnocentric behavior, 8) a general attitude toward understanding other cultures, 9) a general attitude toward exposure to other cultures, 10) a general function for watching television for learning, 11) the general function for watching television for stimulation, and 12) the general function of watching television for distraction. A multiple regression analysis with simultaneous hierarchial inclusion of the variables in the equation resulted in the standardized Beta coefficients presented in table 1. The variables age plus grade, sex, and whether the teacher discussed the show were forced into the analysis first and the other variables thereafter.

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table 1 about here

As can be observed in table 1, the statistically significant predictors of exposure to SHOGUN in the total sample were: exposure to television (general viewing) (B = .23, p = .005), age plus grade (B = .08, p = .05), sex (B = -.17, p = .005 ; note: the negative valence signifies a "maleness" direction), that the teacher recommended they watch the program (B = -.08, p = .05), a general attitude in favor of exposure to other cultures (B = .14, p = .05), a general attitude toward understanding other cultures (B = .15, p = .05) and the general function of watching television for stimulation (B = -.24, p = .005).

The significant predictors of exposure to SHOGUN among only the viewers of the program were: exposure to television in general (B = .28, p = .005) and the general function of watching television for stimulation (B = -.22, p = .005).

Effects of Watching Shogun

The second major analysis dealt with the prediction of the effects of SHOGUN. Again, two sets of results were computed one for the entire sample and one for viewers. The dependent variables that were considered as effects were: stereotype (positive and negative) of the Japanese; social distance; and knowledge of Japanese history, larguage and customs as portrayed in the program.

The independent variables predicting effects for the total sample were: 1) exposure to SHOGUN, 2) exposure to television, 3) sex, 4) age plus grade, 5) the number of countries a person had visited, 6) how many friends or acquaintances one had from another country, 7) whether the teacher discussed the program in class or not, 8) ethnocentric values, 9) ethnocentric behavior, 10) a general attitude toward exposure to other cultures, 11) a general attitude toward other cultures, 12) the general function of watching television for learning, and 13) the general function of watching television for distraction.

In addition to these, eight more independent variables were included in predicting effects for the SHOGUN viewers only. These variables were: 1) the function of watching SHOGUN for learning, 2) the function of watching SHOGUN for something to talk about, 3) identification with the main characters, 4) enjoying the program, 5) a motivation to learn more of other cultures, 6) the social interaction stimulated by SHOGUN, 7) believing the story could be true, and 8) the report of learning new things from SHOGUN.

The variables sex, the number of countries a person had visited, and how many friends or acquaintances one had from another country were forced first in the analysis and the remainder thereafter.

Stereotype

A multiple regression analysis with simultaneous hierarachial inclusion of the variables in the equation predicting stereotype resulted in the standardized Beta coefficients reported in table 2. In this case the statistically significant predictors of positive stereotype for the total sample were:

table 2 about here

ethnocentric values (B=-.13, p=.005), general attitude toward exposure to other cultures (B=.15, p=.005) and the general attitude toward understanding other cultures. The significant predictors for positive stereotype of the Japanese for the SHOGUN viewers were: exposure to SHOGUN (B=-.16, p=.05), ethnocentric values (B=-.12, p=.05), the function of watching SHOGUN for learning (B=.22, p=.005) and, the function of watching SHOGUN in order to have something to talk about (B=-.12, p=.05).

The statistically significant predictors of negative stereotype were the following. For the total sample: exposure to SHOGUN (B = .14, p = .005), ethnocentric values (B = .10, p = .05) and the general function of watching television for stimulation (B = .18, p = .005) were significant. For the viewers of SHOGUN, on the other hand, ethnocentric values (B= .13, p = .05), the function of watching SHOGUN for learning (B = .17, p = .05), the belief that the story could be true (B = .22, p = .005) and the response that the student learned something new from SHOGUN (B = .14, p = .05) were statistically significant.

table 3 about here

Social Distance

Table 3 shows the standardized Beta coefficients which resulted from multiple regression analyses with simultaneous inclusion of the variables predicting social distance. The statistically significant predictors of social distance in the total sample were: exposure to SHOGUN ($B = .09$, $p = .05$), the number of countries visited by the respondent outside of the United States ($B = -.10$, $p = .05$), how many friends and acquaintances the respondent reported having from outside the US ($B = -.20$, $p = .005$), a general attitude toward exposure to other cultures ($B = .14$, $p = .005$), a general attitude toward understanding other cultures ($B = .37$, $p = .005$), the general function of watching television for stimulation ($B = .08$, $p = .05$), and finally, the general function of watching television for distraction ($B = -.09$, $p = .05$).

