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CHILDREN'S BOOKS FROM 1850 TO 1970

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ABSTRACT

The relationship between violence in the media and violence in the society was examined by a content analysis of five children's classics published at each five year interval from 1850 through 1970. The analysis revealed no long term trend. However, fictional violence tended to increase in wartime and to decrease during periods of economic depression. Almost all the books sampled had one or more violent episodes, with a mean of 2.1 violent acts per 15 pages. Most of the initiators and recipients of violence were white, male adults in a non-family relationship with one another. There was an increase in the proportion of women aggressors over the 120 year period. The implicit message communicated defines and labels physical violence as an appropriate instrumental act and lays out the vocabulary of motive and the script for violence in a form which can be learned by the next generation.

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Of the highly industrialized nations of the world, the United States is clearly one of the most violent (Palmer, 1972:15). Many explanations have been offered for this phenomenon (Graham and Gurr, 1969) and undoubtedly there are a number of factors which operate to maintain physical violence as a continuing aspect of American social structure. One of these factors which has been a subject of considerable controversy is the mass media.

There are those who argue that violence in the media reflects the violence of the society (discussed in Lynn, 1969). There are also those who argue that violence in the mass media and in sports serves as a safety valve, permitting aggressive drives to be drained off--the "drive discharge" and "catharsis" models (Bettelheim, 1967; Freud and Fenichel, 1945; Feshback and Singer, 1971; Lorenz, 1966). Both the "reflection" and the "catharsis" theories see violence in the media and in sports as having either a neutral or a neutralizing role. They therefore contrast sharply with theories which hold that violence in the media is part of the process of transmitting and encouraging violence. Among the latter are the "cultural pattern" theory of Sipes (1973), "social learning" theory (Bandura, 1973), and "general systems theory" (Straus, 1973).

The theoretical and methodological issues underlying this controversy are so complex that an eventual resolution will require, at the minimum, an accumulation and "triangulation" of evidence from a variety of investigations.

Historical studies of a variety of cultural forms are particularly needed. A study of children's books therefore seemed desirable because: (1) Most of the available research on the mass media and violence focuses on television. Children's books, however, may be just as or more important. Our informal observation is that the impact of a book read by a child (or to a young child by a significant person such as a parent) is extremely powerful. (2) The availability of children's books going back over one hundred years enables a degree of historical depth which would not be possible if the focus had been on any of the other mass media.

Theoretical Perspective. We assume what might be called a "dialectic" approach to the relation between literature and society. By this we mean that literary and other artistic productions reflect the culture and social organization of the society--especially its dominant strata--and, once in existence, serve to control and mold that culture and social structure. The artist must draw on the cultural heritage of his society and must appeal to important elements in the lives of his fellow citizens if the work is to be accepted. But at the same time, the work of an artist--once accepted--becomes a part of that cultural heritage and is one of many elements influencing and controlling what goes on in the society.

Some indication of the relationship between changes in society and changes in literary contents have been shown in previous content analysis studies. Straus and Houghton (1960), for example, found that appeals to the value of individual achievement expressed in a youth magazine declined slowly but steadily over the period 1925 to 1956. Their study helped to establish what many observers had noted, but for which there was no firm evidence at that time; namely, that American society has been placing less emphasis on the value of individual achievement. Content analysis may also

invalidate or question a widely held belief, as in Furstenberg's study (1966) of the presumed greater power attached to the husband-father role in 19th century America. But it is important to note that neither the studies cited nor the present study provide proof (or even a modestly rigorous test) of our assumptions about the dialectical interplay of literature and society. This would require, for example, time series data on both societal events and literary content and the use of techniques such as lagged and cross-lagged correlation. Since we will not be presenting such data, the present paper is not offered as a test of these assumptions. Our aim is more modest. It is simply to present the results of our historical analysis together with our interpretation of the trends.

Specific Objectives. One of the purposes of the study is to determine if the level of interpersonal physical violence depicted in children's books has been increasing or decreasing during the 120 year span from 1850 to 1970. No hypothesis was posed about the direction of change because the available evidence does not suggest any overall increase or decrease in the level of violence in the United States during this period (Graham and Gurr, 1969).

