TO THE UNIVERSITY HONORS COLLEGE:

As thesis advisor for ________________________,

I have read this paper and find it satisfactory.

______________________________ Thesis Advisor

______________________________ Date
This body of work explores how the recent introduction of television has affected the young residents of a rural Caribbean community. Located on the island of Dominica, the village of Bwa Maigo has for years remained largely void of non-Caribbean media forces. Cable TV became available to locals in 2004, and today it is estimated to exist in half of village homes. As the services offered are primarily imported from the United States, this community has for the first time been exposed to the influences of American mass media corporations.

Anthropologists have for decades studied the effects that foreign entities have on particular cultures. The village of Bwa Maigo has a history of contact with ethnographic professionals who continue to research various aspects of this community. As globalization ensues, I feel it is important to realize how the infliction of commercialized media can both positively and negatively affect children in societies of the developing world. Upon visiting Bwa Maigo for an anthropology field school in the summer of 2007, I noted several ways the medium worked to enrapture young villagers into the submission of their attention. My interests prompted me to return to the field site in 2008 to conduct my investigations.

To research this topic, I utilized several field methods commonly employed by cultural anthropologists. To build rapport, I strove to develop mutual trust and respect from local residents. Through participant observations, I became familiar with the context in which television is consumed. In acquiring quantitative data, I conducted interviews on parents and children concerning tastes, opinions and observations. Last, I developed a time allocation data set through instantaneous behavioral scans which illustrated how often children watch the medium, as well as its time frame in relation to other daily activities. I then coded my
observations in accordance to a time allocation data set procured by Dr. Robert Quinlan of Washington State University. As his data focused on the daily routines of young Bwa Maigo residents in the year 1994, I had an idea of how children spent their time a decade before television entered village life which I compared with my data to draw relevant conclusions.

Through my findings, I was able to develop speculations as to how young villagers are affected by the medium. I found that its presence has altered several aspects of daily life for many young residents; especially in regards to the how they relax, play and socialize with others. I found that the preferences of young viewers mirrored those of children in the U.S. Parents feel television viewing is both beneficial and counterproductive for children, citing changes in village dynamics in regards to aggressive behavior, substance use and its youth culture. As my residence lasted one month, I was not able to acquire enough data to surmise substantive conclusions in regards to the medium's consequences on the community. Still, my efforts enabled me to generate informed predictions as to television and its effects.

My investigations led me to conclude that television is having a pronounced impact on the lives of young villagers; both in how they spend their time and in how they interact with their peers. It is my hope that this research will prompt additional inquiries into the implications American television programming has on societies such as this. I aim to inspire researchers in my field to further assess how these processes work; and in turn deduce ways parents can work to combat the negative effects of the medium in regards to their unique community.
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INTRODUCTION

Since its creation in the late 1940s, television has worked its way from its original use as an American post World War II leisure tool (Pecora 2007), to its contemporary status of a mega global informer that inhabits virtually every country on earth (Straubhaar 2007). For the majority of people in most countries today, television remains the central element in their consumption of cultural industries (Newcomb & Hirsch 1994), and in turn obtaining a television set is estimated to be the main consumer priority for most people in the developing world (Straubhaar 2007:1). I see television as the ideal instrument for media intake, as it does not require literacy and can be absorbed by many at one time. Yet many of those receiving media from outside the cultural dome of the United States (U.S.) cite concerns over the medium’s capacity to impose its television culture upon their own (eg. Brown 1995, Gooch 1995, Straubhaar 2007). Often these countries refer to the imbalance of both American and European television as an infliction of a sort of post-colonial “cultural imperialism” (Schiller 1976) that serves to covertly force recipient countries to adopt its capitalist consumer values through entertainment programming (Beltran & Fox de Cardona 1979, Janus 1981, Schiller 1969).

This argument prompted many nations to develop local television stations that fit more appropriately within the cultural context for which it is viewed (Straubhaar 2007). Whereas in past decades American television overwhelmingly dominated the broadcasting arena both at home and abroad (Nordenstreng & Varis 1974), today the overseas airwaves are becoming more saturated with adapted and localized versions of popular U.S. stations and programs (Straubhaar 2007). Television networks in Asia and Latin America are among those most
successful (Straubhaar 2007), both of which provide a majority of local and culturally specific programming for their audiences (Morris & Waisbord 2001, Moran 2004). Still, in most of the developing world, the majority of television programming comes from the United States (Miller et al. 2005). Poorer areas such as Africa largely lack the infrastructure to produce and air enough television to satisfy the wants of the consumer (Castells 1997). Further, the more technologically difficult genres of action and animation or cartoons, has remained centrally produced in the United States and continues to be exported to all television arenas the world over (Straubhaar 2007). These trends have prompted anthropologists and media analysts to evaluate the echo effect American and European television has on the rest of the world (Appadurai 1996, Canclini 1995, Kraidy 2005, Ricoeur 1984, Canclini 2001).

**TELEVISION BACKGROUND**

To understand the structural components of television globally, I believe it is important look first to its original roots in radio. The emergence of this audio wonder in the 1920s inspired two very distinct broadcasting formats (Dunn 1995). The United States was the first to turn the switch in 1927 by creating radio broadcasts that were privately owned and financed strictly by advertising dollars (Streeter 1996). These private broadcasting enterprises were primarily free to dictate the content of their programming (Barnouw 1977) and only had to adhere to minor federal regulations (Streeter 1996). This formula reached maximum audiences as it encouraged radio networks to perpetually generate captivating entertainment programs to increase its audience base and in turn attract more advertising dollars (Barnouw 1977). In contrast stood the model created by the United Kingdom (Smith 1973). In observing the U.S.
broadcasting recipe, the United Kingdom instead adopted an alternate approach to the format by making it more regulated by government and geared more towards the promotion of education and culture than private profit (Smith 1973). The two models grew over the years (Hilmes 2003) to eventually spawn television formats which closely mirrored their radio predecessors (Straubhaar 2007). Eventually, former colonies and Commonwealth countries in Europe (as well as Japan), adopted the United Kingdom’s media model (Smith 1973). By then it had evolved to become the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC); an entirely public entity that was governed by an autonomous board (Straubhaar 2007) and financed by license fees levied on all households which had a radio and/or television set (Briggs 1995). As subsequent poorer nations rallied to acquire mass media in their own land, regularly the BBC model proved too complicated to maintain for lack of political stability and difficulty collecting licensing fees (Katz & Wedell 1976). In this light the United States media model often looked much more appealing to these developing nations (Smith 1973, Fejes 1980), for they were not required to fork out the money and structure to create the service (Katz & Wedell 1976). American corporate media institutions responded in offering their utilities, as they stood to expand their advertising audiences onto a global platform (Bletran & Fox de Cardona 1979). The two historically different approaches to broadcast media ownership continued to affect the evolution of broadcasting internationally (Dunn 1995).

CARIBBEAN DEVELOPMENT

Today, the archipelago of the Commonwealth Caribbean harbors an eclectic montage of distinct cultures that to the observer visually illustrates its turbulent history of European,
African, and native Caribbean inhabitants (Quinlan 2004). The entrance of European colonists in the late 15th century vastly altered the landscape of this region, which for thousands of years had existed within the enclosed realm of its native residents (Straubhaar 2007). In clearing the land’s palate of its native inhabitants, colonial powers succeeded in creating a custom made tool box for mother Europe’s ever depleting raw resources and cheap labor (Magdoff 1969); while at the same time reconstructing the region to make European languages, customs and religions relevant (Magdoff 1969). In coinciding with the European elitists’ efforts to keep the native and African societies subservient, strict restrictions were placed on independent trade and the ability to industrialize in the colonies, which acted to severely hinder any attempts to build local infrastructure in the region for hundreds of years (Magdoff 1969).

Once countries were granted independence in the late 20th century, local leaders were left with a scattering of societal exoskeletons from which to build their infant nations upon (Dunn 1995). Front levels in Caribbean development found themselves eons behind the West in the ability to create and provide media to their public (Brown 1995). In an effort to fast-forward Caribbean development, leaders in the 1970s abandoned the initial BBC model of broadcasting that had been set up in the region (Brown 1995) for the more profitable U.S. model of privatized broadcasting ownership (Brown 1995). As the next three decades left Caribbean nations completely preoccupied with the immediate pressures of providing shelter, jobs, education and health services for to public (Dunn 1995), foreign television moguls were essentially given free rein to increase their profit margins in the area with minor restrictions (Straubhaar 2007). By far, the majority of this electronically transmitted material consisted of entertainment programming (Brown 1995), which served as a vehicle for advertising messages.
from the U.S. (Brown 1995). Studies conducted the 1980s concluded that the Anglophone
(English speaking) Caribbean was the most penetrated region in the world by television content
(Brown 1987), with an estimated 80% imported programming (Caribbean Quarterly 1976).

This penetration of U.S. cable channels has had an extensive impact on the Caribbean
region (Hoover & Britto, 1990). As attested by Jamaica’s acclaimed telecommunications analyst
Dr. Hopeton S. Dunn, “at the economic level Caribbean countries are particularly vulnerable to
the financial strength and private decision-making machinery of increasingly large transnational
corporations (because their) global budgets often dwarf the national budgets of many of these
micro-states” (Dunn 1995:21). The often inadequate negotiating skills and access to
information has often led Caribbean countries to be contracted into inequitable arrangements
and political interference by foreign media titans (Dunn 1995). The last ten years have
witnessed an especially unprecedented strengthening of the power of transnational companies
and a massive weakening of the authority of the nation state (Dunn 1995), and today the
region’s media continues to exist within the realm of U.S. communication corporations
(Straubhaar 2007).