For the SHOGUN viewers, the significant predictors of social distance were: the number of friends and acquaintances from outside the United States ($B = .10$, $p = .05$), ethnocentric values ($B = -.19$, $p = .005$), a general attitude toward understanding other cultures ($B = .26$, $p = .005$), identification with the main characters of the story ($B = .13$, $p = .05$) and motivation to learn more about other cultures ($B = .29$, $p = .005$).

Knowledge

The final portion of the effects analyses contains the multiple regression equations predicting cognitive effects. In this area, the dependent variables were history, language, and customs. Measures of knowledge of history and language were administered only to the SHOGUN viewers

while the knowledge of customs was administered to the total sample. Therefore, the regression equations predicting knowledge of history and language were computed only for the viewers and the knowledge of customs was computed for both the SHOGUN viewers as well as the total sample. These sets of results are reported in table 4.

table 4 about here

In predicting the knowledge of history as portrayed in the story, two independent variables were found to be statistically significant: exposure to SHOGUN (B = .44, p = .005), and the social interaction stimulated by SHOGUN (B = .13, p = .05). Concerning the prediction of the knowledge of the Japanese language, four independent variables were found to be significant: exposure to SHOGUN (B = .51, p = .005), the general function of watching television for distraction (B = -.11, p. = .05), the motivation to learn more of other cultures (B = .19, p = .005) and, the social interaction stimulated by SHOGUN (B = .11, p = .05).

Upon examination of the results of the regression equation predicting customs of Japan, as reported in table 4, the following independent variables were significant for the total sample: exposure to SHOGUN (B = .27, p = .005), the general function of watching television for learning (B = .10, p = .05) and the general function of watching television for stimulation (B = .12, p = .05). For the SHOGUN viewers only, exposure to SHOGUN (B = .28, p = .005), the belief that the story could be true (B = .14, p = .05) and the report that the respondents learned something new from the show (B = .19, p = .05) were statistically significant.

DISCUSSION

In the analyses predicting exposure to, and the effects of, SHOGUN certain patterns appeared. Exposure to TV in general seems to be an important predictor of exposure to SHOGUN. That is, heavy TV viewers will probably be among those watching specials like SHOGUN. These viewers, in turn, will probably not be watching for stimulation, i.e. for relaxation; to relieve boredom, loneliness; or for amusement, etc. Instead they will, in all likelihood, watch in order to expose themselves to other cultures and to try to understand them. For those who do watch for stimulation, even though they may gain more knowledge of foreign customs, this would be predicted to lead to a more negative stereotype of other cultures. In fact, the findings of this study support the hypothesis that people selectively expose themselves to TV and perceive its content according to certain psychological predispositions as well as to satisfy various self-needs and gratifications.

A general positive attitude toward exposure to other cultures and an understanding of other cultures are important predictors of exposure to specials like SHOGUN. These variables predict a more positive stereotype as well as a desire for achieving closer social distance by both viewers and nonviewers. In addition, this holds true for those who watch with a general positive attitude for understanding of other cultures.

Accordingly, greater ethnocentric values are important predictors of certain attitudinal effects, e.g. a more negative heterostereotype; as well as a preference to maintain increased social distance. Social distance is defined here as a willingness to extend to the outgroup certain privileges ordinarily restricted only to the ingroup -- in particular, intimacy in spatial proximity and communicative distance. A motivation for learning about

other cultures also predicts a desire for closer social distance among viewers and a greater knowledge of the language portrayed. The social interaction stimulated by programs like SHOGUN, possibly due to a reinforcing effect, predicts a greater acquistion of knowledge of history and language as depicted in the miniseries. The beliefs that the dramatized story was true and that the respondents learned something new as a result of viewing are predictors of a greater negative heterostereotype for viewers, as well as a greater knowledge of customs for viewers.