The second objective is to gain information on the way society defines and labels physical violence for its next generation. This will be done by finding out the extent to which violence in literature is depicted as an "expressive" act (i.e., carried out to cause pain or injury as an end in itself) or an "instrumental" act (i.e., carried out to achieve some extrinsic purpose). Similarly, the proportion of violent acts which are presented by the authors as "legitimate" and "illegitimate" is an indication of how society defines and gives evaluative labels to physical violence.

Finally, the content analysis was designed to obtain information on a number of specific aspects of the statuses, roles, motives, and emotions

of the characters involved in violence; and the precipitating conditions, outcomes, and consequences of violence. To the extent that violence in literature mirrors violence in the society, then such information provides insight into this important aspect of social structure. To the extent that literature influences society, then such information gives important clues to the "script" (Gagnon and Simon, 1973) for violent behavior which is presented to children.^{1/}

SAMPLE AND METHOD

Sample. A three step sampling process was employed. The first step was the identification of a universe of what, for want of a better term, can be called "children's classics." By this is meant simply books recognized by a literary elite of the society. We focused on this type of literature because, as Marx suggested (1964) the ideas of the elite strata tend to be the dominant and influential ideas in the society. From this perspective, it is not the moral evaluations of the population at large which gives rise to a group's definitions of reality, but mainly the evaluations of the dominant class (Parkin, 1971 :42). On the basis of these assumptions, we sought out lists of recommended and esteemed children's books, for example, the "Notable Children's Books: 1965-1972" prepared by the Book Evaluation Committee of the American Library Association.^{2/} The universe compiled by this method consists of a chronologically ordered list of all books published between 1850 and 1970 which were included in any of the lists of recommended books.

The second step of the sampling process was designed to yield five books published in 1850, and five published every fifth year thereafter, i.e., in 1855, 1860, etc.; up to and including 1970, for a total of 125

those books. For/years in which many books appeared, the sample of five was drawn by the use of random numbers. If there were less than five books in the sample year (as sometimes happened in the early years), books from the closest adjacent year were included, for example, a book published in 1856 is included in the sample for 1855. Since these are all "classic" or "recommended" books we were able to find 115 of the originally selected 125 books in nearby libraries. The missing ten books were replaced by a random selection from among the other books published during the appropriate year or years.

The third step in the sampling process consisted of using a table of random numbers to select fifteen different pages from each book. We followed this procedure to prevent longer books from disproportionately influencing the results. Our data then describe any act of interpersonal physical violence which occurred on one of the sampled pages in 125 "recommended" children's books published from 1850 through 1970.^{3/}

Coding Methods. The basic unit of analysis consists of an act of interpersonal violence, which we define as the use, or threat to use, physical force for purposes of causing pain or injury to another person. Each time such an act occurred on a sample page, a coding form was completed identifying the book in which it occurred and providing space to code the type of information identified a few paragraphs back. More specific information on each of these variables will be given when the relevant data is presented.^{4/}

FREQUENCY AND TRENDS IN VIOLENCE

Many observers of the American scene have suggested that America is a violent society. Palmer (1972:15), for example, contends that:

"Since its inception, the United States has been in the front ranks of violent societies. Born in revolution, wracked by civil war, involved in numerous wars, it has also the tradition of bloody rioting, homicide and arrest."

According to the statistics cited by Palmer, each year there are 15,000 criminal homicides, 35,000 suicides, 300,000 serious assaults and 50,000 forcible rapes, and these are said to be minimum estimates. Other authors (Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz, 1973) have suggested that these more extreme forms of physical force only "scratch the surface of a more widespread phenomenon of violence in the United States." For example, exploratory studies by Straus, et al. (1973) have brought out that physical fights between husband and wife have occurred in half to three quarters of all marriages, and physical fights between siblings are so common as to be almost universal. Is the violence that is so much a part of American life found in the literature for children?

The answer to this rhetorical question is a clear yes. More than three quarters of the 15 page "book-segments" (75 per cent) had one or more violent episodes, with a grand total of 264 such episodes. The largest number of violent episodes in a single book was 10 (in The Boys' King Arthur). The mean number of violent acts per book-segment was 2.1. However, these data understate the actual incidence of violence in children's books by a considerable amount. This is because our use of "book-segments" rather than entire books. Thus, the 75 per cent containing a violent episode will have been close to 100 per cent if we had content analyzed every page of each book. Similarly, the figure of 2.1 violent episodes per book-segment means that a 50 page book is likely to include about seven violent acts and a 150 page book about 21 violent acts.