DOMINICA: IDEAL POINT OF STUDY

In order to fully understand the degree to which this phenomenon is occurring, I feel it
is necessary to peer into one of the furthest, most remote corners of the Caribbean; the island
of Dominica. Positioned between the French islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique, the
Commonwealth of Dominica has throughout history remained the least developed of the
Caribbean nations (Honychurch 1995), primarily due to its remoteness and the general
topography of the island (Honychurch 1995). Comprised primarily of volcanic mountains and rugged coastlines, Dominica’s landscape was for centuries left alone while Europeans colonized and exploited its neighboring islands of their resources (Quinlan 2004). Dominica today is described by locals as the only Caribbean island left that its European discoverer, Christopher Columbus, would recognize today (Honychurch 1995). Yet Dominica could not remain hidden forever, as in realizing its beauty ecotourists as well as television and movie producers are making the island a more popular destination to visit. Television, along with cellular phones and the internet, are becoming more popular each passing year (Nationmaster website 2008). As a cultural anthropologist, I cannot help but to be completely captivated by the ways in which the media modes are influencing its peoples.

DOMINICA HISTORY RELATING TO DEVELOPMENT

The Commonwealth of Dominica is unique in several aspects. Over time the ruggedness of the landscape has been both a burden and a blessing for the island, and has influenced the course of its history more than any other factor (Honychurch 1995). Dominica was the last of the Lesser Antilles islands to be colonized, primarily due to the inability of explorers to utilize the land (Honychurch 1995). Christopher Columbus was the first European on record of discovering the island on the 25th of September, 1493. Upon spotting land he named the island Dominica as the day happened to be Sunday (Honychurch 1995). Due to its jagged coast Columbus did not anchor on the island, choosing instead to continue north to surrounding islands (Honychurch 1995). Despite a few short visits, Dominica remained virtually untouched for the next two centuries. Its native Caribbean inhabitants fiercely repelled any attempts of
European settlements throughout the 16th century (Honychurch 1995). By 1745 the population of Dominica grew to 3,032 of which over half of whom were African slaves (Honychurch 1995). By this time the population was also sprinkled with Maroons; Negro slaves that had escaped from other islands and who lived within the safety of the mountains (Quinlan 2004). Dominica remained in a relative period of peace for several decades, and grants from the British government helped to boost the nation's economy so much as to make Dominica the world's largest producer of limes into the beginning of the 20th century (Honychurch 1995).

World War II proved extremely detrimental to the nation's development, for at this time British aid was severely restricted, and after the war aid was once again supplied, but development on the island remained on minimal level (Honychurch 1995). Road construction was always chief in struggles, for the island's terrain made it extremely difficult to build and maintain (Honychurch 1995). Electricity became available to limited areas in the mid-1950s, and the construction of power lines in the early seventies made electricity available to more of the island (Honychurch 1995). Dominica acquired a major water system in 1968, but as the island's many freshwater streams made the spread of this system irrelevant to the public, and some areas remain without piped water today (Honychurch 1995). Since Dominica attained independence on November 3, 1978, these same trends of rocky infrastructure development have appeared to have ensued.

HISTORY OF BROADCASTS AND TELECOMMUNICATIONS IN DOMINICA

Throughout history, telecommunications and broadcasting in the Commonwealth of Dominica has been met with multiple challenges. Prior to 1955 residents wanting to hear local
programming tuned into the Grenada Radio Service for a few minutes of local news and music per day (Dominica Broadcasting Services website 2008). Dominica’s telephone system was choppy up until the British owned company Cable and Wireless gained control from the government of telephone operations in the 1960s (Honychurch 1995). Lines and sub stations were spread throughout the island until by 1978 almost every village had at least one public phone (Honychurch 1995). In November 1971 Dominica made radio fully local with its creation of Radio Dominica, which was set up and operated by the Government of Dominica (Honychurch 1995). The station was created as a public service to the nation, and employees were either drafted or recruited from the Civil Service (Honychurch 1995). The government also provided transistor radios to citizens, thereby making broadcasts accessible to most of the island (Honychurch 1995). The station provided information, education and entertainment to the public until 1975, when under new governmental leadership the radio station was shut down (Honychurch 1995).

Under the post of Premier of Dominica, Patrick John established The Dominica Broadcasting Corporation Act which made provision for Radio and Television Broadcasting Services in Dominica and allowed for the appointment of a Board of Directors to manage the affairs of the corporation (Dominican Broadcasting Services website 2008). The act called for the corporation to provide “television and radio broadcasting Services of high quality, both as to the transmission and as to the matter transmitted”, and was amended in January of 1979 to the appointment of two managers, one for radio and one for television (Dominican Broadcasting Services website 2008). Tragically that same year marked the occurrence of Hurricane David; the worst natural disaster the island had seen in decades, serving to flatten
the building housing the Television Service at Morne Bruce and destroying the equipment and also destroying the majority of telephone lines laid out by Cable and Wireless (Dominican Broadcasting Services website 2008). Cable television became available in 1982 with the development of Marpin Television Company Limited, and has been made available in various regions over the last two decades (Dominican Broadcasting Services website 2008).

DOMINICA TODAY: STRAIGHT FACTS

As of July of 2008, Dominica is home to around 72,000 people. As of 2005, the average per capita income was US $5,970 (CIA World Fact Book website 2008), placing Dominica as having the lowest per person income of all Eastern Caribbean nations (CIA World Fact Book website 2008). The CIA World Fact Book lists Dominica as primary black in ethnicity (86%) (CIA World Fact Book 2008), but it is important to note that the population is equally American Caribbean in ethnicity. English and French patois are the main languages (Lowenthal 1972), and literacy is reported as 94% of the entire population (CIA World Fact Book website 2008). Christianity dominates the nation, with Roman Catholics making up 61.4% of the population, and closely followed other denominations (CIA World Fact Book website 2008). Unemployment rate is 23%, and 30% of the population lives below the poverty line (CIA World Fact Book 2008).

Dominicans receive their media in four forms: newspapers, radio, television and the internet. I observed that Cable and Wireless is the main provider of telephone services, but other providers such as Digicel and B-Mobile offer services as well. As of 2004 there were approximately 21,000 telephone lines, and 41,800 mobile phones in use (BBC News website 2008). The four newspapers printed in Dominica are The Chronicle, The Times, The Sun, and
The Tropical Star; all of which are printed on a weekly basis (BBC News 2008). Dominica does not have a daily newspaper (BBC News 2008). Four radio stations are also available: the state-run Dominica Broadcasting Corporation (DBS) radio, the religious Voice of Life Radio (ZGBC), and the two commercial stations Q95 FM and Kairi FM (BBC News website 2008).

Today, the Commonwealth of Dominica has no domestic terrestrial television stations (BBC News 2008). Dominica's only cable provider, Marpin Telecoms, does provide locally-produced programming such as Caribbean channels such as Caribvision (Television & Broadcasting website 2008a). Marpin Telecoms also allows the provision of several channels dedicated to local radio stations, which broadcast programs along with slideshows of local news bulletins and advertisements. Still, I observed that television content in the region is overwhelmingly American. According to the Marpin Television & Broadcasting website, the provider has acquired coverage of more than 95% of the island and offers 52 channels most of which originate from the United States (Marpin Television & Broadcasting website 2008a). Installation fee is EC$ 150 and costs residents EC$50 per month for its services, equating to approximately US $60 and US $20 respectively (Marpin Television & Broadcasting website 2008b).

FIELD SITE: BWA MAIGO

Just before the start of my senior year of my undergraduate experience at Washington State, I was accepted into the university's very first ethnographic field school and was given the opportunity to reside in this remote region of the world. It was in the village of Bwa Maigo where I spent 2007's month of July, living in the homes of locals and immersed in its culture.
With the guidance of Rob and Marsha Quinlan of Washington State, I was able to exercise various basic ethnographic field methods I had read about in my anthropological studies, such as interviewing, participant observations, focus groups etc. It is here that I realized the degree to which our world is becoming even more interconnected than I had previously presumed. My interests prompted me to visit a second time, in the month of May and June of 2008, in order to conduct the bulk of my research.

The village of Bwa Maigo lies on the south eastern coastline of the island (Honychurch 1995), at the end of what locals refer to as the “big road” (Quinlan 2004). The village is remote, even to local standards (Quinlan 2004). The homes of the 450 or so residents are randomly scattered along the steep landscape leading to the Atlantic Ocean. Locals primarily roam the village on foot along the countless walking paths, as only a very few are able to afford vehicles. Villagers are racially mixed, as individuals display African, Amerindian, and European features. The majority of villagers are subsistence gardeners (Quinlan 2004), and although many are nearly self-sufficient everyone requires some money for buying meat, clothing, school and gardening supplies (Quinlan 2004). Residents generate money in various ways; including several “penny capitalist” jobs of selling food or basic services to other villagers, operating local rum shops, selling fish caught in the ocean, and production and the selling of bay oil (Quinlan 2004:29). The most lucrative job in the village is transport driving (Quinlan 2004), as I observed only three men are able to afford the large vans required to provide rides to the island’s only town, Roseau. All other communities are locally termed “villages”.