The most impressive findings seem to be the amount of knowledge that is predicted from exposure to SHOGUN or other similar presentations. At least on a short-term basis, special TV broadcasts dealing with intercultural topics can be useful in increasing the knowledge of adolescent viewers. Such increased knowledge of other cultures (e.g., their history, language, and customs) should help facilitate better cross-cultural relations through a greater understanding of how various peoples view the world. Individuals with strong ethnocentric values may have their stereotype reinforced, whereas those wanting to learn of other cultures will gain knowledge. In any case, those that do watch will increase significantly their overall knowledge of the cultures portrayed therein.

Exposure to SHOGUN

As might be expected, general exposure to TV is a positive predictor of exposure to SHOGUN. Viewing a great deal of television increases the probability of watching special miniseries. Age plus grade in school is a predictor of exposure. The more mature adolescent may prefer more sophisticated programming especially of the SHOGUN variety. Males would be more disposed to watch more of SHOGUN possibly due to its action-adventure theme involving the martial arts of Japan, etc. The teacher's recommendation to

to view the program is a mild negative predictor. Intuitively, one might say that students show a natural aversion to whatever the teacher suggests, believing it to be more "educational" than entertaining. Class discussion of the program was also demonstrated to be a mild positive predictor of exposure, suggesting that social interaction may stimulate subsequent exposure. Also, the recommendation of a relative to view the show is a mild positive predictor of exposure to SHOGUN. A parent, brother, sister, or cousin, etc., may be viewed as more homophilous and thus a more trusted and credible advisor as to evaluating the worth of TV shows.

The general attitude toward exposure to other cultures is a positive predictor of exposure to SHOGUN. So is a positive general attitude toward understanding other cultures. This seems to support Ball-Rokeach's et al (1980) findings that selective exposure appears to be operating in the viewers exposure to TV miniseries dealing with intercultural themes (e.g., ROOTS: THE NEXT GENERATION, etc.) Those individuals who desire to understand more about other cultures would expose themselves to programming with cross-cultural themes to glean added information from them. This generalization is further supported by the finding that the general function of watching TV for stimulation is a negative predictor of exposure. Those youngsters who watched SHOGUN to learn, viewed more of it while those who generally watch for stimulation (e.g., to relieve boredom and loneliness, etc.) chose other alternatives. It may be argued that those who watch for stimulation prefer lighter entertainment where little effort is required to achieve their functional goals.

Effects of SHOGUN

Stereotype

Those individuals with higher ethnocentric values generally hold a more negative (less positive stereotype) of outgroups and this stereotype may be reinforced by TV programs that are perceived to have actually taken place. The more ethnocentric students may have filtered out the qualities of the Japanese that did not fit their already established perceptual grid of what they perceive the Japanese to be like.

Both a general positive attitude toward exposure to other cultures and an inclination toward understanding other cultures are positive predictors of positive stereotype of the Japanese. The implications here are that initially held attitudes seem to reinforce congruence in the selective interpretation of the perceptions of others.

When only the SHOGUN viewers were analyzed, exposure to SHOGUN was found to be a negative predictor of positive stereotype. This finding appears on the surface to be counter-intuitive. Initially, one might reason that the more a person watched SHOGUN, the more positive the heterostereotype would become. Perhaps the fact that SHOGUN vividly portrayed certain Japanese cultural norms and values (e.g., suicide, violence as a means of control, etc.), which may have appeared repulsive to the Midwestern teenage viewers, may have enhanced the perceived negative aspects of the Japanese stereotype.