Modalities of Violence. The variety of methods used to cause physical

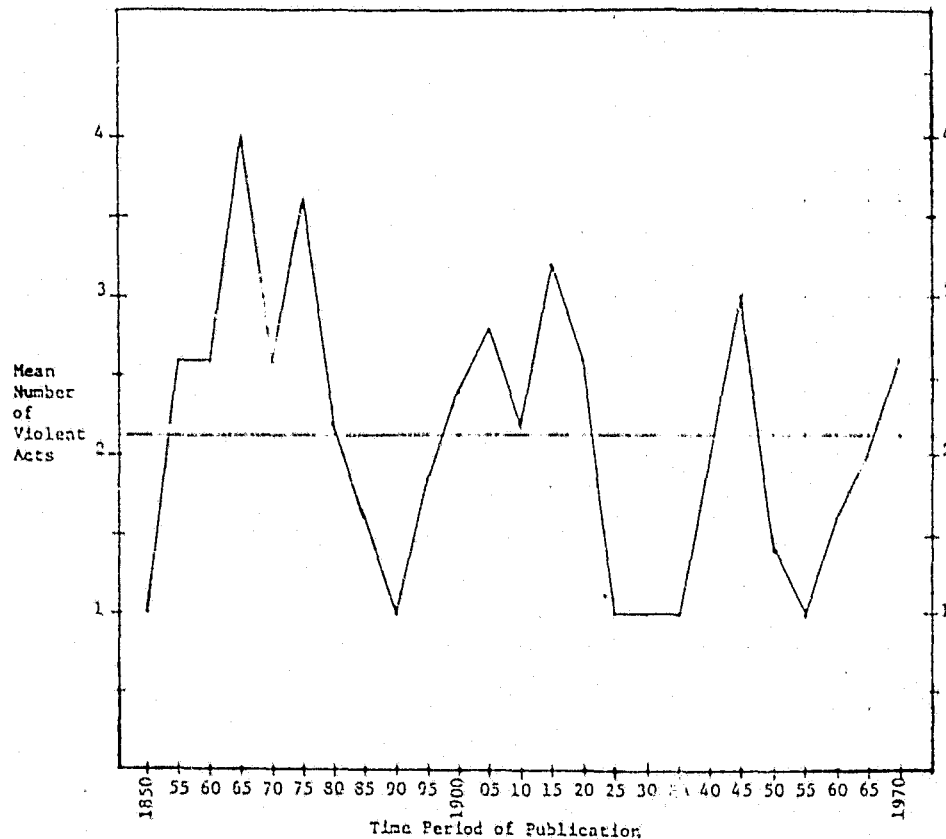


Figure 1. Mean Number of Violent Acts Per 15 Pages by Year Published

pain or injury to other depicted in these stories covers most of those known to the human race. These ranged from merely shaking someone (two such incidents) to hitting and kicking (39 incidents), to torture (6 incidents), to burning a person (11 incidents), to stabbing (43 incidents), and shooting (40 incidents). The most frequent type of violence involved pouncing on someone, grabbing them forcefully or causing them to fall (66 incidents or 25 per cent of the total. However, such relatively mild forms of violence were outnumbered by about two to one by the more severe forms such as stabbing, shooting, torture, and burning.

This fact is also reflected in the results which came from classifying each act on the basis of the physical injury which resulted. It was found that 22 per cent of the 264 cases described a physical injury, and an additional 33 per cent described a violent death. It is clear then that we are not dealing with "kid stuff." The essentially adult nature of the violence portrayed in these books will be shown more clearly later.