Family life is central to this community. Nearly everyone in the village is related to everyone else (Quinlan 1995), and kinship is the basis of most reciprocal exchange and
inheritance (Quinlan 2004). Formal marriage is a thing of the past for locals (Quinlan 2004), and there is little stigma over having children out of wedlock (Quinlan 2004). Offspring are instead legitimized by the inheritance of the father’s surname upon the child (Quinlan 2000). Around 40% of households are male-headed (or coheaded) (Quinlan 2000), and around 30% of reproductive-aged women are in long-term unions (Quinlan 2000). Many men frequently leave for extended periods to work overseas (Quinlan 2000), and it is estimated that at any given time more than half of village females are raising children without a father present (Quinlan 2000).

The overwhelming majority of locals practice Christianity, and I observed their faith to play a keen role in the daily interactions between villagers. Locals also abide by widespread superstitions, often which dictate where and when they roam around the village. Anthropologists have observed that in societies where witchcraft is concerned, individuals use its accusation (or the threat of it) as a form of social control (Quinlan 2004). Residents of Bwa Maigo cite greed and jealousy as the motives of witches, and often use it as an explanation for the contraction of sickness and also bad luck (Quinlan 2004). While the presence of witches is common knowledge around the village, it is thought that as younger generations continue to become familiar with western beliefs, its influence may not be as relevant in the future.

OVERVIEW OF ANTHROPOLOCAL INVOLVEMENT IN BWA MAIGO

This village has a history of over 20 years of anthropological involvement, as various acclaimed anthropologists have devoted their professional careers to researching projects in a wide array of arenas. Regular visits, often lasting many months at a time, have given these
researchers knowledge of village life in variety aspects, and collaboratively their dedlicative studies have resulted in the creation of a unique illustrative portrait of the village's history and present day dynamics. Not only have their efforts resulted in many contributions to the anthropological field, but they have also helped to preserve the ever diffusing local culture by recording oral histories for future generations to come.

The initiator of ethnographic research in the village is Dr. Mark Flinn of the University of Missouri-Columbia. As the first researcher to visit the village in the late eighties, Flinn had the colossal challenge of being the first to establish a positive rapport among locals who were often suspicious of his motives. In examining family life, Flinn has through the years made several breakthroughs concerning childhood stress, family relationships and health pertaining to this area of the world (Flinn & England 1995, Flinn et al. 1999, Flinn 2008). I feel it is his devotion and love of the community that serves to be the sole reason all subsequent anthropological teams were able to take part in the lives of locals; and also the derivative to why so many villagers trust the anthropological visitors with their deeply personal information and valuable time.

After several years of visiting the village alone, Mark Flinn deemed it necessary to allow a few carefully selected anthropology graduate students to accompany him with his investigations. Out of these graduate students spawned several who continued to conduct research in the village, including the husband and wife team of Dr. Robert and Dr. Marsha Quinlan. Building upon Flinn's research, both Quinlans have made their own substantial contributions to local knowledge. In her focus of sociocultural medical anthropology, Dr. Marsha Quinlan has for years been working toward the development of a comprehensive
record of local fauna as it relates to health care, especially in regards to women’s health, alcohol use, and medicinal plant use (Quinlan 2004, Quinlan 2005, Quinlan 2005, Quinlan, Quinlan & Flinn 2005). Her efforts in documenting the use of plants as home remedies has resulted in several worthy publications and contributed to the overall knowledge of bush medicine (Quinlan 2004). As a biocultural anthropologist, Dr. Robert Quinlan’s focus has been on the behavioral ecology of family, kinship and life history “strategies”. In his evaluation of parental care, children’s reproductive development, personality development and reproduction patterns in the village, Robert Quinlan has made great strides in the understanding of how local culture influences biological processes, and has produced since 1993 numerous acclaimed publications to the field of anthropology (Quinlan 1995, Quinlan 2001, Quinlan 2003).

MY EXPERIENCE AND THE INSPIRATION FOR MY RESEARCH

This was the umbrella of knowledge that framed the backbone of my experiences and interpretations of village life over my two visits to Bwa Maigo. Prior to my initial encounter with the island in July of 2007, I appropriately educated myself on a variety of relevant subjects; including the history of the island, the current condition of the nation and also on the past research conducted by my anthropology predecessors. Based on my readings (Honychurch 1975, Quinlan 2004, Quinlan 2003), I mentally and emotionally prepared myself for life in an isolated and underdeveloped village. In an effort to ease more gracefully into its society, I purposefully neglected to bring electronic equipment that I had come to rely upon, including my computer and my cellular phone. Instead I brought alternate ways to occupy my free time, including lots of books, a deck of cards and loads of Sidoku grids.
Upon arriving in Bwa Maigo it was instantly apparent that my prediction of village life was outdated. I realized that though much of what I had read about the village held valid, it overwhelmingly applied to the adult generations. Individuals who were around my age and younger stood in stark contrast to their parents, as they felt more like my friends at home than foreigners. As the weeks passed, I realized that the young people had much of the same media knowledge that I did, especially in regards to movies they had seen and in their tastes in music. Almost all of the friends I made had cell phones, which they used to download the same popular ringtones that my peers had back home. Most shocking was the realization that many teenagers had a MySpace internet website, as the young people used the internet station at the Village Council Building to access and maintain their sites. I felt almost silly for not bringing my electronic equipment after all, especially because I felt that my new friends would have enjoyed using my things while I was there.

The reason I was so unprepared for this technological contact was not because my research misinformed me; rather it is because of the recent explosion of these mediums. I feel that up until the last few years the information I read prior to my trip would have sufficiently described what life had been like in the village for many generations. The concept of globalization was given a new meaning to me, as I realized that no matter where one happens to live in the world, he or she will inevitably be confronted with the same technology as everyone else. I strove to understand how this technological invasion happened, why it occurred and also what it meant for the future of the village. I was keenly aware that though everyone in the village encountered it, the young people were the ones who stood most affected, paralleling what I had seen around me amongst children and young adults the United
States. Through talking to villagers and questioning the Quinlans, I concluded that the introduction of television was the entity most responsible for the changes I witnessed in the village.

Television sets have been in the village since the eighties, often making an entrance in homes as gifts from overseas relatives (Quinlan 2004). For two decades televisions were used for the purpose of watching movies via VHS tapes (Quinlan 2000). Despite a brief period in 1994 when a family was able to construct a giant TV antenna for reception (which soon fell apart) (Quinlan 2004), locals remained void of the ability to access television programming unless they traveled to Roseau. It was not until the nation’s television provider Marpin Telecoms expanded its coverage, that this area even had the option of obtaining the service (Marpin Television & Broadcasting website 2008a). I found through questioning locals that the first family to acquire television programming in the village did so in 2004 and since then, more and more families have subscribed to the service. In the four years since it came to the village, I estimate that television viewing has become prevalent in around 50 (or approximately half) of village homes. I saw that though not every household has a television of their own, everyone encounters the medium through either the home of a friend or a relative. As I spent time in the village, it grew important for me to investigate the repercussions that television has and is continuing to make on village life, especially in regard to who I feel are its most easily influenced and manipulated members; the children.
HISTORY OF CHILDREN’S TELEVISION

To understand the condition of children’s programming in Dominica today I feel it is vital to address the history of the U.S. media market. Television producers in the late 1940s began creating children’s programming in order to appeal to the entire family unit (Palmer 1988). Programs aimed at children were limited to just a few hours a day, and aired mostly at lunch time and in the evening (Pecora 2007). TV’s popularity increased so that by 1954, 55% of households had a TV set (Pecora 2007). Together the four newly established major networks, DuMont, ABC, CBS, and NBC, succeeded in turning television into the leading leisure activity of choice for American families and children (Pecora 2007). The 1950s saw a major increase in children’s programming from 2.5 hours per week, to a high of 37 hours in 1956 on the three national networks (Shelby 1964). The most important change to the future of children’s programming at this time was the shift in its advertising support (Turow 1980, Shelby 1964). By the end of the 1950s there were no longer sustaining programs, as all children’s television programs followed the model established by radio and were supported by advertising dollars (Barcus 1977, Straubhaar 2007). Media analysts attribute this change to an increase in advertising budgets in the toy industry (Shelby 1964). The 1960s ushered in the definition of cartoons as children’s programming (Pecora 2007); setting the stage for Hanna and Barbera’s cheap new animation technique to dominate children’s television airwaves (Pecora 2007). This limited animation format helped cause the percentage of children’s cartoon series to jump from 23% in 1960-61 to 86% in 1968-69 (Pecora 2007). By the 1970s almost all programming for children was aired on Saturdays (Palmer 1988, Turow 1981). Television content began to diversify, as shows such as *The Harlem Globetrotters* on CBS in 1970 became first cartoon series
to star African American characters (Pecora 2007), yet the decade saw little change in the bulk of its substance of programming (Pecora 2007).