Ethnocentric values are also a significant negative predictor of positive stereotyping which is consistent with the ethnocentrism construct of ingroup cohesion and outgroup hostility (Brewer and Campbell, 1976). The function of watching SHOGUN for learning is a relatively strong positive predictor of positive stereotyping. Students desiring to increase their

knowledge by watching TV specials like SHOGUN may also be open and perceptive of cultural differences and the positive values of other cultures, thus supporting a dissonance reduction explanation of selective perception. Also, the function of watching SHOGUN in order to have something to talk about is a negative predictor of positive stereotype. Intuitively it seems that those students who stated their reasons for watching SHOGUN as to be able to join their peers in talking about the program may be quick to ridicule and stigmatize cultural differences in conversation with other viewers. Hence, they may develop less of a positive stereotype. In spite of this fact, this same independent variable is not a significant positive predictor of negative stereotype (although it must be noted that the label "negative" in this case is moot and value laden).

Concerning the negative stereotype of the Japanese, exposure to SHOGUN is a positive predictor of negative stereotype. Again, this may be a result of the "clash of cultures" portrayed in the program. As might be expected, ethnocentric values are also a significant positive predictor of negative stereotype. Such stereotypes accentuate the contrasts between ingroup and outgroup (Brewer and Campbell, 1976). A third positive predictor of negative stereotype when using the total sample is the general function of watching TV for stimulation. Young people who watch TV for stimulation may interpret differences in culture in terms of classical good-evil categories, and consequently seem to be less likely to appreciate behavioral and value diversity.

The belief that the story was true is a positive predictor of negative stereotype, indicating that the brutal portrayal of violence, if taken as truthful, spills over the general portrayal of medieval Japanese people.

The report that the viewers learned something new from the miniseries is a positive predictor concerning negative stereotype as well. To view the norms and values of other cultures which are extremely different and oftentimes opposed to North American cultural values -- and to view them as true -- would seem to incline a person toward a more negative stereotype. To learn of novel cultural values, which one may find initially repugnant, appears to accelerate the fomentation of the negative aspects of the heterostereotype.

Social Distance

In the analyses of the total sample and in the analyses of only the viewers predicting the effects of social distance, ethnocentric values are a relatively strong negative predictor. According to a number of researchers (Sumner, 1906; Bogardus, 1925; LeVine and Campbell, 1972, etc.) social distance is part and parcel of the syndrome of ethnocentrism. Therefore, a higher degree of ethnocentric values should result in a greater social distance. Following this same reasoning, one would be able to interpret the findings that a general attitude toward understanding other cultures is a positive predictor of reducing social distance. Quite possibly the strength of a general attitude toward exposure to other cultures is subsumed by the variable "motivation for learning about other cultures" which is a strong, positive predictor of reducing social distance. If this is in fact the case, it would appear that the desire to achieve closer social distance was affected more by watching SHOGUN than by simply possessing a general positive attitude toward exposure to other cultures. Identification with the main characters is a positive predictor of reducing social distance among viewers only. Clearly, the main characters, Blackthorne and Mariko,

were victims of the Japanese culture at several points. Identification with them should clearly reinforce a sense of alienation from the Japanese in general.

Knowledge of Japanese History

Exposure to SHOGUN is a fairly strong, positive predictor of knowledge of Japanese history. It appears that programs such as SHOGUN can and do increase knowledge, at least on a short-term basis. This knowledge may be reinforced and become more persistent over time as there is increased social interaction stimulated by the program. This is supported by the finding that the only other significant predictor of knowledge is the social interaction stimulated by SHOGUN. Initial knowledge seems to be enhanced by discussing this knowledge with others.

Knowledge of Japanese Language

In predicting knowledge of Japanese language, again exposure to SHOGUN is a strong, positive predictor when controlling for all other variables. This suggests the tremendous utility of programs like SHOGUN in producing cognitive effects. It seems extremely unlikely that this knowledge of Japanese language came from sources other than SHOGUN. The motivation to learn more about other cultures seems to enhance this learning process as well. In addition, as with knowledge of Japanese history, the social interaction stimulated by SHOGUN predicts increased knowledge of language among the viewers. This leads one to believe that a two-step process is involved in learning from SHOGUN, i.e., once from the program itself and secondly from the ideas discussed after viewing. The knowledge from the discussion may be new or it may simply reinforce what is already understood from the script.