Historical Trends. Figure 1 gives the mean number of violent acts
Figure 1 about here

per book-segment for each five year time period. This chart reveals no long term "secular" trend. This is consistent with the conclusions of Graham and Curr (1969:629) concerning studies of actual rather than fictional violence. At the same time, there is a pattern to these highs and lows in fictional violence. The highs tend to occur when the society as a collectivity is engaged in violence, namely war. Thus, the highest points in Figure 1 occurred during the American Civil War (1865), World War I (1915), World War II (1945) and during the peak of the Viet Nam demonstrations in the United States (1970).^{5/}

The association of violence in children's books with the collective violence of the society is consistent with Henry and Short's suggestion (1954: 102) that homicide rates go up during periods of war. Also consistent with the Henry and Short study is the fact that three of the low points in Figure 1 coincide with periods of economic depression (the financial crisis of 1850, the depression of 1884, and the great depression of the 1930's). However, there were other depression periods in which violence did not decline.

FICTIONAL VIOLENCE AND SOCIAL CONTROL OF DEVIANCE

The data just presented suggests that violence is an integral part of "recommended" children's books. However, since our interest is not in children's literature per se, but in using children's books to gain a greater understanding of the role of violence in American society, from here on the focus will be on the nature of violence and its correlates. We have already presented one such correlate--the association of fictional violence with periods of national collective violence. This can be interpreted as a manifestation of the principle that artistic productions reflect the socio-cultural matrix of the artist.

At the same time, it was suggested that fiction also serves a social molding and social control function, and it is to this issue that we now turn. Durkheim (1950) and Erickson (1966) hold that moral violations are singled out for punishment and public approbrium as a means of strengthening the commitment of the society to its moral norms. It may be that the high incidence of violence in these books occurs as a vehicle to expose and punish those who use violence. Several of our findings suggest that this is not the case. In fact, the implicit message is that violence is something which is effective in solving seemingly insolvable problems.

The first evidence for this interpretation is the large proportion of the violent incidents which were classified as "instrumental violence" (defined as the use of violence to force another to carry out, or to hinder carrying out, some act): Some 72 per cent were classified instrumental, compared to 28 percent classified as "expressive violence" (defined as acts carried out to cause pain or injury as an end in itself)^{6/}. So violence in these books is overwhelmingly portrayed as useful.

A second type of evidence against the idea that the high frequency of violence presented to children is a vehicle for conveying moral disapproval of violence is found in the outcomes for each act of instrumental violence. Of the 171 instrumental violent acts which could be coded for outcome, 60 per cent were depicted as achieving the desired outcome.

Third, we classified each violent act according to whether the author of the book portrayed it as legitimate or illegitimate. Of the 261 acts which could be coded on this dimension, 48 per cent were found to be presented in a way which indicated that they were socially legitimate acts.

Finally, additional insight is gained by cross-classifying the instrumentality and the legitimacy dimensions. This revealed that most of the acts of instrumental violence (55 per cent) were depicted as socially legitimate whereas "only" 28 per cent of the expressive acts of violence were depicted as legitimate. Thus, when violence is portrayed as a means of achievement, it tends to be given the stamp of social approval by the authors of these books. But when it is portrayed as an expression of emotion, it is depicted as illegitimate. We suggest that this relationship represents the combination of the historically important emphasis on achievement in American society coming together with the national heritage of violence.

Overall, in answer to the question of whether the high frequency of violence in children's books is part of the social control process restricting violence, the evidence suggests the opposite. Specifically, the violence in these stories is typically carried out to achieve some end or solve some problem, it is usually successful and, when used for such instrumental purposes, is most often depicted as socially legitimate. Thus, to the extent that children's books are a means of social control and socialization, they contribute to the institutionalization of violence in American society.

A Vocabulary of Motives. If we accept the conclusion that these books are not part of a process by which the society exposes and labels violence and condemns its use, as a deviant act/ this does not rule out other social control and socialization functions in relation to violence. Just the opposite has already been suggested: that these books play an important role in labeling violence as legitimate and in teaching the socially appropriate occasions for its use.

As Bandura (1973) shows, aggression and violence are, for the most part, socially scripted behavior. Among the most important elements of the script for violence which are taught in these children's books are "motives" or reasons which communicate to the child the society's definition of the occasions on which violence may be used. Our initial analysis made use of 34 categories, some of which were pre-determined and the remainder added as we came across reasons which did not fit the categories. These 34 categories were then grouped under six major headings.

