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Correlating Professional Wrestling on Television with Children's Views of Aggression

David Ozmun
Ouachita Baptist University, ozmund@obu.edu

For years researchers have been examining the relationship between violent content on television and aggression in viewers. Studies support the hypothesis that media violence is positively correlated with aggressive behavior (American Psychological Association, 1985; Paik and Comstock, 1994). Longitudinal studies have shown that long-term heavy exposure is significantly associated with later aggression and restlessness in elementary school students, even with controls in place (Huesmann, Lagerspetz and Eron, 1984; Singer, Singer and Rapaczynski, 1984). Toleration or acceptance of real-life aggression, especially in children, is another effect supported by research (Molitor and Hirsch, 1994).

Added to all this is the general agreement among scholars that children are of particular concern because of their developing cognitive, emotional and moral skills (MacBeth, 1997; Potter, 1998). Krcmar and Valkenburg (1999) studied children's moral reasoning after viewing media violence, and found negative relationships in children who watch more fantasy content. In addition, older children may be more likely to view aggression as a suitable means of handling problems (Huesmann and Guerra, 1997). Such evidence led representatives from the American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, American Academy of Pediatrics, American Psychological Association and American Medical Association to sign a joint statement agreeing that "viewing entertainment violence can lead to increases in aggressive attitudes, values and behavior, particularly in children" (American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 2000, p. 1).

The vulnerability of children to potentially negative effects is especially pertinent because of their lack of stable normative beliefs about aggression in the early years of learning (Huesmann and Guerra, 1997). Children may identify more with aggressive characters and

believe that television offers an accurate portrayal of life (Eron, 1982). They may not have the necessary background knowledge and experience to adequately consider the context of media violence (Dorr, 1986). Yet television remains a prime source of information and entertainment for children (Liebert and Sprafkin, 1988). This medium, like no other, captivates children in their formative years of elementary schooling, and thus helps shape their long-term interests and life-long patterns (Winick and Winick, 1979; Van der Voort, 1986). Fortunately television does not act alone (Gunter, 1985; Surette, 1994), and parents can play a vital role in mediating between television's content and their children's potential for aggression, desensitization and moral reasoning (Krcmar, 1998; Nathanson, 1999).

The television content often used as an independent variable in studies is an amalgamation of either fantasy-related or reality-based programming (Singer and Singer, 1986; Van der Voort, 1986; Aluja-Fabregat and Torrubia-Beltri, 1997; Nathanson, 1999). Because of its humor, attractiveness and lack of real consequence of violence to perpetrators, a cartoon may be sufficient for increasing aggressive inclinations even to fifth and sixth grade boys (Nathanson and Cantor, 2000). What happens when the content producers attempt to portray an amalgamation of both fantasy and reality? Do children recognize a dividing line? Do they assimilate illusory components into their schemas of reality? And are there implications for children's formation of moral standards concerning the use and toleration (if not promotion) of aggressive or violent behavior?

Professional Wrestling on Television

Such is the quandary placed on parents, teachers and other adult supervisors of children by the continued success of "professional wrestling" and its scripted mayhem. While the

spectacle of modern professional wrestling as a performance goes back to the early 1900s (Rickard, 1999), cable television fueled the incarnations of near-nightly television series,[1] replete with "soap opera-like story lines that extend outside the ring" (Consoli, 1999, p. 25). In the spring of 2000, two books written by and about wrestlers reached the New York Times' best seller list.[2]

Very little research has focused on this genre of programming, most of it qualitative. Freedman (1983) and later Mazer (1990) explored the subculture of the wrestlers' milieu. In the aftermath of several incidents of fighting seemingly modeled after televised wrestling, Lemish (1998) surveyed Jewish elementary school principals and students in Israel. Most other studies have been historical and cultural (see Ortizano, 1989; Campbell, 1996; and Rickard, 1999).

One of the primary producers of wrestling programming, Vince McMahon of the World Wrestling Federation (WWF) has admitted that wrestling's position on the fantasy-reality continuum is firmly entrenched in fabrication, assuring state athletic commissions that matches are scripted and outcomes fixed (Leland, 2000; Schlosser, 1998). To a sample of Gallup respondents in the summer of 1999, the view was slightly different. Although only 17 percent regarded pro-wrestling as a sport, the percentage of believers grew to almost 29 percent among African-Americans and other non-whites. And almost a fifth of the respondents still don't believe (or don't know) that most professional wrestling matches outcomes are pre-arranged. The survey only sampled adults aged 18 or older, but television ratings data suggest males between the ages of 12 and 24 make up a sizeable portion of WWF and World Championship Wrestling (WCW) cable audiences. WCW asserts that one-quarter of its audience are under 18 years of age (Holmstrom, 1998).