The general function of watching TV for distraction is a negative predictor of knowledge of Japanese language. It seems to follow that those students who view TV for distraction would not be motivated to learn a task which involves some effort. Those already predisposed to learning of other cultures would seemingly savor acquisition of a foreign language (or at least a few words!) even at the expense of some effort.

Knowledge of Japanese Customs

With the total sample, exposure to SHOGUN is a positive predictor of the knowledge of Japanese customs. Even though knowledge of Japanese customs may be accessible from other sources, exposure to programs like SHOGUN still predicts greater knowledge in this area. In conjunction with this, the greater the desire to learn from TV, the greater the knowledge when other variables are controlled for. That a general function of watching TV for learning is not a significant predictor of knowledge of history or language leads one to reason that there may be the mediating influence of other variables.

The general function of watching TV for stimulation is also a positive predictor of the knowledge of customs. Consequently, even those individuals who are not particularly interested in cultural TV portrayals may still acquire information in an incidental form.

In predicting the knowledge effects of customs for the viewers only, exposure to SHOGUN is again a strong, positive predictor. The variable that the students believed the story to be true is also a positive predictor of knowledge of customs. The realism portrayed in such presentations enchances the learning process, especially in the case of Japanese customs where the students may have some prior knowledge as referent in judging whether the portrayal is true or not. The report that the students learned something new from SHOGUN is also a positive predictor of knowledge of customs.

As the students gained new knowledge of Japanese customs it appears they could link these concepts with knowledge of Japanese customs they already possessed. Thus, evaluating that one learned something new from SHOGUN seems important in an area where previous knowledge is more likely, rather than in areas where all information is new.

Overall, in the analyses of the knowledge effects of SHOGUN, greater exposure to SHOGUN increased the cognitive effects. The implications of this are that adventure-type TV programs similar to SHOGUN may be an able medium by which to increase knowledge of other cultures. The possible applications of this in the academic area are myriad. Television miniseries can broaden the global horizons of high school students and augment information gained from the curricula. The unique information gained may even be on a par with like information accrued from brief travel excursions to other countries. SHOGUN bears witness to the fact that adventure shows can be extremely informative as well, resulting in discussions that enhance the learning process.

On the other hand, educators should keep in mind that the learning from a mini-series about another culture may not mean a positive image of other cultures. In fact, exposure in the case of SHOGUN was predictive of negative stereotypes. The implication of these findings is that other types of lear .ng experiences might be planned as supplements to such mini-series in order to create a more positive disposition to other cultures. These could well be experiential learning experiences, which in past educational efforts have been more closely linked to attitude change.

In addition, communication scholars with concern for the socialization of adolescents in the direction of a broader world-view might benefit from noting the negative impact on stereotypes of Japanese which was related to

exposure to SHOGUN. Possible implications for content of such mini-series are that programs emphasizing violence and strong ingroup-outgroup reactions might well lead to negative views of other cultures, especially among adolescents who already tend toward strong group identification with their own peers. That negative stereotypes were also predicted in SHOGUN viewers by feeling that the story was true, underlines the sensitivity and confusion of the teenage viewer to TV television content portraying violence and conflict between diverse peoples.

The prime time format of specials in the SHOGUN genre do not stigmatize the shows as "educational" programming. Consequently, they encourage more adolescent viewing. In addition, the finding that social interaction predicted greater acquisition of knowledge suggests that educators might well encourage mini-series viewing and related social interaction rather than any formalized classroom treatment of content.

One of the major limitations of this study was the fact that the questionnaire was administered at only one point in time after the airing of the mini-series SHOGUN. That is, there was no baseline for knowledge and attitudes prior to exposure to the program. Therefore, the direction of causality cannot unequivocally be assessed. Still, our faith in the area of cognitive effects is the strongest since we can assume very little knowledge prior to the program. Future research should attempt to measure affective and cognitive effects in a quasi-experimental, time-series design with a pretest and posttest or a number of posttests. A prior pretest and posttests given at various points in time after exposure to the program, with control group comparisons, should facilitate the determination of persistent as well as transitory effects. Some questions which need to be addressed in future research are:

What are the transitory and longterm effects of exposure to this type of programming?