The landscape of television was forever altered with the FCC institution of the Prime Time Access Rule (PTAR) and the Financial and Syndication Ruling (Fin-Syn), serving to sever the major network’s monopoly of the airwaves (Pecora 2007). For 30 years network broadcast stations dominated the children’s television industry (Pecora 2007), but with the passing of this act, independent stations were allowed room to grow. In the 1980s cable television caused the amount of television to explode to attaining about half of U.S. homes in the mid 1980s had cable services (Sterling & Kittross 1990). In ten years the number of stations grew from 100 in 1975 to 600 by 1985 (Pecora 1998); all of which needed programming to fill their on-air hours (Pecora 1998). Children’s shows came into high demand precisely because of the growing number of these new, independent stations that relied on syndicated programming as well as quick and cheap product (Pecora 2007). Perhaps the most important show of the decade was the 1981 creation of *The Smurfs* for NBC morning television as it massively influenced the television and toy market thereafter (Pecora 2007). Programs such as *Care Bears*, *Rainbow Brite*, and *The Snorks* built on the success of *The Smurfs* by creating storylines built around multiple characters to sell (Pecora 2007). Children’s programming had now transformed into a showcase designed specifically to sell products (Wartella & Mazzoralla 1990). Television networks in the 1990s increasingly recognized the profit potentials in adolescents (Pecora 2007). As adolescents were rapidly entering in the workplace, spending by and for children rose from $60 billion in 1989 to $75 billion two years later (Huston et al. 1990), and as this group increasingly obtained expendable incomes television networks increased their focus on
this age group (Pecora 2007), prompting for instance fast-food advertisers to increase their spending 64% in one year (Freeman 1992). The 1990s thus saw the continued consumerization of childhood (Pecora 2007), as networks expanded even more to accommodate the established cable and home video market (Sterling & Kittross 2002).

As television entered the new millennium, digital technology brought dramatic changes to the landscape of children’s television (Pecora 2007). Although children and young adults continued to spend about 6 hours per day with the media (Rideout et al. 2005), much of this time was now spent multitasking between multiple formats such as DVDs, video games and the internet (Rideout et al. 2005, Roberts et al. 1999). Children today are considered both sophisticated and technologically savvy consumers (Pecora 2007), and television programmers continue to appeal to even the youngest “consumers in training” (Pecora 2007) by offering such products as computer monitors decorated with Mickey Mouse ears and Blue’s Clues paw prints (Pecora 2007). This increasing atmosphere of competition in the arena of children’s programming has caused networks to contrive even more captivating and attractive shows to hold the attention of its ever-distracted audiences (Huston et al. 2007). I have observed that in combining knowledge of the psyches of children with never-ending budgets, networks have perpetually held our nation’s children captive to their manipulative messages aimed at combing young viewers into lifelong consumers.

RELEVANCE TODAY

For decades television was a commodity enjoyed strictly in and for the use of the nations that produced the programming (Brown 1995). I feel television continues to be
relevant to its intended viewers in the United States. Dramas, films, game shows, cartoons, soap operas, news programs, even commercials perpetually reflect what I perceive are comfortable American values of individualism, freedom and commercialism. In my opinion, this recipe works to emulate a silent hum of commonality among U.S. citizens, and has done so since its creation. What is often not considered is the ripple effect U.S. television programming has on its foreign viewers (Brown 1995). Today regions such as the Caribbean are exposed to much of the exact same television programming that Americans watch at home (Brown 1995), but are ingesting the messages in an entirely different setting (Giddens 1984, Williams 1980).

Aggrey Brown, Director of the Caribbean Institute of Mass Communication (CARIMAC) at the University of the West Indies, attests Caribbean citizens have been “...willing consumers of both visual media hardware and software...(h)owever, cultural ennui is the price we pay for passive consumption” (Brown 1995:52). I believe without argument that Caribbean viewers, young and old, do not ingest American programming in the same manner as its intended audience.

Cultural context of the viewer is of key importance in deciphering meaning from a television program. Just as Americans audiences often find British shows like Monty Python completely stupid, such programs are instead considered comedic genus in its homeland (Straubhaar 2007). It is without question that this nature of media exposure has had a distinct impact on Caribbean viewers both in how they perceive the United States and also how they look at their own lives at home (Brown 1995, Lashley 1995). Caribbean researchers have expressed concern over the potential threat to indigenous Caribbean culture by this unprecedented global penetration of new-age media technologies (Dunn 1995), and has triggered an initiation of case studies in Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago (Brown
1995, Brown 1995, Lashley 1995, Gooch 1995). In examining the impact of American media on Jamaican youth, Dr. Hillary Brown, project coordinator of the Cariforum Cultural Centre in Jamaica, found that among Jamaican high school students there was a positive linear relationship between media use, consumerism, and externally driven cultural orientation (Brown 1995). Lynette M. Lashley conducted a similar study on children and U.S. television in Trinidad and Tobago. This nation was the first in the English speaking Caribbean to acquire television in 1962 (Lashley 1995), so she was able to examine its effects in a nation with a long history of exposure. She concluded that the youth viewers preferred American television over local programming, stating that “the more American the fare, the more it is preferred by the youth” (Lashley 1995:89). She also found that American television somewhat influenced negative behavior in some of the youth, a phenomenon coined by some of the students as “…a ‘Bart Simpson’ syndrome” (Lashley 1995:91). Still, scholars have just barely begun to assess the ways that television is affecting life in the Caribbean (Dunn 1995), and I feel much remains unknown as to what this means for the future of the region’s children.

The past fifty years has led academic professionals in both soft and hard sciences to conduct over 2,000 research reports concerning the ways television viewing affects young audiences (Pecora 2007), yet much of the research in this field has been largely underfunded, short-term and isolated (Dunn 1995). Attempts by organizations to regulate the medium through the years have resulted in little change in media formatting (Straubhaar 2007). Networks in America are today free to dictate the nature of their product without what I feel is proper accountability for the consequences of their programming.
According to a 1999 study by the Kaiser Family Foundation, the average American child grows up in a home with three TVs, and spends almost three hours a day glued to the device (Roberts 1999). Over the course of a year the average American kid spends a total 1500 hours a year watching television (versus only 900 in spent in school), and is estimated to view over 20,000 30-second commercials (Roberts 1999). Though this degree of prevalence may not be the scene in most of the third world (as televisions remain expensive to obtain), I predict that children in villages such as Bwa Maigo stand to one day inherit these very trends themselves. I feel that there is today a need to understand television’s affects on children more than ever, especially as programming continues to sweep across oceans and continents (Straubhaar 2007). Children and young adult viewers abroad, such as those living in Bwa Maigo, are indeed in an exclusively vulnerable position in regards to this unfamiliar media influence (Dunn 1995).

In true anthropological form, I have taken into account each the history and culture of the global television arena, the past and present cultures of children’s television, and also that of the unique society of Bwa Maigo; combined it with my personal experiences and observances of village life (as well as those of professional anthropologists), and resulted with the creation of my thesis question.

**THESIS QUESTION**

*How is the introduction of television affecting Dominican youth?*
METHODOLOGY

In my effort to explore how television has affected the young people of Bwa Maigo, I utilized a variety of methods commonly employed by anthropologists in field studies. I first built rapport and conducted participant observations to create groundwork for my research. Quantitative data was then obtained through interviews with local children and adults, and also through instantaneous behavioral scans. Concluding the collection of data, information was then coded and analyzed to result in various findings. Over the period of May 14-June 15, 2008, I was able to conduct my research while living in the homes of two local families. The following are more detailed descriptions of my methods.

BUILDING RAPPORT

Cultural anthropologists are successful in assessing the needs of areas because they work to obtain first-hand knowledge of specific environments (Bernard 2002). Hence, the most integral part of field work is in fact physically spending time in a community (Bernard 2002). By participating in the daily lives of villagers and by building personal relationships, a sense of harmonious understanding and trust develops between the researcher and the study participants (Quinlan 2004). Rapport must be a constant and primary concern for fieldworkers (Quinlan 2004). After all, I would not assume that people would want to talk about their personal views with a complete stranger they know nothing about. Therefore I worked hard to prove to those in the community that I was a trustworthy recipient of their information, and also that I had only good intentions in regards to my studies.
I started building my rapport during my first visit to Bwa Maigo in 2007. As the eight students and I in our team stood out tremendously in this small village, we were the topic of conversations and inquiries immediately upon our arrival. Many locals were just as curious of my business as I was theirs, so I always made a point to offer up personal information and also answer any questions people had about why I was there and what our team was doing. I made sure to walk around the village often, always saying hello to those resting on pathways and looking curiously out from their porches. I visited the homes of the other field school students in order to meet even more families, and always accepted offerings of food even if I wasn’t particularly hungry. Building rapport was perhaps the most enjoyable part of my experience. It is amazing how far a positive attitude and a smile will take you, no matter how far you are away from what is comfortable to you.

Upon my return visit to Bwa Maigo in 2008, many of the villagers remembered me from the previous summer and were delighted that I came through on my promise to return to their home. Not everyone in the village was happy about the visitors, and I was mindful to continue to be friendly to these individuals despite their apparent distaste for me and my colleagues. Still, the majority people in the community were happy to help me with my project, as they trusted me and also my advisors Rob and Marsha who were long time village visitors. My good reputation contributed in helping me to acquire participation for my study; for as community members saw their neighbors working with me they perhaps felt safer in doing so themselves.
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION (P-O)

In order to gain insight as to the inherent nature of television in Bwa Maigo, I acted in a number of ways to familiarize myself with the medium's context. In anthropology, participant observation (or P-O) is an integral ingredient to a successful research project (Bernard 2002). In actively participating in the entity being examined, the field worker stands to become more familiar and hence better equipped to assess the topic at hand in regards to the community itself (Bernard 2002). In a foreign culture it is believed that a participant has to have learned enough to learn in order for a community to feel he or she can properly assess a given topic of study (Bernard 2002), and P-O acts to help the anthropologist understand the general workings of a community (Quinlan 2004).