The programming content is marketed as family entertainment, and production techniques are designed to resemble sporting telecasts (Shapiro, 1989). Professional wrestling programs regularly filled the top cable spots in each week's cable rankings, and was broadcast network UPN's top rated show through much of the 1990s. During the time of this study, for kids under 12 years of age, UPN's "WWF Smackdown" ranked 12th among the top broadcast prime-time programs, and among teenagers under 18 years, the program was ranked 6th. On basic cable, the top three programs for teens 12-17 were wrestling (Kids and Teens TV, 2000). The business of wrestling goes beyond television content, with both the WWF and WCW marketing products like compact discs, videogames, sports videos, posters and, of course, the live events (Leland, 2000). Wrestling programming reaches television homes in over one hundred countries (Schlosser, 1998).

The Study

The objectives of this study are to compare the Gallup poll results with a purposive sample of 4th, 5th and 6th grade students in three communities, with the goal of exploring perspectives toward aggression by children who regularly expose themselves to professional wrestling. Also of interest is the assessment by pre-adolescents of pro wrestling's authenticity, and whether race is a factor in this regard. If, as social learning theorists maintain (Bandura, 1973; Van der Voort, 1986), context mediates attention to and learning from models, further investigation is warranted, since the majority of professional wrestlers portray anti-social behavior and sentiments. Wrestlers are coached to project an attitude of aggression, disdain for authority, and morally ambiguous character (Kuczynski, 1999). As the editor-in-chief of "The

Wrestler Magazine" puts it, "Everybody in wrestling today is really a bad guy. The issue is which bad guys are popular and which bad guys are hated" (Lenker, quoted in Holmstrom, 1998, p. 13).

Several studies have suggested that the ages of 10 to 12 mark a period of pattern-setting and the beginning of a growing congruence with adults in distinguishing fantasy from reality (Winick and Winick, 1979). The American Psychological Association (1993) reports that one "promising area for intervention efforts is in identifying and strengthening the protective factors that keep the vast majority of youth from turning to violence as a response to social conditions" (p. 6). This study attempts to ascertain whether a sufficient percentage of youth holds beliefs counterintuitive to wrestling's outlandish spectacle that merits adult interdiction. Another objective is to examine children's attitudes concerning certain types of behavior as they relate to wrestling viewing habits.

This study tests four hypotheses, based on an understanding that pre-adolescents have begun to establish constructs for understanding television that are somewhat congruent with adult interpretations (Dorr, 1980). Yet this striving to make sense of television content, particularly when production elements include extreme characterizations of violence, fantasy, humor, drama and identification with performers, may not yet have coalesced into what will maintain for these

individuals an equilibrium between different depictions of violence, as well as other content (Cantor and Nathanson, 1997). Therefore, this study explores whether

H1: A higher percentage of the study's respondents will say that they are fans of professional wrestling, consider professional wrestling a sport, and believe most wrestling matches are not fixed, than reported by adults polled by Gallup,

Based on responses to the Gallup poll, it is possible race may be a contributing factor in the popularity of professional wrestling. Non-whites also were more likely to consider it a sport, with matches that are not fixed beforehand. Thus

H2: A greater percentage of non-white students will say they are fans of professional wrestling, will think of it as a sport, and will say that matches are not fixed, compared with white students.

Based on the premise that frequency of viewing violence is associated with more aggressive attitude and behavior, this study predicts that

H3: The greater the frequency of weekly viewing of professional wrestling, the more aggressive the response given to hypothetical situations.

H4: The greater the frequency of weekly viewing of professional wrestling, the stronger the beliefs promoting certain violence- and television-related assertions.

The study also explores potential predictors of higher wrestling viewership and popularity by asking

R1: Are there demographic characteristics that correspond with the number of days tuning into professional wrestling on television?

Method

The superintendents of the three communities' school systems provided the names of principals at public schools serving the target grades. In the largest city, with a population of 175 thousand, two public schools are centrally located within the city, providing socioeconomic diversity (see Chaffee, Ward and Tipton, 1970). In the smaller cities of 32 thousand and 10 thousand, all public-school (and age-appropriate) students were asked to participate. One private school was also included in the sample, located in a suburban area of the largest city. The primary researcher discussed with principals and teachers at each school how to administer the instrument and handle questions, for the sake of consistency and concordance. The students were told that the survey was designed to learn something of their use of television. Only students who returned a signed permission slip from a parent or legal guardian participated in the study.