In designing the study, it was felt that violence in children's books would often be presented as a means of punishing or preventing socially disapproved behavior, especially on the part of children. To bend over backwards to allow this hunch a fair opportunity to be proved or disproved,

TABLE 1. MOST COMMON REASONS FOR INITIATING VIOLENCE

Reason	% (N=264)
Goal Blockage or Frustration	22
Emotional States	22
Social Control	18
Self Defense	18
War	10
No Apparent Reason	7
Other	3

we combined all coding categories which could be considered as violence used to enforce social norms or values. This included any indication that the violence was to enforce any legitimate authority, punishment for violating of aesthetic norms (table manners, etc.), lack of thrift, lying, stupidity, wickedness, greed, or the general triumph of good over evil. The "Social Control" category in Table 1 shows that all of these came

Table 1 about here

to only eighteen per cent of the total number of violent acts.

The low percentage of violence for purposes of social control does not come about because any other rationale dominates the portrayal of violence in these books. In fact, the two categories which share top place, "Goal Blockage or Frustration" and "Emotional States," include only about 22 per cent of the total cases each. The Goal Blockage category includes use of violence to remove an obstacle to attaining an end, for example, to remove a barrier to the satisfaction of hunger, to attack a person blocking attainment of a goal, to assert one's power in general. The other top category, "Emotional States," is violence motivated by some strong emotion such as shame or humiliation, revenge, or rage over having been insulted.

The Social Control, Self-Defense, and War categories combined come to 46 per cent of the motives or reasons for violence. Thus, the types of violence for which a moral case can be argued, are slightly less frequent than the combined frequency of violence to attain some other end, gratuitous violence,

or violence as a result of an emotional state such as revenge, rage, or shame. Clearly, if these are morality tales, an important part of the moral code being communicated is that of the Old Testament. By and large, these conclusions apply over the entire period from 1850 to 1970. However, there was some tendency for the Social Control category to be more common prior to 1930. In addition, one of the sub-categories occurred only in the period 1955 to 1970: violence used to sanction the "stupidity" of others. Perhaps it is the increasing bureaucratization of modern society and the attendant demands for rationality, so well described by Weber (1964), which leads to the depiction in children's literature of "sheer stupidity" (irrationality) as one of the more serious moral transgressions of our time.

Capital Punishment. Another aspect of the vocabulary of motives contained in these books concerns violent death. The fact that someone was killed in 33 per cent of the book-segments (and could well be a higher percentage if entire books had been the unit of analysis) provides an opportunity to gain insight into the social definition of killing and death which is presented to children. An important aspect of this comes to light because the death often occurs as a result of the victim having committed some moral wrong or crime. That is, although the terms "capital punishment" and "death penalty" are not used, these books graphically describe use of the death penalty. And, as Bruno Bettelheim (1973) says about "...those great American folk heroes, The Three Little Pigs" (in which the big bad wolf is boiled alive for blowing the house down):

"Children love the story... But the important lesson underlying the enjoyment and drama of the story equally captures their attention."^{2/}

We had the feeling that the books sampled contained many such examples of the implicit use of the death penalty. To check on this, the variable

indicating death or other injury to the recipient of the violence was cross tabulated with the act on the part of the recipient which precipitated the violence. The results show that capital punishment (in the sense of a character who committed a moral transgression or crime being killed as a result of his or her bad actions) occurred in 22 per cent of the instances in which a character died. Since these are happenings of great dramatic intensity, what Bettelheim calls "the important lesson underlying the enjoyment and drama of the story" is likely to make a strong impression on the child's mind. It is not at all far fetched to suggest that this is part of the basis for the widespread and seemingly irrational commitment to the death penalty by so many Americans.

RACE, SEX, AND FAMILY

Race. The racial identification of violent characters in these books and their victims does not show any striking deviation from the composition of the U.S. population. Of the initiators of aggressive acts, 30 per cent were White, 4 per cent Black, 1 per cent Oriental, 7 per cent Indian, and 8 per cent "Other." The distribution for victims of these aggressive acts is approximately the same (79, 7, 2, 5, and 6 per cent).