In conducting P-O I first remained ever curious of what people were watching on television. In my walks around the village I made sure to take note of what programming was most prevalent among community members, and also the general time of day people watched their shows. For instance, many of the teen to adult women in the village enjoy watching American soap operas while they did chores or prepared food, so I kept my eye out for its presence as I walked by homes during the morning and afternoon hours.

Most importantly, I spent time each day watching television with locals; particularly with children of all ages. By watching hours of programming I witnessed the general program preferences of the youth, as well as the context to which they viewed it in. I loved hearing what people had to say about the shows, so I would often sit quietly as viewers around me discussed the content of the programming. I also asked lots of informal questions to those watching with me, such as who their favorite character was or if they had seen that particular episode before.
P-O enabled me to internalize a general understanding of the nature of TV viewing amongst the young people, and also helped me to know what kind of questions to ask when conducting my interviews later on.

INTERVIEWS

Interviews provided me with a large bulk of my quantitative data. I decided that the method of semi-structured interviewing was most appropriate; as this form allows for the informal settings of participant’s homes while utilizing a predetermined interview guide (Bernard 2002). Prior to my second visit to Bwa Maigo, I worked with my advisor Marsha Quinlan to develop comprehensive question sets for both adult and youth participants. My broad objectives were to gain an idea of local viewing preferences and of the general attitudes about television amongst villagers. Prior to conducting my first interview, I read my questions to a local informant in order to ensure that I had worded my inquiries in a way that would most successfully convey what I wanted to know. By rewording my questions to better reflect local dialect, I served to avoid potential linguistic confusions. A complete list of interview questions can be found in appendix 2.1 and 2.2.

My first task in conducting interviews was to obtain a sample set of families to participate in my study. My plan was to gain cooperation with various families of who had homes in general proximity to one another. I did this in anticipation of my second data collection method (see IBS below). In order to help introduce myself and explain the nature of my project, Marsha arranged the help of a local girl to accompany me as I knocked on the random doors. My informant proved a great help throughout the course of my data
collections, as her presence seemed to put her lifelong neighbors at ease during our meetings.

As compensation for their time away from other activities, I also offered a small gift of EC$10 to each adult family member I interviewed, of which I financed through my personal funds.

Upon obtaining compliance with an adult member of a household, I next asked a series of questions pertaining to the relative timeframe they acquired television and related technologies in their homes. This helped me establish a relative idea of how long the medium has had in influence on the lives of the participant’s family members. Next I asked three questions concerning their opinion of television in its relation to village youth. This allowed adult participants to free list the “good” and “bad” things watching television has done for their children and families, and their answers enabled me to get a general sense of how parents felt about the medium. I ended by inquiring whether the individual believed that TV’s presence has changed the way Dominican children act. This was possibly my most informative question, as I received a wide range of responses.

Following the adult interview, I then interviewed each of the adult participant’s children. The primary aim of my youth interviews was to gather information regarding individual television preferences. I began by asking if the individual had a television in their own home, and followed by asking the participant to name his or her three favorite television programs and channels. This information helped me realize the relative prevalence of television in the participants’ home life; as well as the degree to which American media has succeeded in attracting these foreign viewers. Next, by asking a series of questions concerning the various times of day the individual watched TV, I gained insight as to when most youth viewers used the medium. This I hoped would later help me determine when the optimal viewing times
were among the participants, and also their perception of themselves in relation to TV and their daily routine. I then asked participants if they watched local or Caribbean television shows and if so what they were. This question helped me realize if local programming was commonly viewed among village youth. Concluding my interview was a question about the individual’s future plans after high school is over. This I asked because it ended the interview on a positive note, as participants seemed to enjoy discussing their goals for the future.

In all, I acquired a total of thirty five interviews, of which comprised fourteen adult and twenty one youth participants whose ages ranged from zero to sixteen years.

INSTANTANEOUS BEHAVIORAL SCANS (IBS)

Upon the completion of adult and youth interviews I proceeded by exercising a method known as instantaneous behavioral scans (IBS). IBS is a formalized method of collecting quantitative data, and is a useful way of cross checking the accuracy of observations made using less formal techniques (like P-O) (Quinlan 1995). I used IBS to investigate the degree to which village children spend their before and after school time watching television. The IBS method entails the researcher to record the location and activity of a population at random times of the day, resulting in a large quantity of recorded observations. The researcher can then use the IBS observations to surmise time allocation estimates for a public (Bernard 2002), as the percentage of times people are seen doing things can be used as a proxy for the percentage of time they spend in those activities (Bernard 2002).

In an ideal IBS investigation, participants are chosen in a completely random manner (Bernard 2002); but due to the complex layout of the village it was more feasible to instead
choose homes that best reflected the social and demographic characteristics of the population under investigation (Bernard 2002). Homes were selected based on their general proximity to my place of residence, and also based on the number and ages of children available for the study. As I was interested in looking at before and after school times, I developed a predetermined schedule of randomized times to visit the households. This enabled me to obtain IBS recordings gathered at varied times of the day. In all, I visited a total of twelve homes in my route, of which I recorded the activities of 38 children whose ages ranged from zero to sixteen years of age.

The trick to a successful IBS study is to record the activities of subjects before they see the researcher coming onto the scene and have a chance to change their behavior (Bernard 2002). This I accomplished by quietly walking through the participant’s yards and looking around before I announced my presence. This may at first sound sneaky, but I observed that Bwa Maigo villagers are generally used to their neighbors walking through their yards, as countless trails wind around nearly every residence.

At each IBS scan I would record the name, date, and location of the individual, as well as their primary and secondary activity and also the names of any people they were with. If the individual happened to be watching television and I could observe what they were watching, I would include this information in my notebook. In order to ensure confidentiality, I also assigned a number to each participant, and I referred to each individual according to their number. In all I obtained a total of 175 individual IBS recorded observations.
TIME ALLOCATION DATA

Upon returning to the United States, I then coded my IBS recordings using the format established by Robert Quinlan in his previous time allocation studies on village children. R. Quinlan’s study on father absence, maternal child care and children’s behavior (conducted in 1994) utilized the same instantaneous behavioral scanning methods I used. His findings presented me with a detailed time allocation breakdown of how children in Bwa Maigo spent their time eleven years before cable existed (Quinlan 1995). With a few minor alterations I made to account for more recent technologies such as the internet, I was able to come up with a data set that closely mirrored his previous study. As Quinlan’s data set was much more thorough and thus more accurate than mine, (as he obtained 1,583 scans compared to my 175), I made sure to remain aware of this imbalance as I persisted in comparing the data sets. I was then able to create a time allocation data set which allowed me to draw substantial and relative conclusions as to the ways television has altered how village children spend their leisurely hours.
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As data was obtained using two methods, I will discuss my findings accordingly. I will begin with discussion on the data obtained through IBS recordings, and I will conclude in discussing my findings from my participant interviews.

Before discussion is continued, I feel it is necessary to reiterate the shortcomings of my data sets. The month I spent gathering interviews and P-O observations (May 14, 2008-June 15, 2008), enabled me to gain valid ethnographic experiences which have enriched my capacities as a cultural anthropologist. Unfortunately, my efforts resulted in data sets that were inconclusive, as I did not acquire enough data to adequately assess the inquiries I attempted to address. To draw concrete conclusions based on my findings, I would need to acquire a much more elaborate data set. In order to do this I would need to reside in the village for several months and collect over a thousand IBS recordings, as did Quinlan in 1994 (Quinlan 1995). I would also need to obtain an increased amount of interviews. Since my personal finances and the length of the field school did not permit me to stay longer than one month, I was left with what I could gather in the timeframe I was allowed. Further, the timing of the field school happened to correspond with the end of the academic school year for the village children, so I met several challenges in randomizing my IBS recordings. As this was a University Honors thesis as opposed to a Master’s thesis, I felt that my data sets were conclusive enough to still allow for discussion on my findings as well as predictions based on my data. Had I been allowed longer residence and more control over the timing of my village stay, I would have been able to better assess the relevancy of current trends I observed with increased accuracy. That being said, I will continue with discussion and analysis of my findings.
TIME ALLOCATION FINDINGS

As stated in the methodology section of this paper, I was able to obtain a total of 175 IBS observations of which I translated into codes in accordance to the categories established in Quinlan’s 1995 study (Quinlan 1995). The nine possible categories are as follows: child care, house chores, eating/drinking, hygiene, transport, play, passive, conversation, and subsistence (Quinlan 1995). This format placed “watching television” under the “passive” category, along with sleep, resting, sitting, standing, and watching (Quinlan 1995). I also coded for “location” of the individual, but the information did not become relevant upon the analysis of data (for a complete list of activity codes I used, along with coding examples, see the appendix 3.1). As the names of individuals were assigned a code in order to protect the privacy of these individuals, this list was intentionally omitted from this report.