Although only one Designated Market Area (DMA), as defined by the Nielsen Company, comprised this study, Gallup's regional breakdown of respondents indicate close similarities from the four regions listed (east, midwest, south, and west). For example, one question asked, "Now, thinking about World Championship Wrestling, The World Wrestling Federation and other professional wrestling that you may see on TV, are you a fan of professional wrestling, or not?" Among those who responded "no, not a fan," the percentage was the same for three regions, with 83 percent. Only the midwest found 80 percent answering "no."

During the time of this study, the ratings for the broadcast of "WWF Smackdown" on UPN registered a 3.8 rating with a 14 share[3] among ages 2-11, and a 6.5 rating/20 share for those 12-17 years of age (Kids and Teens TV, p. 36). During the same seasonal period, the program for the UPN program in this study's DMA recorded a 4.3 rating/10 share for ages 6-11, and 8.6

rating/22 share for the 12-17 age group. The DMA that includes the communities of this study was ranked 57 out of 210 (Nielsen Media Research, 2000).

Findings

A total of 709 students filled in most of the survey instruments. Permission slips included assurances of confidentiality and absence of private details, and there were multiple opportunities to bring back signed slips from parents. Nevertheless the response rate was low, at approximately 29 percent. Despite the efforts of the researcher and teachers to provide clear instructions and assistance in completing the surveys, many instruments had one or more blanks. If a response indicated a lack of understanding, the information was excluded from data analysis.[4]

Univariate, descriptive measures describing the sample appear in Table 1. The breakdown by grade among students was almost equal. With 9 respondents refusing to identify themselves by gender, females made up 57 percent of the sample, and 41.7 were males. Most of the respondents were between the ages of 9 and 12, although there were a few exceptions. The majority of respondents, 64.7 percent, were white. Students who identified themselves as African-American comprised 26.4 percent, with another 2.8 percent who wrote in the word "mixed" in the blank alongside the word "other." In addition, 3.7 percent circled "other" without additional description. Two percent described themselves as Hispanic, and four respondents did not answer the question.

There were two other demographic questions asked of the students, concerning television. More respondents indicated their family subscribes to cable, 88 percent, than the general population.[5] Finally, students totaled the number of televisions in their home. About a third of the

students said there were three television sets in their home, and another quarter of the sample had four sets. Twenty percent had five or more.

The students were given several classifications of average daily television viewing time. Results suggest most perceptions of viewing to be either greater than two hours a day or under an hour (73.5 percent). When it comes to professional wrestling, the mean for number of days a week that the respondents tune in one of the programs is 1.58. Since the percentage of respondents in this study who receive cable networks is higher than the general population, the mean for wrestling viewership may also be higher than the total population.

The first hypothesis predicted the responses of the students in this study would eclipse those of a Gallup poll conducted one year prior to the administration of this survey, when the questions pertained to adults' feelings about professional wrestling. For efficiency in survey design, the questions were slightly different from the telephone poll, so only the items with comparable wording and connotation were analyzed. The results offer affirmation in all three questions. When asked whether they were a fan of pro wrestling, 52 percent of the students said they were not; of Gallup's total respondents, 82 percent said no, they were not a fan.[6] Among those who responded that, yes they were a fan, kind of, or somewhat of a fan, 44.4 percent of the students contrasted with only about 17.5 percent from the Gallup poll, $\chi^2 (3, \underline{N} = 1694) = 185.5$, $\underline{p} < .005$. In similar fashion, only 48.9 percent of the students did not regard professional wrestling as a sport, while 81 percent of Gallup's adult respondents said they would not consider it a sport, $\chi^2 (2, \underline{N} = 1736) = 201.9$, $\underline{p} < .005$. And when asked if they would say that professional wrestling matches are fixed (already decided before they begin), the students who said no comprised 10.6 percent of the sample. The Gallup poll asked if they would say that most, a few

or not any professional wrestling matches are fixed. The percentage of those who said "not any" was only two, χ^2 (3, N = 1735) = 96.5, p < .005.