Sex. Most of the violence in this sample of books took place between males. Ninety one per cent of the aggressors were male, as were 86 per cent of the victims. So, violence in these books is overwhelmingly depicted as a male activity. At the same time, if the period covered by this study is one in which there has been a gradual movement toward sexual equality, then this should be reflected in a gradual increase in the proportion of

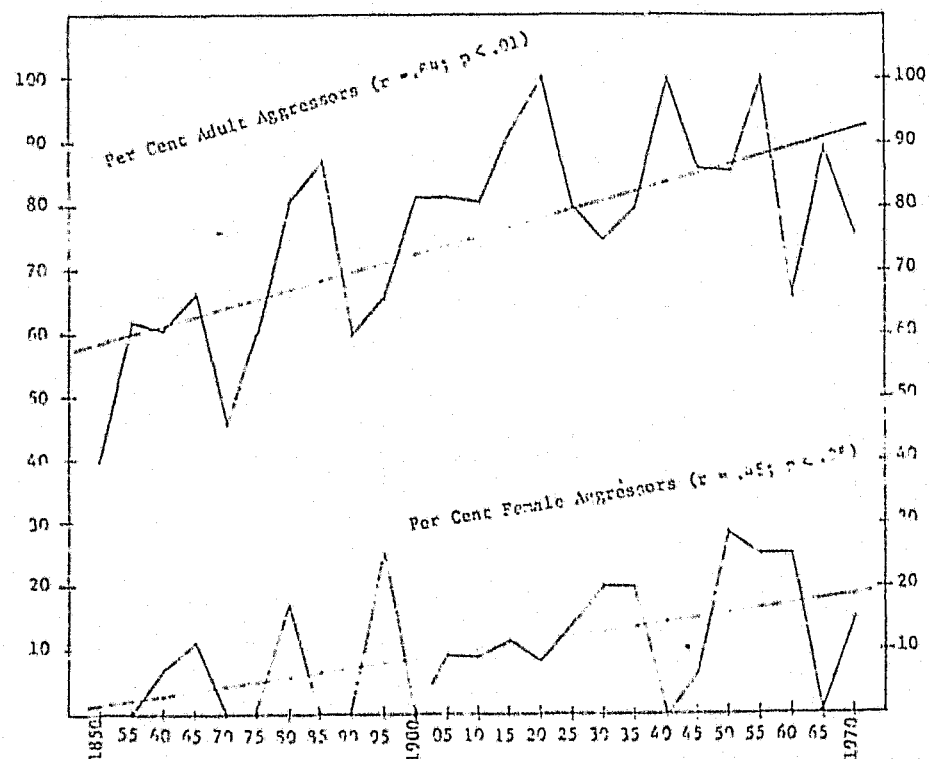


Figure 2. Regression of Per Cent Adult Aggressors and Per Cent Female Aggressors on Year of Publication

female characters who engage in "masculine" acts of all types, including aggression. The lower line of Figure 2 indicates exactly such a trend.

Figure 2 about here

Although there is a clear upward secular trend in the proportion of women aggressors, there are also many ups and downs in Figure 2. Gecas (1972) did not find any trend over time in a study of adult magazine fiction and it may be that the observed "trend" reflects only a coincidence of random fluctuations. Arguing against this is the fact that the correlation of .45 has a probability of chance occurrence of less than .05 when based on 25 time periods. In addition, visual inspection of Figure 2 suggests a cyclical pattern within the secular trend. A spectral analysis was therefore carried out to determine if there is a dependable cyclical pattern with the time series. This revealed a cycle of four time periods (20 years) which accounts for 38 per cent of the variance.

In the absence of other information, it is difficult to interpret this 20 year cycle. One clue might be that a child reading these books at age ten will have reached maturity and perhaps be writing books of his or her own in 20 years. Authors of that generation might then tend to produce works of fiction which are influenced by the depiction of female characters in the books they had read as a child. But whatever the explanation, the fact that this cyclical pattern, in combination with the upward secular trend, accounts for 58 per cent of the variance in the proportion of female aggressors suggests that more than chance factors are shown in Figure 2. In addition, the increase in female aggressors is consistent with an increase in the proportion of women arrested for various crimes, especially violent crimes (Roberts, 1971).^{8/}

Adults Versus Children. On the basis of actual and potential injuriousness, and in terms of the purposes depicted, we suggested that the violent incidents in these books are not "kid stuff." The most direct evidence for this is the fact that 80 per cent of the initiators of violent acts were adults. Nor was this very frequently softened by use of an animal or other non-human characters since 80 per cent of the aggressors were human characters. So the image presented to children in these books is primarily of adults being physically violent. Moreover, the percentage of acts in which the aggressor is an adult has gradually been increasing over the 120 year span of this study, as shown by the upper line in Figure 2.

