

# Do Children's Media Content Overstep the Mark? An Analysis of Gender-Based Problematic, Evil and Criminal Themes Presented in Children's Cartoon Shows

Attia Zulfiqar<sup>1</sup>, Qasim Mahmood<sup>2</sup>, Adiba Akhtar<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Assistant Professor, Department of Media & Communication Studies, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.

<sup>2</sup>Assistant Professor, Department of Media & Communication Studies, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.

<sup>3</sup>Lecturer, Department of Media & Communication Studies, National University of Modern Languages, Islamabad.

Correspondence: [qmahmood@numl.edu.pk](mailto:qmahmood@numl.edu.pk)<sup>2</sup>

## ABSTRACT

**Aim of the Study:** In today's world, media and technology have become central components for children so far their entertainment is concerned. Electronic media especially children's television entertainment programs have been facing strong criticism for their negative impacts on young viewers. The current paper was designed to explore the gender-based criminal and evil activities, bad manners and problematic themes in children cartoon shows.

**Methodology:** A total of 34 hours long data containing 150 episodes (N=150) of three channels namely Disney, Cartoon Network and Nickelodeon were randomly collected.

**Findings:** Using qualitative and quantitative content analysis overall bad Manners occurred at 44 % (n=232/523) almost 7 activities per hour (n= 34 hours) and 3 activities per episode (n=150). Evil activities at 37% (n=195/523) is at the second number with an average of 5 incidents per hour (n=34hours) and 2 incidents per episode (n=150) followed by criminal activities at 18% (n=96 /523) with an average of 3 incidents per hour (n=34hours).

**Conclusion:** The study found that the male characters were more dominantly shown in displaying different criminal, evil and problematic attitudes as compared to female characters. Female characters were emotionally and physically under pressure to carry on the evil activities commanded by male characters.

**Keywords:** Entertainment, Television, Children Cartoon, Gender, Problematic Themes, Criminal Activities, Bad Manner, Evil Activities.

## Introduction

This world is all about adapting dynamics and accepting the new patterns. Ever since the world stepped into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, a child's life seems to be occupied by electronic world where a major advancement is observed regarding the use of latest technology and media dependency. TV is the one that grasped the attentions for a major span of time until it faced replacements by upgraded versions like smartphones,

## Article History

Received:  
January 03, 2022

Revised:  
March 25, 2023

Accepted:  
March 28, 2023

Published:  
March 30, 2023

computers, iPad, iPod, e-mails, texting and internet. Such progressions have altered ways of life by lowering

parental supervision to the extent where there is an unrestricted exposure to the content. This scenario has unbolted jeopardy for the young minds creating a threat to their mental health by letting them in subjection with the violent content. This is a matter of great deal (Field, 2000).

The entertainment industry is branching its productions widely on regional, local, national and most importantly on global levels engulfing its consumers in the name of amusement and subduing the third world countries culturally, economically and ethically targeting younger minds which makes a larger threat to the respective communities. (Waterella, 2001).

The addiction for the consumption of entertainment specially to ease out life and bring joy has extended pessimistic growth in the developing world, especially children, as their fresh minds are processing the world and its processes through the media they are exposed to, by demeaning classical culture, diverting attention and promoting violence. Hence, promotion to such scenarios has a very comforting role in destabilizing communities. (Blakley, 2001).

‘The Future of Children’ is research that reveals the uncensored exposure to the media content is the actual point that sparks constructive or destructive behavioural patterns in younger audience. It is misled when watch time is held accountable neglecting the themes’ representation in the formulated content. Instead of trying to control child’s media content, promotion of ideas circulating around violence, reflexive erotic content and indecent speech should be controlled and content creation should invest in themes regulating altruism, pro-social behaviours, mannerism, politeness, tolerance and empathetic conduct. (The Future of Children, 2008).