The IBS observations I gathered indicate that in 2008 children in Bwa Maïgo ages zero to sixteen years spend their time in the following manner:
### Table 1.1

As indicated in Table 1.1, the most commonly observed activities among the youth population examined were those grouped under the “passive” category, with 62 IBS recorded occurrences. The next most commonly observed activity were those grouped under the “play” category. The youth population spends a great majority of their time conducting activities which fall under the two categories (67.4%).

In order to test the validity of my time allocation allotment, it is necessary to compare my findings with those obtained by R. Quinlan in 1995. His 1,583 observations led him to develop the following time allocation layout for children ages zero to fifteen years (Quinlan 1995):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVITY</th>
<th># OBSERVED</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Childcare</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chores</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat/Drink</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hygiene</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>32.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>35.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>175</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0%</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACTIVITY</td>
<td># OBSERVED</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childcare</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chores</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eat/Drink</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>6.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hygiene</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>4.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>12.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Play</td>
<td>368</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passive</td>
<td>443</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subsistence</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>1,583</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2.1

In the 1995 IBS recorded data set, it is clear that the overall trends seen in 2008 continue to hold valid. “Passive” activities were the majority at 28.0%, followed by “play” at 23.2%. Still, there have been some substantial changes in how the village young people spend their time between the fourteen years between studies. Below is a chart of how the two data sets compare:
In looking at Table 3.1, it is clear that there have been shifts in the percentages of time young people spend in various activities. The most substantial changes between the two studies are increases in “passive” and “play” activities (jumping 8.8% and 7.4%). Also significant is the decrease in time spent in “chores” activities (diminishing 9.1%). I will follow with discussion on a few of these changes as well as my theories as to why they occurred.

I have largely attributed the changes observed between the two data sets to technological advancements that have occurred in the village between the fourteen years the
studies were conducted. As innovations entered into the daily lives of Bwa Maigo residents, young people have through the years acquired more time for the enjoyable activities categorized in the "play" and "passive" categories. For example, in 1995 children spent a large chunk of time every day walking down to a stream to carry heavy buckets of drinking water up the steep trails leading up to their homes (Quinlan 2004). In 2008, I observed that the presence of running water posts throughout the hamlets serves to speed up this process considerably. Combined with other technological advancements, the village has had a considerable decrease in "chores" activities among village children than before.

Time spent in "transportation" activities decreased by 3.2% between the studies, and I attribute this to technology as well. I observed that today it is extremely common for people young and old to wave down a local driver for a ride up the big road or to the next town, often times free of charge. As I set out to walk the 20 minute route to the neighboring village over the hill, it seemed as if at least one truck would zip by hauling up to twenty adults and children grasping onto whatever they could to avoid bouncing out of the vehicle. I believe that villagers continue to use walking as their primary mode of transportation (Quinlan 2004), but due to the availability of jump-on-jump-off rides I observed; I would expect that time spent in "transportation" activities has reduced since 1995.

I have accredited the decrease in time spent in "subsistence" activities to the upsurge in available processed food products in village rum shops. Today there is an assortment of ready-made foods that villagers buy to feed their families. Popular staples are canned meats such as Spam and Vienna chicken sausages, boxes of rice and noodles such as Macaroni and Cheese, and also cans of condensed milk for making tea. The decrease in the "eating and drinking"
category I attributed to this same idea, for I saw many children purchase small snacks at the rum shops of which they munched on as they roamed around the village. Therefore, it would be expected that I observed children eating and drinking less than did Quinlan in 1995.

One of the activities that instead increased was the amount of time spent in “oral” activities (rising 1.8% between the two studies). When Quinlan conducted his IBS recordings in 1995, cellular phones did not exist amongst villagers. In 2008 these are common, especially among teenagers. In my revisions I coded “talking on mobile” under the “oral” category; thus it is plausible that the indicated increase in “oral” activities is largely due to the very presence of cellular phones.

Due to technological advancements, I found it easy to see why young people in 2008 have more time to engage in the more relaxing and fun activities listed under the “passive” and “play” categories than they did fourteen years ago.

CLOSER EXAMINATION: “PASSIVE” ACTIVITIES

The following table lists the layout of observances that comprised the “passive” category:
Of the 62 observations of “passive” activities, a whopping 47 of them involved watching television, equating to 75.8% of all “passive” observances. Also sizable is the number of occurrences television served as a secondary activity (as it was on in the background to another activity), at 10 out of 25 recorded “passive” secondary activities. Therefore the data tells us that out of the 175 IBS recordings obtained, 26.9% of them involved individuals watching television as a primary activity, and 32.6% of all recorded observances involved television in some way.

Hence, according to my 2008 IBS observations, young people in Bwa Maigo spend a third of their time around television programming. I consider this astounding, as television
programming has been available in the village for only four years. I thus conclude that television has vastly altered the ways in which village youth allocate their time.

Next I will explore data obtained through interviews, which will initiate discuss on the ways television is affecting young people’s behavior as well as what this could lead to in the future.

INTERVIEWS

In my interviewing process, I developed two separate interviews for adults and youth participants. I will expound upon each accordingly, and will conclude with discussion on what this may mean for the future of Bwa Maigo.

YOUTH INTERVIEWS: PREFERENCES

My primary aim in interviewing youth participants was to gain information on which shows and channels attracted these young viewers the most. In my quest to gain this knowledge, I asked participants to name their three favorite television channels followed by their three favorite television programs. I was sure to stay keen of the order which participants named their preferences, as I later assigned a three point system which awarded points based on the order of recall. This method I used to calculate the frequency score of each of the mentioned channels and programs, telling me their overall popularities. The following discusses the findings from the two charts.
CHANNEL PREFERENCES AMONG YOUTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHANNEL NAME</th>
<th>FREQUENCY SCORE</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Disney Channel</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cartoon Network</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Starz</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BET (Black Entertainment Tel.)</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boomerang</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. shows</td>
<td>16</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>121</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1

PROGRAM PREFERENCES AMONG YOUTH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROGRAM NAME (mentioned &gt;once)</th>
<th>FREQUENCY SCORE</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hannah Montana</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tom and Jerry</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movie</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sponge Bob Squarepants</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben-10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TV Channel</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>That’s So Raven</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Shows (&lt; once)</td>
<td>47</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>108</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.2

By equating the frequency score of each channel and program named as a favorite amongst interviewees, I was able to realize the overall popularity of each television channel and program amongst village youth. I found *The Disney Channel* to be most popular amongst young viewers (41 points), followed by *Cartoon Network* (36 points) and the movie channel *Starz* (11 points). The next two channels, *BET* (the American *Black Entertainment Television*) and *Boomerang* (another exclusive kid’s channel) followed in popularity, and comprised the only two channels that were named by more than one individual. I also included a category entitled
“movies” to encompass each time a child mentioned the name of a movie as their favorite channel. Disney’s *Hannah Montana* and Cartoon Network’s *Tom and Jerry* tied as the most popular programs; which I believe further reflects upon the notoriety of the two channels among village youth. Also important was the number of times each channel was recounted first by individuals, as I believed it to display the channel’s overall prevalence in the minds of interviewees. The *Disney Channel* was recalled most often as first (ten times), followed by *Cartoon Network* (eight times). This informed me that out of the twenty-one times youth participants were asked to name their three favorite channels, 85.7% of the time they named either *The Disney Channel* or *Cartoon Network* as first of their three favorites. I will continue with discussion on why these channels and programs are most preferred amongst the youth population of Bwa Maigo (for a complete list of available channels, see appendix 1.1).

**THE DISNEY CHANNEL**

I was not at all surprised to find that *The Disney Channel* was most popular among interviewed youth. First, due to the channel’s wide range of both cartoon and live action programming, the channel is extremely successful in attracting very young viewers as well as teenage audiences (Giroux 2001). Disney’s formula of family sitcoms is efficacious, even in the United States (Giroux 2001). If a family in Bwa Maigo has a home television set, it is likely that they only have one, which is placed in the home’s common area in order to accommodate the maximum amount of viewers. In this setting it is likely that G-rated shows such as *Hannah Montana* and *That’s So Raven* are regularly viewed in homes with children of varying ages. This
concept is validated by Hannah Montana’s preference as one of the number one most popular shows named by youth participants (see Table 5.2).

In my P-O efforts of watching television with children, I noticed that The Disney Channel rarely shows commercials for any entity that is not Disney in nature. The Disney Corporation, whose net worth is in the billions of dollars (Manta 2008), can afford not to have exterior institutions pay them to play their advertisements because they generate income from various merchandises (Giroux 2001). In essence, The Disney Channel is itself its own commercial, both for the channel and for all of its other enterprises from which it derives profits from (amusement parks, toys, movies, snacks, etc.)(Giroux 2008). By not interrupting the viewer with advertisements from non-Disney companies, the channel’s audience is never distracted from the Disney spell (Giroux 2008). Therefore, it makes perfect sense that this was the channel most prevalent in young people’s minds, and also explains its overall popularity.

CARTOON NETWORK

Cartoon Network is one of the many successful channels offered by the syndicate Turner Broadcasting Systems Inc. (Flew & Gilmour 2003). Other channels owned by the company are the news network CNN, along with TBS, TNT, Boomerang and Turner Classic Movies (Flew & Gilmour 2003); all of which are offered by Dominica’s cable provider Marpin Telecoms (Marpin Television & Broadcasting 2008a). Cartoon Network offers young viewers a full 24 hours of cartoons per day (New Media Age 2004); as well as cartoon programming for more mature audiences with its “Adult Swim” late night segment (Adult Swim 2004).
The success of *Cartoon Network* is due to cartoons’ attraction to young viewers. Bright, flashing colors, quick movements, fantasy characters and goofy voices captivate children into the submission of their complete attention when it is turned on. In seamlessly merging humor and violence with quick pace and animation, cartoons that are designed for children serve to ensure the most attention and attraction to the images (Huston et. al 2007).