The preponderance of adult figures as physical aggressors is an instance of fiction which does not mirror reality. This is not because adults in our society are non-violent, but because children are violent. Pushing, shoving, hitting and physical fighting are more common among children than among adults, rather than the reverse as presented in these books.^{9/} It is possible that this reversal represents one of the myths concerning violence in American middle class society, namely that violence is approved only when it is to achieve some socially worthy and valued end, such as punishment of wrongdoers, "preventative" air raids, etc.^{10/}

Family Violence. Another myth transmitted by these books is the notion that physical violence between family members is rare. There is a huge discrepancy between the normatively portrayed, idealized picture of the family as a group committed to non-violence between its members and what actually goes on. The available evidence suggests that violence rather than non-violence is typical of family relations (Steinmetz and Straus, 1973, 1974; Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz, 1973). In childhood, the persons most likely to strike a child are siblings and parents. In adulthood, the victim of assault or murder is more likely to be a family member than any other type of aggressor-victim relationship. There are informal norms, largely un verbalized, which make a marriage license also a hitting license (Gelles, 1973; Schultz, 1969).

The discrepancy between the idealized picture of the family as non-violent and the actual high frequency of physical violence between family members is clearly evident in these children's books. Ninety-one per cent of the violent incidents take place between persons who are not related. Two per cent of the violence was by fathers and two per cent by mothers. There was only a single incident of a husband hitting a wife and none in which the aggressor was a wife or grandparent. These findings are exactly parallel to those based on an informal search for instances of husband-wife violence in twenty novels for adults (Steinmetz and Straus, 1974).

The absence of husband-wife violence in adult fiction and the virtual absence of any intra-family violence in children's fiction calls for an explanation, especially since so much contemporary fiction attempts to depict reality in all its grim detail. These data do not permit an empirical answer. But we suggest that the following processes may be at work. First,

is a social control process. The society does have a commitment to familial non-violence, even though these exist side by side with more covert norms permitting and encouraging intra-family violence (Straus, 1974). Thus, there is a tendency for the cultural representatives of the society to portray families in a way which will not encourage people to violate this norm. Second is a social construction of reality process. The society has an interest in having its members define the family as a place of love and gentleness rather than a place of violence because of the tremendous importance of securing commitment to the family as a social group. The myth of family non-violence is one of the many ways that the institution of the family is strengthened and supported. It helps encourage people to marry and to stay married despite the actual stresses of family interaction. Third, and most speculatively of all, the myth of family non-violence discourages probing into the aspect of the family by members of the intellectual elite, whether novelists or sociologists. We have all been brought up on this literature and read it as adults. And apparently, having accepted its basic premises, novelists avoid writing about physical violence between family members and sociologists have practiced "selective inattention" to research on this aspect of the family. (Steinmetz and Straus, 1974).

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our study of 125 "classic" or "recommended" children's books published during the period from 1850 to 1970 revealed that not less than 75 per cent of the books described one or more actual or threatened violence. The true figure may be close to one hundred per cent because we studied only fifteen pages from each book. On the basis of these data, the typical children's book can be expected to have

2.1 violent incidents for every fifteen pages of text, in a third of which someone is killed. There is no tendency for this to have generally increased or decreased over the course of the 120 years studied. However, a marked tendency was found for interpersonal violence to be high during periods in which the society was engaged in the collective violence of war, and to be low during periods of economic difficulty.

It could be that the high incidence of violence in these stories occurs as a vehicle to express societal disapproval of violence. This would be indicated if violence tended to be presented as evil and if the perpetrators of violence were typically punished. The opposite seems to be the case. For example, "instrumental" violence is much more frequent than any other type and, in these stories, it most often resulted in the attainment of the aggressor's purpose.

Nevertheless, the evidence suggests that these books do have important socialization and social control functions. Assuming that aggression and violence are, for the most part, socially scripted behavior, these books provide scripts and role models through which generations of young Americans have learned how to behave violently. Among the elements of these complex scripts which must be learned are the type of motives that one can legitimately invoke to justify violence, the types of persons who can be violent and against whom violence is permissible, the level of socially acceptable injury, and the emotions which are appropriate or required on the part of the aggressor (for example, joy or remorse) and the victim (for example, rage, tears, or humiliation). All of these elements and their complex interrelations are depicted for the child in this sample of books.