What specific programming elements are responsible for the reinforcement of positive and negative sterotypes?

What is the potential of programs such as SHOGUN to create a favorable environment toward cultural contact among youngsters of conservative and relatively isolated communities? That is, what factors would attenuate the selective processes?

How can society capitalize on commercial TV fare which is geared to more than transitory entertainment?

Preliminarily, the results of this study are encouraging, but more definitive answers to these questions would seem to be invaluable to educators, communicologists and all who desire better cross-cultural relations.

In conclusion, the cognitive effects of SHOGUN upon knowledge of Japanese language, history, and customs can not be over emphasized. In a world that continues to grow smaller and smaller, today's young people need to be prepared to live as world citizens equipped with cosmopolitan attitudes and allocentric perspectives. This generation of adolescents needs, more than any generation before them, lower ethnocentric biases and all that that entails regarding stereotype, social distance, and knowledge of other cultures. Here lies the challenge for television programming such as SHOGUN in the future. Under the proper conditions, it can serve as an influence for bettering cross-cultural understanding among young people and thus facilitate and enhance future intercultural relations.

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Table 1

RESULTS OF REGRESSION EQUATIONS PREDICTING EXPOSURE TO SHOGUN

Indpendent Variable	Standardized Coefficients SHOGUN Viewers	Total N
	B	B
Exposure to TV	.2845**	.2268**
Age + grade	.0049	.0792*
Sex (-male, +female)	-.0937	-.1684**
Teacher recommended watching SHOGUN	-.0802	-.0808*
Friend recommended watching SHOGUN	-.0066	.0778*
Other recommended watching SHOGUN	-.0203	-.0105
Teacher discussed SHOGUN in class	.0923	.1097*
Ethnocentric values	-.0433	-.0101
Ethnocentric behavior	.0030	-.0216
General attitude toward exposure to other cultures	.1208	.1368*
General attitude toward understanding other cultures	.1169	.1448*
General function of watching TV for learning	-.0379	-.0177
General function of watching TV for stimulation	-.2126**	-.2421**
General function for watching TV for distraction	-.0269	.0360
R^2	.1718**	.1866**
	(N=366)	(N=676)

(*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .005$)

Table 2

RESULTS OF REGRESSION EQUATIONS PREDICTING STEREOTYPE

Independent Variables	standardized coefficients POSITIVE Total N B	POSITIVE Viewers B	NEGATIVE Total N B	NEGATIVE Viewers B
Exposure to SHOGUN	-.0348	-.1605*	.1397**	-.0185
Exposure to TV	.0348	.0317	-.0001	-.0303
Sex (-male, +female)	-.0738	-.0456	-.0333	-.0027
Age + Grade	.0372	.0281	.0420	.0474
Number of foreign countries visited	-.0282	.0217	.0392	.0960
Number of friends and acquaintances from other countries	.0231	.0099	.0053	.0157
Teacher discussed SHOGUN in class	.0266	.0171	.0660	.0023
Ethnocentric values	-.1337**	-.1211*	.1014*	.1335*
Ethnocentric behavior	-.0105	-.0235	-.0793	-.1021
General attitude toward exposure to other cultures	.1524**	.1210	.0223	-.0259
General attitude toward understanding other cultures	.1731**	.0966	.0849	-.0822
General function of watching TV for learning	.0488	-.0201	-.0155	-.1134
General function of watching TV for stimulation	.0022	-.0140	.1801**	.0746
General function of watching TV for distraction	-.0275	.0130	.0205	.0278
Function of watching SHOGUN for learning	-----	.2233**	-----	.1670*
Function of watching SHOGUN for something to talk about	-----	-.1219*	-----	.0574
Identification with main characters	-----	-.0122	-----	.1340
Enjoyed SHOGUN	-----	.0427	-----	.0546
Motivation for learning about other cultures	-----	.0586	-----	.1156
Social interaciton stimulated by SHOGUN	-----	.0021	-----	-.1065
Believed the story to be true	-----	.0202	-----	.2180**
Learned something new from SHOGUN	-----	.0150	-----	.1374*
R^2	.1235**	.1782**	.0818**	.2401**
(*p≤.05; **p≤.005)	(N=676)	(N=366)	(N=676)	(N=366)