The popularity of the cartoon *Tom and Jerry*, which tied with Disney’s *Hannah Montana* for number one in status among interviewed youth (see Table 5.2), is a prime example of the way that cartoon violence successfully attracts children (Cantor 1998). As one of the most successful series to come out of the Hannah and Barbera limited animation technique (Mallory 1998), the cartoon has since the 1960’s featured the ever impending tribulations that ensue during a cat and mouse chase. Upon the purchase of MGM by Ted Turner in 1986, the show became property of Turner Entertainment (Encyclopedia Britanicca 2008) and is today shown daily on its affiliated stations, including *Cartoon Network* and *Boomerang* (Simcox 2006).

There are a number of factors which attribute to the show’s immense popularity among the youth of Bwa Maigo. First, the cartoon’s characters are recognizable to everyone in the village as semi-wild cats and mice are commonly seen rummaging through garbage piles and also lounging on doorsteps. Next, the cartoon serves to appeal to even the youngest audiences because it does not employ the use of dialogue in its comedic act (Cartoon Pictures 2008). I believe this may also contribute to why local children are so attracted to it; as the absence of language allows for the avoidance of linguistic misinterpretations that would serve to lessen its comedic translation between American English and the local dialect, Dominican English Creole.
Last, I believe that its use of repeated and constant violence in its jokes serves to make the show practically irresistible to young viewers.

PARENT INTERVIEWS: OPINIONS AND OBSERVATIONS

The principal intent in my adult and parent interviews was to procure a list of observed changes they have seen in the village since the introduction of cable television in 2004, and also how they feel about its influence on the children in their community. In first asking adults to list the “good” and “bad” things television has done for their children and family, I allowed participants to offer up as much or as little information as they pleased. I concluded by inquiring about the changes the individual noticed in village children as a whole, which again allowed for participants to answer in a similar fashion. Upon the completion of my interviews, I counted the number of times each opinion or observance was mentioned. The following tables illustrate my findings, followed by respective analysis.

POSITIVE ASPECTS OF TELEVISION

The following is a list of the most popularly mentioned positive byproducts television has had on their children and families:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>“GOOD” THINGS THAT TV DOES FOR THEIR FAMILY/CHILDREN</th>
<th># OF TIMES MENTIONED IN INTERVIEWS</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exposes children to the daily news</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good for school (in general)</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes children aware of the world/more global</td>
<td>(4)</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive Benefits</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>Rank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaches children songs and dances</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teaches children about the Bible (Christian channels)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improves language skills</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Builds confidence</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Provides entertainment</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.1

In asking about the positive benefits of television, adults most often replied that it was the exposure to the news that most benefited their children and families (mentioned five times). As Dominican media sources issue only weekly newspapers, I observed that television and radio are the only sources of daily news for most families. I concluded that parents are pleased to have access to the more visually appealing news channels, which serve to make the news more colorful and alluring to young audiences. Furthermore, Bwa Maigo cable subscribers have access to around ten news stations (see “List of Dominican Television Stations” in appendix) providing parents with viewing choices from around the world, all of which are extremely up to date and available at any time of the day.

The next three most popularly named positive aspects of television were that TV is good for schooling in general, that it makes children more global, and that it teaches children new songs and dances, (each mentioned four times). The first two listed are similar in nature to the first byproduct discussed (that it exposes children to the news), as adults are attesting to the academic benefits of television as it relates to their children’s education. I was however amazed at the repeated mentioning that television coached their children in learning new songs.
and dances. As I pondered this existent, it became clear why parents cited this as an affirmative offshoot, especially when considered in a cultural context. I have observed that parents in the United States have been largely desensitized to the ways television influences children’s culture. Prior to television’s existence, the songs and dances child were exposed to in the Bwa Maigo community would have been much more limited to those taught by their teachers and families, and I would assume they would be primarily Dominican in nature. Now, with the exposure to massive amounts of shows and advertisements, children in Bwa Maigo see an increased amount of songs and dances of which they in turn imitate in their non-viewing hours. This I found to be a decidedly positive change in the eyes of the parents in this community.

Of the last four good derivatives named by parents, I will discuss the “improves language skills” as the final aspect of this section’s analysis. As my first trip to Bwa Maigo was in 2007, (three years since cable came to the village), I was never able to experience what people’s English skills were like prior to the exposure of the medium. Villagers speak both French Patwa and Caribbean Creole English, but the thick accent of elders can make English words sound foreign to the untrained ear. In contrast, young people and those with television are regularly exposed to the U.S. and British pronunciation of words; therefore visitors such as I can more easily communicate today than in the past. This is confirmed in the story of the village’s brief exposure to television programming in 1994, recounted by Marsha Quinlan in her book From the Bush: The Front Line of Health Care in a Caribbean Village (2004). She explained how when villagers gathered around the fuzzy reception of an ABC news segment, even high school graduates were unable to understand the newscast fully (Quinlan 2004). “They said they
understood “almost” everything”, she explains, “but they still could not understand some of the language” (Quinlan 2004:18). She continues in stating that during the summer of her 1998 stay, she noticed that the “…comprehension of Standard English was increasing from the way villagers acted while watching videos and while speaking with American and British Earthwatch volunteers” (Quinlan 2004:18). If the occasional use of VHS movies had helped villagers understand Standard English, it is only natural that the presence of American television has only extended this trend. I speculate that this drift toward Standard English could lead to brighter futures for village children by helping them acquire better paying jobs; perhaps in the nation’s fast growing economic sector of tourism.

NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF TELEVISION

The following is a chart outlining the responses made by parents when asked what the bad things were that television has done for their families and children:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;BAD&quot; THINGS THAT TV DOES FOR THEIR FAMILY/CHILDREN</th>
<th># OF TIMES MENTIONED</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Encourages violence</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad things in general</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourages gang-like behavior</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourages provocative dress</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourages “dirty dancing”</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Encourages drug use</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad for their health (eyes)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gives children false perception of the world (esp. regarding male-female relationships)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>11</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2
In looking at the number of responses to this question (eleven), it is clear that individuals did not offer up as many examples as they did when asked of the positives of television (twenty five). This I believe is due to the wording of the question itself. As I asked participants to name "the bad things television has done for your family and children", parents seemed more reluctant to address the medium’s adverse impact as it regarded their own families. Perhaps this is because they did not want to confront the idea that it was changing the dynamics of their home, as this might trigger them to place blame on themselves as heads of households (Quinlan 2000). Rather, when I asked the final question regarding how television has changed children in the village as a whole, parents offered me a much more vivid illustration of the ways TV has unfavorably affected youth village members. The following is a chart outlining their responses to this question:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OBSERVED WAYS DOMINICAN CHILDREN HAVE CHANGED SINCE INTRODUCTION OF TV</th>
<th># OF TIMES MENTIONED IN INTERVIEWS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dress more provocatively</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in “gang-like” behavior (i.e. slang, walk, etc.)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More violent/aggressive</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in negative attitude</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children are more segregated and secluded than before/play and social interactions discouraged</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More “partying” (drug/alcohol use)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creates a want for material goods unrealistic in this setting</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Displays of more talents/ways to express themselves</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>26</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3

In this question’s response, I had only one mention of a positive trend among village youth, as they said that village children are now displaying more talents and ways to express
themselves than before. The remaining twenty-five responses were abysmal in nature. In combining the answers to the two questions, I received a much better understanding of how parents see television unfavorably affecting their own children, as well as the children of others, as outlined in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TV'S NEGATIVE IMPACT ON VILLAGE CHILDREN</th>
<th># OF TIMES MENTIONED IN INTERVIEWS</th>
<th>RANKING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dress more provocatively</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>1&lt;sup&gt;st&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advocates more violent/aggressive behavior</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increased gang formation/gang like behavior</td>
<td>(7)</td>
<td>2&lt;sup&gt;nd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in an overall negative attitude</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increases/encourages “partying” (i.e. alcohol and drug use)</td>
<td>(3)</td>
<td>3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad things in general</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gives children false perception of the world (esp. regarding male-female relationships and consumption patterns)</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children are more segregated and secluded/ play and social interactions discouraged</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>4&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Increase in “dirty dancing”</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad for their health (eyes)</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>5&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.4

I see each of the noted observances as a significant indicator of the affects TV has had on the community of Bwa Maigo. In fact, nearly all of the concerns listed above are many of the exact same issues U.S. families perpetually address to this day (Berry 2007, Rich 2007, Jennings & Wartella 2007, Lorch 2007, Murray 2007). Since its invention, distressed parents have voiced their anxieties over the medium, and in response scholarly professionals have conducted thousands of studies in an effort to deluge how the medium affects children.
audiences (Pecora 2007). I will now summarize various findings researchers have made in accordance to some of the various changes the parents of Bwa Maigo have seen in their own setting.