Violence between family members is a major exception to the conclusion that children's books provide a script for violence. Almost no within-family violence was depicted, even though in the society generally, physical violence between family members is more common than between any other type of aggressor-victim relationship. This discrepancy was identified as reflecting the social mythology of familial non-violence. The myth of family non-violence, in turn reflects the high stake which society has in securing and maintaining commitment to the family as a social group.

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FOOTNOTES

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1. Even assuming that literature does influence society, a content analysis by itself can only indicate the nature of the message. It does not provide data on either the intensity of the influence nor on the specific sectors of the population which are most, least, or not at all influenced. In a complex modern society both the intensity and the extent of influence are highly problematic for the same reasons that "functional integration" in general is problematic in such societies (Cohen, 1969: 151-156).

2. The following supplementary material is available: (1) List of books analyzed. (2) List of book lists used to locate books for each of the five year periods. (3) Code and code sheet used in the content analysis. These may be obtained from the National Auxiliary Publications Service: Request document number . Enclose \$ for microfiche and \$ for

3. For 193 of the books we were able to obtain information on the approximate age-of-child range for which the book was considered suitable. We coded the midpoint of the age range for each book. These median ages ranged from five books with a recommended age of six years to one book for 16 year olds. The mean of the median ages was 10.8 years and the mode was 10 years (26 per cent of the cases).

4. Although we coded only acts of interpersonal violence which occurred on the pages drawn in the sample, as much of the rest of the book was read as was necessary to determine such things as the social characteristics of the actors and their motives. A copy of the detailed content analysis code may be obtained from the National Auxiliary Publications Service. See footnote 2.

Two different coders carried out the content analysis. A test of the reliability of the content analysis procedure was carried out three days after the actual coding had begun. All books coded that day were done by both coders. For the 360 codings compared (10 books, 36 variables per book), there was an 87% agreement.

As a means of preventing differences between coders from influencing the trend analysis, each coder analyzed only two or three of the books for a given year. Therefore, possible "drift" or changes in coding standards which might have occurred as the coding proceeded would not bias the time series analysis.

5. It happens that none of the books published during the peak years were "war stories". Also, as will be shown later, little of the violence portrayed in any of these books is the killing or wounding of an enemy soldier.

6. Our coding categories were actually primarily expressive, versus primarily instrumental, since both components may be present. See Straus, Gelles and Steinmetz (1973) for a discussion of this and related issues in identifying types of violence. The coding of each act as either primarily instrumental or expressive was carried out separately from the coding of such variables as the specific reasons for initiating violence (see Table 1) and there is therefore a small discrepancy between the two variables. Specifically, if the two non-instrumental categories are subtracted from Table 1, this produces 71 rather than 72 per cent instrumental acts.

7. Bettelheim was referring to teaching the work-ethic in this quotation but we feel it is equally applicable to the violence-ethic which is also presented.

8. Of course, as those familiar with crime statistics realize, this does not necessarily mean that women have engaged in more violent acts. It is quite possible that changes in the social definition of women similar to those occurring in these children's books also characterize the perception of women by the police and public prosecutors, leading to a growth in arrest rate rather than a growth in incidence of actual violence.

9. However, if the unit of violence is homicide and assaults which enter the official statistics, then the peak age is the middle to late 20's.

10. Asserting that this is one way in which children's literature reflects ideal rather than actual social patterns points up the weakness of the "dialectical interplay" theory, namely that it is untestable: nothing can refute it. Correspondence can be claimed as an instance of support of the "reflection" process and a discrepancy can be claimed as part of the "influence" process. This criticism also applies to the section which follows on "Family Violence." Nevertheless, as Cohen (1969: 6) notes, untestable theories can have heuristic value. In the present case it sensitizes us to finding instances which, in our judgment, reflect one or the other of these two processes and to speculate about the underlying reasons. If these speculations point to important social processes, it can be said that the theory has heuristic value, and this would be especially so if it led to subsequent research to test these speculations.

END

7. 11/25/1944