It also appeared from the Gallup poll that race could be a variable in the popularity of professional wrestling. Gallup compared whites with non-whites, and because the expected cell count was too low for 60 percent of the cells in frequency comparisons, all student respondent categories other than white were collapsed into one variable before analysis began. Comparing the data from Gallup and the survey of students, H2 was supported in all three instances. Among whites, 19.9 percent classified themselves as fans, compared with 51.3 percent of non-whites. In addition, 64.2 percent of whites said they were not fans, while only 28.6 percent of non-whites said no, χ^2 (3, N = 662) = 86.9, p < .005. Wrestling was not a sport to 57 percent of the white students, but only 34.1 percent of the non-whites agreed. Those whites who said that "yes, it is" or at least "kind of" a sport made up 35.6 percent of the responses. Again it was higher for non-whites, totaling 59 percent, χ^2 (3, N = 704) = 51.9, p < .005. Finally, as to whether matches are fixed or not, a mere six percent of whites felt professional wrestling matches were not already decided beforehand. This compares with 18 percent of non-whites. When asked if matches were fixed, 82.5percent of the white students circled either "yes," or "kind of," compared with only 69.4 percent of non-whites, χ^2 (3, N = 703) = 25.3, p < .005.

The study's third hypothesis predicted that increased viewing of professional wrestling on a weekly basis would predict more aggressive responses to hypothetical situations presented in the survey. Four questions in the survey asked the students to project how they would respond if: you were standing in line and a kid cut in front of you, someone took something of yours from your desk, someone was saying bad things to you or teasing you, and someone pushed or shoved

you around. For each question, six possibilities were offered. The first suggested ignoring, just letting it go or letting them have it. The second response would be to tell the teacher, followed by either yelling, talking back or telling them to stop. The fourth and most aggressive response suggested shoving or getting something back that was taken. All students were offered the options of "something else" and "don't know."

Since Lemish (1998) found that it's a mistake to automatically reject girls from the population of wrestling fans, controls for gender (in addition to race) were introduced into H3 and H4[7]. Table 2 displays the results of non-parametric correlations among the four groups and the entire sample. Using as a guide Paik and Comstock's (1994) meta-analysis of television violence and antisocial behavior studies, a correlation coefficient near .19 would compare with their sampling of published surveys. Controlling for age-group, their average coefficient for ages 6 to 11, was .21. The authors judged these moderate. Excluding those who responded by circling "don't know" or "something else," three of the hypothetical situations in this study indicated significant correlation in three situations.. Although the r for non-white males in each situation was higher than those for white males, none of the associations were statistically significant. Interestingly, non-white females with higher viewership of wrestling indicated a willingness to respond more aggressively than other groups when confronted with someone cutting in line or teasing them. Overall, the results indicate that, from the standpoint of the students' perceptions of their viewing habits and behavioral judgment, there is a moderate relationship between wrestling viewership and aggression. Of course, it is unknown what other options the students might have provided after choosing "something else."

The fourth hypothesis involved a semantic differential scale, from one to five, measuring the students' belief in the truth of a statement, ranging from "not true at all" to "very true." Table 3 shows the correlation coefficients between weekly viewership of wrestling and the strength of belief in the truth of each statement. Compared with the results of the H3, there was stronger positive association with all but two of the cases. A fairly good argument could be made that increased viewing of professional wrestling correlates with certain opinions that may encourage aggressive behavior in pre-teens. When broken down by race and gender, it is interesting to note a higher correlation among white females than non-white females and white males when responding to the statement "It is okay to hit someone if they hit you first." More promising was the insubstantial negative correlation between viewership of wrestling and feeling badly when someone gets hurt on television, along with the insignificant association between exposure to wrestling and learning how to act with others..

The research question asked whether certain demographic and psychographic characteristics were associated with respondents' weekly wrestling viewership. Demographic variables included age, grade, gender, school system, hometown population and race. Psychographic variables included how much time the students report spending each day with TV, how often they watch with their parents and friends, how many TV sets are in the home and whether their home is connected to cable.

There were no statistically significant differences in the mean number of days viewing professional wrestling among different ages and grades, nor was there a difference among non-white ethnic groups. As with the other dependent variables, males ($\underline{M} = 1.84$, $\underline{SD} = 2.46$) were more frequent viewers than females ($\underline{M} = 1.38$, $\underline{SD} = 2.18$), $\underline{t}(589) = 2.38$, $\underline{p} < .05$. Cable service

affected the number of days students viewed wrestling, with those who had cable (M = 1.65, SD = 2.38) averaging almost twice as much as those without (M = .89, SD = 1.54), $t(589) = 2.38$, $p < .05$. This was expected, since professional wrestling is available more often on cable than on broadcast television.