Engagement and notion of real-world schemes and situations is correlated with media coated reception of information. (Bandura, 2001). The department of electronic media especially the one focusing on content designed for the younger population’s consumption, receives a heavy censure as it is believed to cause a harming effect on child’s cognitive and psychological build-up. Researchers have worked keenly in order to set the spotlight of creativity, in this environment, to well-constructed scenarios that combine information with relative age in order to eliminate the undesired adoption of behavioural patterns to the possible existing extent. (Huston. Wright, 1983). A considerable number of discussions are impaired with the negative marks carried by personalities of consumers resultant to media exhaustion. (Bryant & Miron, 2004). This analysis study is a simple approach to inspect the ethical and unethical themes’ representation in children cartoon shows. The theoretical framework is structured with the inspiration taken from theory of framing that discusses the presence of ethical and unethical frame representation accompanied by the gender’s involvement in cartoon shows.

In 1960’s Albert Bandura explains in his theory of social learning, that humans’ idea of response and act is devised from monitoring his surroundings (i.e., people). The present world scenarios are hosted by the captivity of mass media controlling information and entertainment flow. Engagement and notion of real-world schemes and situations is correlated with media coated reception of information. (Bandura, 2001).

The major human behavioural patterns including thinking process and values are modelled by observational learning leading them to process the formation of behaviours that are later enacted. (Bandura, 2013, p.33.). This is what the modelling theory explains. Imitation of inspired behaviours adopted from media’s portrayed characters is strengthened on a regular basis and creates relatability for the consumer.

Melodramatizing and overemphasizing on violence, sex and anti-social behaviour driven content is the reason behind the uprising of a child’s cognitive setup. (Education Encyclopaedia, 2015). In the last few years there is a sub-sequent decline in portrayal of such themes and the content is seen to be more focused on creating a better world for children as the American Academy of Paediatrics (2001) is a believer that as the media and entertainment content attracts children more and that the learning patterns are designed to adapt observations by imitation of observed information it should be handled responsibly.

## ***Objectives of the Study***

“Most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions, this coded information serves as a guide for action” (Bandura, 2001). This study aims to explore the indecent, inappropriate gender-based content targeted towards young children. Due to lack of media literacy in parents, children watch unsupervised content in the name of entertainment. Parents consider cartoon shows as harmless free of cost entertainment available in the safe boundaries of their homes. Cartoons produced for western societies maybe alright for their cultural values but not in conservative societies like Pakistan. Media usage by young children in Pakistan must be monitored.

## **Methodology**

### ***Research Design/ Study Units***

**Sampling Procedure.** A content analysis method has been employed for this research. Overall, 30 shows were randomly selected from Disney, Cartoon Network and Nickelodeon. A total of 150 episodes were analysed entailing a sum of 2022 minutes that is of 34 hours. Each word, frame, gesture, sound and character were analysed according to the categories defined in methodology. On average a single episode was of 13.48 minutes (n=150/2022). Problematic themes were observed according to their exhibiter’s gender, so each occurrence was coded as male or female. The basic purpose of the study was to check Problematic themes based on gender representation from the content selected for analysis.

Triangulation method was used to make study more authentic as this method employs multiple methods in the same study. It allows comparison through different methods and achieves high level of validity (Flick, 2000; Burgess, 1984).

To get answers to research based questions followed by the hypothesis two different approaches are considered:

1. Quantitative Manifest Content Analysis
2. Qualitative Latent Content Analysis

### ***Quantitative Manifest Content Analysis Method***

This part of the study opted to quantify the variables assigned in Problematic themes category.

A detailed coding sheet was designed to calculate the occurrences of criminal attitudes, bad manners, and evil activities. Every frame, word, dialogues, gestures, and themes were recorded on coding sheets. Each variable was recorded with reference to gender to make it more convincing. It was further aided by a detailed analysis of the content.

### ***Qualitative Latent Content Analysis Method***

This part of the study using thematic analysis extracted from quantitative analysis. These themes were explored in the first part of the study. Thematic units were used to develop narratives, descriptions, and account of the selected data (Krippendorff, 1980). This method is beneficial for its flexibility while exploring values, cultural structures, hidden intentions of the storylines and subliminal messages.

## ***Research Questions***

- RQ 1. In children cartoon shows which of the problematic themes are seen more conventional?  
RQ 2. What is the proportion of male and female participation in exhibiting these problematic themes?

## ***Hypotheses***

- Hypothesis 1. Evil activities are mostly committed by males.  
Hypothesis 2. Exhibition of bad mannerism is mostly carried out by males.  
Hypothesis 3. Males encounter criminal activities more than women.