Table 3

RESULTS OF REGRESSION EQUATIONS PREDICTING SOCIAL DISTANCE

Independent Variables	standardized coefficients Total N B	SHOGUN Viewers B
Exposure to SHOGUN	.0888*	-.0171
Exposure to TV	.0109	.0033
Sex (-male, +female)	.0325	.0403
Age + Grade	-.0037	-.0112
Number of foreign countries visited	-.0950*	-.0638
Number of friends and acquaintances from other countries	.0953*	.0988*
Teacher discussed SHOGUN in class	-.0003	-.0246
Ethnocentric values	-.1969**	-.1937**
Ethnocentric behavior	-.0337	-.0661
General attitude toward exposure to other cultures	.1346**	.0655
General attitude toward understanding other cultures	.3685**	.2591**
General function of watching TV for learning	.0146	-.0548
General function of watching TV for stimulation	.0822*	.0384
General function of watching TV for distraction	-.0867*	-.0930
Function of watching SHOGUN for learning	-----	.0759
Function of watching SHOGUN for something to talk about	-----	.0353
Identification with main characters	-----	.1300*
Enjoyed SHOGUN	-----	.0181
Motivation for learning about other cultures	-----	.2934**
Social interaction stimulated by SHOGUN	-----	.0055
Believed the story to be true	-----	.0359
Learned something new from SHOGUN	-----	-.0319
R^2	.3598**	.4093**
(*p≤.05; **p≤.005)	(N=676)	(N=366)

Table 4

RESULTS OF REGRESSION EQUATIONS PREDICTING KNOWLEDGE

Independent Variables	standardized coefficients HISTORY Viewers B	LANGUAGE Viewers B	CUSTOMS Total N B	CUSTOMS Viewers B
Exposure to SHOGUN	.4435**	.5058**	.2740**	.2751**
Exposure to TV	-.0308	-.0064	.0035	-.0092
Sex (-male, +female)	-.0865	.0092	.0283	-.0052
Age + Grade	.0347	.0409	.0635	.0659
Number of foreign countries visited	.0030	-.0596	.0752	.0554
Number of friends and acquaintances from other countries	-.0453	.0463	.0301	.0476
Teacher discussed SHOGUN in class	.0707	.0340	.0363	-.0005
Ethnocentric values	-.0267	-.0632	-.0427	-.0256
Ethnocentric behavior	.0235	.0088	.0711	.0721
General attitude toward exposure to other cultures	.1259	.0954	.0171	.0345
General attitude toward understanding other cultures	-.1065	-.1140	.0282	-.0445
General function of watching TV for learning	-.0454	.0329	.1036*	.1019
General function of watching TV for stimulation	.0172	.0632	.1187*	.0957
General function of watching TV for distraction	-.0727	-.1133*	-.0145	-.0217
Function of watching SHOGUN for learning	.0005	-.1230	-----	-.1278
Function of watching SHOGUN for something to talk about	-.0469	-.0325	-----	.0221
Identification with main characters	.0253	.0714	-----	.0730
Enjoyed SHOGUN	-.0255	-.0081	-----	-.0946
Motivation for learning about other cultures	.1321	.1893**	-----	.0284
Social interaction stimulated by SHOGUN	.1307*	.1138*	-----	-.0163
Believed the story to be true	.0368	.0502	-----	.1377*
Learned something new from SHOGUN	-.0293	-.0079	-----	.1882*
R^2	.3488**	.4211**	.1296**	.1805**
(*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .005$)	(N=366)	(N=366)	(N=676)	(N=366)