As it was with the popularity of wrestling, the difference between the average weekly viewing is most apparent between whites (M = .98, SD = 1.91) and non-whites (M = 2.77, SD = 2.58), $t(594) = 9.53$, $p < .01$. Public school students also watched more often (M = 2.06, SD = 2.49) than their private school peers (M = .41, SD = 1.26), $t(596) = 8.32$, $p < .01$. Interestingly, neither the largest city (M = .6, SD = 1.4) nor smallest of the three (M = 1.58, SD = 2.3) claimed the highest average viewership, but the city of 35,000 (M = 2.67, SD = 2.65), $F(2, 594) = 54.54$, $p < .01$, whose students averaged over four times that of the city with a population of 175 thousand.

The psychographic information offered correlation analysis, using ordinal data. Total viewing time did indicate some association with viewership of wrestling ($r = .334$, $p < .001$, $N = 597$). In addition, there was minimal correlation with the frequency with which the respondents watched television in the presence of either parents ($r = .159$, $p < .001$, $N = 585$) or friends ($r = .103$, $p < .05$, $N = 594$). There was no statistically significant correlation with the number of television sets are in the house.

Discussion

Professional wrestling provides ample fodder for critics of television violence who fear that the lure of outlandish behavior, antisocial themes and potentially dangerous performances draw young viewers like moths to a flame. Even without the profane tirades, disregard for

referees and invidious tactics to attain victory, the basic premise of professional wrestling revolves around the inflicting and absorbing of seemingly catastrophic physical punishment. This study, at first blush, appears to confirm the worst of parents' fears. To a great degree, all four hypotheses were supported, with non-white adolescents appearing even more susceptible to wrestling's bait. There appear to be many children who do not discriminate between wrestling's artificial spectacle and legitimate sports telecasts. The correlation of higher viewership with more aggressive tendencies seems to corroborate the feelings offered by the signers of the July, 2000 statement on the impact of entertainment violence on children–that such findings "point overwhelmingly to a causal connection between media violence and aggressive behavior in some children (American Academy of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry, 2000, p. 1).

This study's methods do not permit, as might a longitudinal or experimentally designed study, inferences of causation. Even those methods have their limitations (see Martin and Smith, 1997). Yet even with the most conspicuous of correlations, in which respondents who say they watch TV with lots of fighting and also watch more professional wrestling, the coefficient does not exceed .50. For some (see Eron, 1982) the threshold of concern seems to hover near a coefficient of .20. With that standard, the beliefs of the students in this study bolster the conventional wisdom. Although they may say they don't watch television to learn how to act with others, many who watch more wrestling nevertheless think fighting is a good way to get what you want, and feel it is okay to hit someone if they hit you first. Perhaps most alarmingly, the higher the viewership, the more likely fighting on television is regarded as humorous.

Still, the anxiety such conclusions might generate must be tempered with the respondents' own assessment of their likely behavior in threatening situations. In none of the

hypothetical predicaments presented them did respondents' choices (excluding those who elected to circle "something else" or "don't know) meet Paik and Comstock's (1994) correlation. When controlled for race, the correlations were even weaker for non-white respondents than whites, an interesting finding in light of the higher percentage of non-whites who see professional wrestling as a sport and see themselves as fans. This can provide some comfort from the fear that the violence may become part of the respondent's consciousness, serving as a model for action when the inevitable confrontations of daily life arise.

If, as the research insinuates, the adolescents are between two and three times more likely than adults to be fans of wrestling and consider it a sport, parents and other caregivers should discuss the authenticity of it all. Since the facade of competitive legitimacy was flattened by no less than the World Wrestling Federation's chief promoter, Vince McMahon, there is no reason (if there ever was) for adults to encourage the false notion that a wrestling match's outcome is actually determined through athletic competition. Since some studies have proposed that the type of violence, the portrayal of violence and the purpose of violence must be considered as separate and distinct predictor variables, educating children about the theatrical rather than athletic nature of professional wrestling may result in lower correlations with aggression.

Exposure alone is not a sufficient consideration to conclude that viewing leads to aggression. A future study could compare the aggressive tendencies of those who see wrestling as a staged performance with the true believers. Other measures for future study should include additional family viewing habits, parental oversight and other viewing variables in association with or mediating wrestling viewership.

In addition, as many have pointed out, the number and influence of variables that correlate with aggressive behavior far exceed those included in this study. Although using the adolescents' themselves to collect data for personal recollection may be preferable to peers or parents, children between the ages of 7 and 12 should not be expected to offer adequate responses to certain questions of socio-economic status, extroversion and other personality dispositions, IQ, and multifarious social constructs. However, for a study to be considered comprehensive in its analysis of television and this population, many of these variables must be included.