### ***Operational Definitions of Key Variables***

**Problematic attitudes.** Any attempt associated with substandard activities such as lying, cheating and encountering criminal patterns is entitled to be a problematic attitude. No matter if executed by means of speech, storyline, action or behaviour.

Following are the questions followed by this theme.

1. In children cartoon shows what is the most common pattern adopted to present problematic themes?
2. What are the most prevalent criminal tendencies found in the targeted content?
3. How are the criminal tendencies presented?
4. Which gender is the active in exhibition of the problematic behaviors?

This study lets us explore manners that are rejected by people and are entitled as being immature and bad present in the content under process. Such actions include spitting, pushing people in a queue, drooling, nose picking, farting, burping, spitting, not facilitating women and elderly in a public transport or environment, rash driving, talking in an inappropriate loud and abusive manner. (Fyfe, 2005).

The main idea initiating this effort to bring in light the actions that are creating hazardous impacts like encouragement to become a rebel and not follow the rules, adoption of a rude and harsh tone while treating elders, family members and the opposite gender as well, uplifting cheating, pranks and teasing.

**Criminal tendencies** are the actions whose execution leads to law breaking and have designed punishments for any executor of criminal activities. They include robbery, stealing, mob and gang activities. (Fyfe, 2005).

**Evil activities** are the ones that target social mannerism like rash driving, dishonesty, pulling pranks and stuff.

**Bad manners** are anything that involve breaking societal manners like being hateful to opposite genders, disrespectful to people around you, abusing, drooling, nose picking, littering, spitting and dribbling. (Fyfe, 2005).

### **Data analysis**

#### ***Quantitative Manifest Content Analysis***

Table 1. *Duration of the Content in Minutes*

<b>Cartoon Channels</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Minutes</b>	<b>Total Sum %</b>
Cartoon Network	50	10.92	546	27.0%
Disney	50	18.26	913	45.2%
Nickelodeon	50	11.26	563	27.8%
Total	150	13.48	2022	100.0%

RQ 1. In children cartoon shows which of the problematic themes are more conventional?

#### ***Comparison of Criminal Activities, Evil Activities and Bad Manners***

#### ***Findings between Male and Female in Cartoon Shows***

Table 2. *Total Problematic Attitudes in Cartoon Shows*

	<b>Criminal Activities</b>	<b>Evil Activities</b>	<b>Bad Manners</b>
N	150	150	150
Time	34 Hrs.	34 Hrs.	34 Hrs.
Mean	0.64	1.56	3.48
Total %	18.35%	37.28%	44.35%
Sum	96	195	232
Per Hour	2.82	4.85	6.82

This table holds condensed information about the presence of problematic themes along with its sub-categories (criminal, bad and evil activities), its mean score and average by respective genders (n=150). Not just this but also, we get to see the tabular ratio of exhibition of these themes with respect to per hour (n=34) and per episode (n=150). This procedure helps to extract information that sums about 523 themes within the watch time of 34 hours on Disney, Nickelodeon and Cartoon Network where we considered 10 shows and 5 episodes.

The findings show that the most carried out theme was bad manners i.e. 44 % (n=232/523) with 7 incidents per hour (n=34) and 3 per episode (n=150). Followed by 37% evil activities (n=195/523) having 5 occurrences per hour (n=34) and 2 per episode (n=150). Yet the least ones are the criminal activities covering almost 18% (n= 96/523) with a ratio of 3 activities per hour (n=34).

RQ 2. What is the proportion of male and female participation in executing these problematic themes?

Table 3. *Difference in Problematic Attitudes Between Male and Female*

<b>Gender</b>		<b>Criminal Activities</b>	<b>Evil Activities</b>	<b>Bad Manners</b>
Male	N	150	150	150
	Mean	.59	.83	1.25
	Sum	89	125	188
	% of Total	92.7%	64.1%	81.0%
	Per Hour	2.61	4.25	6.39
	Time	34 Hrs.	34 Hrs.	34 Hrs.
Female	N	150	150	150
	Mean	.05	.47	.29
	Sum	7	70	44
	% of Total	7.3%	35.9%	19.0%
	Per Hour	0	2.05	1.29
	Mean	.32	.65	.77
	Sum	96	195	232
	Total Mean	0.18	2.68	2.25
	Total %	18.35%	37.28%	44.35%
	Per Hour	2.82	4.85	6.82

This table shows clear difference between male and female participation and that the most carried out theme was bad manners i.e. 44 % ( n=232/523) with 7 incidents per hour (n=34) and 3 per episode (n=150). Followed by 37% evil activities (n=195/523) having 5 occurrences per hour (n=34) and 2 per episode (n=150). Yet the least ones are the criminal activities covering almost 18% (n= 96/523) with a ratio of 3 activities per hour (n=34).

With respect to gender, males' activity for bad manners covers 81% (n=188/232) making it clearly very high as there are 6 occurrences per hour (n=34) and for evil actions 64% (n=125/195) having 4 incidents

every hour (n=34), lastly it is the criminal activities where the highest 92% involvement is observed (n=89/96) by having 2 incidents hourly (n=34).

Hypothesis 1. Evil activities are mostly committed by males.

Table 4. *Evil Activities and Gender*

Gender	N	Mean	Sum	% Sum	Time/ 34 Hrs.
Male	150	.83	125	64.1%	4.25
Female	150	.47	70	35.9%	2.05
Total	300	2.68	195	100%	4.85

Table no. 4 is all about the commitment of offensive affairs for males and females. There is a total of 195 such occasions happening in 150 episodes within a period of 34 hours. It is observed that ratio of each action narrows down to 5 per hour and 3 per episode. Further, it shows that male are more active in this category as their involvement is 64 % (n=125/195) of the total whereas the females are only 36 % (n=70/195) having only 2 occasions hourly. There exists a difference between the commitments of indecent actions by both the genders. And to testify it better an independent sample t-test was done.

Table 5. *Difference Between Male and Female in Evil Activities*

Variables	N	Mean	Std. Dev	T	Df	Sig
Male	150	.83	1.866	1.960	298	.051
Female	150	.47	1.329			

The findings testify it clearly that both of the genders have a significant role in practice of such behaviours on respective platforms considered earlier. Males (M=.83, SD=1.866) vs females (M=.47, SD=1.392, t\*298=1.960, p=0.51) clears that they both are involved.

Hypothesis 2. Exhibition of bad mannerism is mostly carried out by males.

Table 6. *Bad Manners and Gender*

Gender	N	Mean	Sum	% Sum	Time/ 34 Hrs.
Male	150	1.25	188	81.0%	6.39
Female	150	.29	44	19.0%	1.29
Total	300	1.66	232	100%	6.82

Within the selected 34 hours and 150 episodes a total of 232 occurrences are held under observations with a ratio of 7 incidents hourly and 1.66 per episode, stating the activity of both the genders in performing unpleasant behavioural pattern. And males are highly active at the rate of 81 % (n=188/232) having a single representation per episode and 6 per hour. Here the females are 19% active (n=44/232) with a single incident per hour. These statements help defining the stance that there is difference in depiction of bad manners by males and females and to clarify the statement further an independent sample t-test is approached.

Table 7. *Difference Between Male and Female in Bad Manners*

Variables	N	Mean	Std. Dev	T	df	Sig
Male	150	1.25	1.994	5.474	298	.000
Female	150	.29	.799			

Upon considering the test a significant difference is observed for males and females as well. Therefore, the content telecasted on platforms like Disney, Cartoon Network and Nickelodeon has a significant distribution of actions based on bad manners as males are very active in this section.

Hypothesis 3. Males encounter more criminal activities than females.

Table 8. *Criminal Activities and Gender*

<b>Gender</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Sum</b>	<b>% Sum</b>	<b>Time/ 34 Hrs.</b>
Male	150	.59	89	92.7%	2.61
Female	150	.05	7	7.3%	0
Total	300	.64	96	100%	2.82

It narrows down to 96 such incidents that carry the mark of activities exposed to crime in 34 hours having 3 incidents per hour. The results make it clear that only 7% females are exposed to this category whilst the males are 96% active exhibitor of unlawful activities.

## **Results and Discussion**

### *Qualitative Latent Content Analysis*

#### *Problematic Attitudes*

Known to be the undesirable actions that can be categorized into criminal and evil activities along with the portrayal of bad manners are the problematic themes that are observed within a 34-hour transmission. 523 such incidents carried at an average of 15 occurrences per hour were observed. Males show their high activity by exhibiting 402 incidents and females performed only 150 events.