Finally, with the need for parental permission before a student may participate, results will be skewed, regardless of the randomness of the sampling. It is plausible that respondents in this study have parents who are more active in the educational activities and programs of their children, and with their television viewing habits. A study with more resources to survey both parents and children, utilizing more researchers and time, can take this exploratory study to the next level. Regardless of how professional wrestling evolves on television, it isn't going away anytime soon, and it seems to have found an audience among young people. Adults ignore it at their peril.

Endnotes

1.Besides the broadcast network, UPN, cable networks which aired a regular schedule of wrestling included USA, TNT, and TBS. UPN also offered one hour of wrestling each Saturday morning during the period of this study.

2.The Rock Says, by Joe Layden, was the top selling book the week of March 19, 2000. The other book, Have a Nice Day, by Mike Foley, reached number 5 that same week.

3.Ratings estimates are factored as the number of households/people watching a station/network as a percentage of all households that own televisions in the area being measured--the potential audience. Shares constitute the number of households/people watching a station/network as a

percentage of those households with television sets turned on at the time being measured–the actual audience. (See http://www.nielsenmedia.com).

4.For example, one question asked the students to tell how many days a week they watch certain types of programs. If they answered anything higher than 7, or if they simply checked the box, their answers were discarded.

5.According to Nielsen Media Research (2000, p. 13), the percentage of total households in the United States subscribing to cable was 76.

6.With each question, the pollster began "Now thinking about World Championship Wrestling, World Wrestling Federation and other Professional Wrestling that you may see on TV..."

7. Among girls, about 57 percent said they were not fans, 51 percent did not consider it a sport, and only 10.4 said no matches were fixed. There were statistically significant differences ($p < .01$) with boys on all three measures.

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Table 1
Demographics

	Frequency	Percent
Grades		
4th	232	32.7
5th	241	34.0
6th	236	33.3
Gender		
Female	404	57.0
Male	296	41.7
Did not answer	9	1.3
Ethnicity		
White	458	64.7
African-American	187	26.4
Hispanic	14	2.0
Other	26	3.7
Mixed	20	2.8
Did not answer	4	.5
Cable TV in home		
Yes	624	88.0
No	72	10.2
Did not answer	13	1.8
Number of TV sets in home		
1	47	6.6
2	119	16.8
3	227	32.0
4	173	24.4
5 or more	142	20.0
Time each day watching TV		
Less than 30 minutes	67	9.4
30 minutes to 1 hour	181	25.5
1 and a half hours	94	13.3
2 hours	92	13.0
More than 2 hours	274	38.6

Table 2

Hypothetical Situation Correlations with
Number of Days Exposed to Professional Wrestling on Television (Spearman's Rho)

	All	Boys (white)	Boys (non-white)	Girls (white)	Girls (non-white)
Aggressiveness of Response to someone cutting in line	.292** N=432	.134 n=148	.246 n=55	.134 n=128	.242* n=101
Aggressiveness of Response to someone taking item from desk	-.008 N=507	-.017 n=188	.249 n=54	.111 n=151	-.120 n=114
Aggressiveness of Response to someone teasing you	.200** N=513	-.018 n=187	.232 n=51	.111 n=161	.263** n=114
Aggressiveness of Response to someone shoving you	.263** N=521	.163 n=195	.231 n=50	.111 n=164	.188* n=112

Table 3
Beliefs/Feelings Correlations with
Number of Days Exposed to Professional Wrestling on Television (Spearman's Rho)

	All	Boys (white)	Boys (non-white)	Girls (white)	Girls (non-white)
I often watch TV to learn how to act with others.	-.005 N=594	-.022 n=183	-.019 n=67	.062 n=212	.022 n=123
I watch TV with lots of fights and fighting	.470** N=590	.466** n=181	.346** n=66	.422** n=211	.359** n=123
I feel badly when someone gets hurt on TV	-.117** N=598	-.182* n=183	-.242* n=67	-.036 n=213	-.054 n=126
Sometimes fighting is a good way to get what you want.	.311** N=594	.326** n=182	.294* n=66	.118 n=211	.255** n=126
It's okay to hit someone if they hit you first.	.399** N=596	.330** n=183	.231 n=66	.279** n=213	.191* n=125
It's funny to watch people get into fights on TV	.389** N=598	.356** n=183	.347** n=67	.339** n=213	.237** n=126

*p < .05; **p <.01