Little children acquire gender knowledge through their early exposure to media specially cartoons. They are most likely identifying with gender roles and activities played by specific gender (Oliver & Green, 2001).

There is a common pattern of illustrating the pursuit of criminal activities known as lying, stealing, deceiving and especially greed for money present in children cartoon shows having characters that hold power to become admiration for younger minds. (Lisa and Kort-Butler, 2012).

Oggy and the cockroaches, Joey, Markey and Deedee these shows are the best examples when we talk about the hazardous effects presence of problematic themes can cause. We are well aware that children are seen imitating the characters they find heroic or interesting. So, there is a huge possibility that they can get involved in pranks, stealing, greed, lying and cheating and even feeling satisfied just as portrayed by these characters. Most of the times these characters show how slapping and deceiving is normal and there is nothing wrong causing problems for people around. These practices are declining the positive growth in children. The presence of criminal activities like theft, money embezzlement, abduction, self-medication, rash driving or driving without license, demonstrating no table manners, hitting and running away like in the show Uncle grandpa, snatching items instead of earning them, doing anything in order to achieve power and goals opting for any source without even considering the impacts. All this, just to look sensational and show off swag, no doubt the worst lesson a new and fresh mind can learn.

The Amazing World of gumball, a popular name in cartoon shows amongst children, paints the most unfavourable life practices like blackmailing and punishing rivals by tying them with ropes, breaking all the safety traffic rules, running over people, disrespect towards parents. They even show that how males are inclined towards a nasty and undisciplined attitude when shown consuming food. Mostly, crossing the parental boundaries is a sign of heroism just like an 11-year spoiled brat named Johnny in the series, Johnny Test is promoting.

Moreover, shows like the gravity falls, show some criminal practices like gambling, drinking, abduction, puking and burping out in the public. Uncle Stan, the most vicious character is better off with shattering the ethical practices and has no problem in scamming the tourists. His life is all about getting what he wants even if he must get naked on a live television or to fake a heart attack or to mislead the tourists and not just this, he is seen making others follow his steps as well.



SpongeBob is also very active when it comes to on-air sickening themes like when plankton just to get the formula for the patty, tries all the energy of evil ideas and breaks the prison and uses toilet water with a sock, rotten ingredients and nose liquid. Additionally, girls are shown misusing boy's leading them to practice theft, robbery and other such stuff.

The Thug Loaf episode in Breadwinners is about the execution of all the practices that are explained previously as there is a huge ratio of unethical practices including the presence of drug addicts and prostitutes traded in the name of humour. The most revolting and repellent incident is covered by the character Chowder in the Toots where he after forcibly consuming a strange food item starts farting and enjoys his new musical invention. This whole episode is the kingdom of disgusting activities related to vomiting, farting and puking. A character is seen farting in others mouth plus in another scene it is shown that they plan to launch a diaper bomb in order to make everyone unconscious. An Amazing world of gumball also takes parts in portraying toilet humour. All this along with the use of explicit terminologies like boobs, butt, fart, scumbag etc.

In Toot Toot, they deliver the idea that a natural process like farting is a taboo especially when a girl commits it like Bessie, who is intolerant to glucose farted accidentally and gets charged a first degree by the jury. She gets humiliated and insulted as she gets herself as a headline and everyone around mocks her. This incident leads her to feel lonely and depressed as a friend of her tries to console her on which she explains that farting is just not normal for girls. Later, she registers herself in a farting competition. This all was meant to present toilet comedy.

## **Conclusion**

Media holds the power to develop and take active responsibility for the growth and sustainability of a child. Not just this, its ability to glue a child's attention with its content, it makes it vulnerable to deliver, promote and educate questionable practices, especially in the younger audience. The cartoon shows believed by parents to be a harmless entertainment source are delivering content that is participating actively in unethical development of the younger minds.

Fresh minds are not able to apprehend the consequences of mutinous practices like rash driving, abduction, disobedience in any situation. Criminal exercises like robbery, abduction, abuse, opprobrious speech, pranks, scams and many other activities inclined at having destructive advancements traded under the name of comedy and entertainment are proving themselves as the most devastating weapon in demolishing a child's cognitive developmental structure by creating the idea that the real-life glory lies beneath such doings. Under such scenario it is very much clear that the content designing requires an urgent re-arrangement for theme development.

## **Acknowledgments**

None

## **Conflict of Interest**


Authors declared no conflict of interest.


## **Funding Source**

The authors received no funding to conduct this study.

## **ORCID iDs**

Attia Zulfiqar <sup>1</sup> <https://orcid.org/0009-0007-2858-9426>

Qasim Mahmood <sup>2</sup> <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-2655-3300>

Adiba Akhtar <sup>3</sup> <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0826-3019>

## References

- American Academy of Pediatrics. (2001). American Academy of Pediatrics: children, adolescents, and television. *Pediatrics*, *107*(2), 423-426.
- Bandura, A. (1977). *Social learning theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Bandura, A. (2001). *Social foundations of thought and action: A social cognitive theory*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Bleakley, A. Fishbein, M. Jordan, H. Chernin, A. & Stevens, R. (2008). Developing Respondent-Based Multi-Media Measures of Exposure to Sexual Content. *Communication Methods and Measures*, *2*(1-2), 43-64. DOI:10.1080/19312450802063040
- Bryant, J., & Thompson, S. (2004). *Fundamentals of Media Effects*. Boston: McGraw-Hill.
- Burgess, R.G. (1984). *Approaches to Field Research*. In *Field Research*, Boston: George Allen and Unwin.
- Elliot, T, (2006). The Development of Morality. In *Handbook of Child Psychology: Social, Emotional, and Personality Development*, *3*, 789-857.
- Field, A, E. (2000). Media Influence on Self-Image: The Real Fashion Emergency. *Healthy Weight Journal*, *14*(6). DOI:10.1080/17482798.2015.1058279
- Flick, Uwe. (2000). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Fyfe, K. (2006). Wolves in sheep's clothing: A content analysis of children's television. Retrieved from <https://www.parentstv.org>
- Huston, A. C., & Wright, J. C. (1998). Television and the Informational and Educational Needs of Children. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *557*(1), 9–23.
- Krippendorff, K. (1980). *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Methodology*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lisa A. Kort-Butler. (2012). Rotten, Vile, and Depraved! Depictions of Criminality in Superhero Cartoons. *Deviant Behavior*, *33*(7), 566-581. doi: [10.1080/01639625.2011.636718](https://doi.org/10.1080/01639625.2011.636718)
- Oliver, M. B., & Green, S. (2001). Development of Gender Differences in Children's Responses to Animated Entertainment. *Sex Roles*, *45*, 67–88. doi:1.1023/A:1013012401836.
- Parents Television and Media Council. (2007). *The Alarming Family Hour: No Place for Children*. <https://www.ParentsTV.org>
- Safdar, G., Shabir, G., Imran, M., Seyal, A.M., Jamil, T. (2015). Television as a Source of Low Cost Entertainment: A Case Study of Pakistan. *Asian Journal of Social Sciences and Humanities*, *4*(1), 24-29.
- Safdar, G., Shabir, G., Javed, M. N. (2016). Culture of Violence: A Case Study of Pakistan. *Journal of Culture, Society and Development*, *20*, 1-5.
- Shabir, G., Safdar, G., Hussain, T., Imran, M., Seyal, A.M. (2015). Media Ethics: Choosing the Right Way to Serve. *Research on Humanities and Social Sciences*, *5*(3), 80-85.
- Shabir, G., Safdar, G., Imran, M., Seyal, A.M., Anjum, A.A. (2015). Process of Gate Keeping in Media: From Old Trend to New. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, *6*(1S1), 588-593.
- Shabir, G., Safdar, G., Jamil, T., Bano, S. (2015). Mass Media, Communication and Globalization with the perspective of 21st century. *New Media and Mass Communication*, *34*, 11-15.
- Wartella, E., & Reeves, B. (1985). Historical Trends in Research on Children and the Media: 1900-1960. *Journal of Communication*, *35*(2), 118-133
- Wilson, B. J. (2008). Media and Children's Aggression, Fear, and Altruism. *The Future of Children*, *18*(1), 87–118.