TELEVISION IN RELATION TO PHYSICAL HEALTH

Although the parent who mentioned health as a concern only did so in regards to vision, I believe it is important to address the ways television viewing has been found to influence the physical wellbeing of children. When television was in its infancy, researchers in the 1940s investigated its effects on the overall health of young viewers, citing “frogtitis” (caused by children sitting in front of the television with their knees folded to the side), “TV bottom” (an ache in the tailbone caused by sitting too long), and “TV tummy” (an upset stomach from becoming too excited during action-adventure shows), as potential threats to children’s bodily welfare (Grossman 1987). Also addressed at this time was television’s potential to damage the eye (Rones, 1949). In regards to visual health, there is no evidence that television viewing harms eyes (Web 2005). Rather, excessive close work such as reading has been known to cause vision problems, so unless the child is viewing television with his/her face pressed up against the screen, it is not known to cause visual damage (Web 2005).

More relevant is television’s potential to encourage young viewers to engage in behaviors which can lead to unhealthy outcomes for young viewers. American pediatricians tend to focus on the increasing obesity problem among adolescents (Dietz 1990, Taras et al. 1989, Anderson et al. 2001), but in the context of Bwa Maigo I perceive this to be irrelevant though perhaps not in the future if current trends persist. Rather, I will focus instead on how
television influences drug and alcohol use, as it was one of the third most mentioned changes observed by village parents.

Bandura’s social cognitive theory has been relevant to discussions about TV and drugs and alcohol (Lorch 2007). The idea is that children who are exposed to a copious amount of television characters that exhibit particular health-related behaviors may then be influenced into acting out what they see in their own lives (Bandura 1989). Television is drenched with references to alcohol and drug use, almost all of which is correlated with positive consequences (Lorch 2007). Alcohol use is most likely to be seen on television, and is most often portrayed as incidental, customary, and free of problems (Roberts & Christenson 2000). In all, its use is presented as normative adult behavior, with excess more likely to be shown humorously than as harmful (Lorch 2007). In an analysis conducted in the year 2000 on the top 20 shows among teens and adults, 77% of the episodes of these shows included references to alcohol use, with alcohol consumption common among the show’s main characters (Roberts & Christenson 2000). This may not be as pertinent in communities such as Bwa Maigo where singular family television sets often tune into programming which is more family friendly. Yet even if a young child does not watch programming that is inappropriate for their age group, I would expect that they will still get some exposure by way of advertisements that emphasize the use of young, attractive models as well as child-friendly cartoons such as the Budweiser frogs (Lorch 2007). Illicit drug use on television is less common, and is in contrast portrayed in a manner which tends to underline its negative consequences (Lorch 2007). I believe this to be changing, as today music videos are increasingly displaying drugs in their videos and lyrics. Still, research to date has surmounted little evidence to suggest that viewing television contributes to an
increase in drug use among young audiences; rather it is more likely to influence alcohol use simply because it is portrayed as normal adult conduct (Lorch 2007). In advertisements and programs, alcohol use is linked to status and positive consequences, therefore children are often attracted to using it in an effort to attain this feeling.

Alcohol and drug use have been a part of life in Bwa Maigo long before television came to the village. Rum shops scattered throughout the hamlets are regularly occupied by village drunks at all times of the day (Quinlan 2004). Public intoxication and alcohol abuse is commonly seen amongst the adult male population (Quinlan 2004). Locals attribute the “nerves” a person is born with to account for whether or not one becomes alcohol dependent, or if they are able to use it in moderation on social occasions (Quinlan 2004). Those who have “weak nerves” (dependents) generally cause little disturbances in village life, as conflicts are quickly ended through the intervention of friends and kinfolk (Quinlan 2004). Young people are likely to curiously experiment with alcohol and drugs because of its availability in the village, but I do not believe television is to blame for this. As young villagers already see alcoholism and substance abuse in their daily lives, they are exposed to the real consequences these behaviors lead to. I do not believe that television is causing children to use alcohol and drugs any more than before; for what television neglects to address concerning negative consequences, children witness in simply walking around their neighborhoods.

TELEVISION IN RELATION TO VIOLENCE

Though I do not attribute television viewing to substance use by juvenile villagers, I do however believe it is promoting more aggressive and violent behavior. I make this statement
based on findings from the over 1,000 published reports on the issue of TV and violence over
the past fifty years (Murray 1980), of which I will outline a few.

Children’s television programs often use violence to attract audiences because it works
so well (Murray et al. 2006, Murray 2001). For the same reason people slow down traffic to
view a car crash, it is my belief that humans are innately curious to investigate that which they
fear the most. I believe with television viewing, children and adults are given a visual template
as to what could potentially happen in their own lives, as well as examples in how to deal with
such instances if said occurrence happened to them. Thus I conclude that the demand for
violence in television is present, and television producers have long profited from this
realization by supplying audiences with an exuberant amount of material from which to feast
their subconscious fantasies upon.

Today, it is estimated that by the time children in the U.S. finish elementary school they
have witnessed a staggering 8,000 murders on television (Herr 2007). Research conducted over
the past 50 years leads to the conclusion that televised violence does affect viewer’s attitudes,
values, and behavior (Hearold 1986, Murray 1994, Paik & Comstock 1994). This type of
exposure effects how children develop a worldview, and often leads to more aggressive
behavior later in life (Murray 2007). In investigating the effects of light versus heavy viewers,
increased television consumption is thought to correlate with the development of an individual
who is more fearful of the world around them, described as the development of a “mean world
syndrome” effect, as the perception is developed leading the child to believe “…greater
protection is needed, that most people can’t be trusted, and that most people are just looking
out for themselves” (Gerbner et al. 1994:30). Research shows that even the far-fetched
realities in the cartoon universe serve to influence violent behavior, as it is believed that children who view violent television programs become desensitized to violence and are more willing to tolerate aggressive behavior in others (Drabman & Thomas 1974). Conversely, the same effect has been known to occur in regards to positive programming, as evidence shows that in watching nonviolent programming such as *Mister Roger's Neighborhood*, pro-social helping behavior increases among children (Murray 2007). Studies observe that those Canadian and American children who had high exposure to television and low exposure to print were more aggressive than those with the reverse pattern (Schramm et al. 1961).

The effects of the recent exposure to the medium are already being observed by parents in Bwa Maigo, as advocated in its second place ranking of noted changes. The compilation of research conducted through the decades has made it clear that we are all affected by the violence that we encounter on television and in other media (Murray 2007), and the already observable indicators in this community attests that continued exposure will lead to similar outcomes in this area as well.

TELEVISION IN RELATION TO SOCIAL BEHAVIOR

Perhaps least understood of all is the effects television has on the socialization of young audiences and what it will lead to in the future. I will conclude with discussion on how the exposure to American television has undeniably morphed the youth culture in Bwa Maigo. The mention by parents of inappropriate dress, risqué dancing and overall “thug-like” behaviors accounted for nearly half of the 36 noted changes to be seen in young people since Bwa Maigo
received television in 2004. These parents are in fact realizing how their community is being influenced by the American media’s message of what is relative youth behavior.

As young people watch television, they ingest and interpret its messages in accordance to how they perceive themselves as well as those around them. Researchers in the U.S. claim television’s potential to inspire children to acquire culturally marginalized views of selected social roles in their societies (Berry 2007). Naturally, television’s portrayal of black culture has had a broad impact on this community, due largely to a shared ancestral heritage. In viewing music channels, popular sitcoms, commercials, and the network BET, kids in Bwa Maigo have been presented with the media’s interpretation of what it means to be black in America; an image that is often ridden with exaggerated and glorified versions of reality (Entman 1990, Graves 1993, Children Now 1998). I believe that as viewers residing outside of America, such as those in Dominica, are not able to see for themselves the inaccuracies in the media’s portrayal of this group, they often assume these stereotypical notions as valid. Yet, as I see the creation of black culture in the United States is a result of a group’s shared history of unique experiences, its messages are not always translated correctly when presented outside the realm from which it was established. Instead, it is adapted to make sense in whichever environment it is viewed in. It is important to realize that concepts of cultural identity are complex and always subject to change (Iwabuchi 2002), and in turn the youth of Bwa Maigo have fused the ghetto-fabulous American mindset with their Caribbean experience to create a youth culture distinct to this particular part of the world.

The community of Bwa Maigo has a coded set of behaviors of which young people are expected to adhere to. Children have for many years dressed, danced and spoken in a
traditional manner in accordance to the community's conservative Christian values. Now, through the exposure to American media, the younger generation is emulating the behavioral patterns acted out by those on television. It would be expected that adults have mounted concerns about this generation's stray from the established norm. In listening in on the conversations held by these alarmed individuals, I couldn't help but be reminded of the situation America found itself in during the 1960s. When young audiences in the United States were first presented with the untidy appearance of The Beatles and other foreign rock and roll groups, they responded by emulating the trends in their subsequent preferences and attitudes (Cepcian et al. 1985). I think that many parents at the time became frightened of these changes because the subculture they were presented with stood in total contrast to their established worldview. As they were scared that they would soon not recognize their own children, they acted out in expelling the message that these influences were bad and would result in the demise of moral order. In response the younger generation repelled this notion, as I believe they did not see their behavior as anything but an expression of themselves and how they came to find alliances within the time period they were captive to. As these adolescents eventually grew into adults and parents themselves, the adverse opinions died along with the parents who held them (Cepcian et al. 1995). This occurred to such a degree that today the views of these individuals are recounted in history books as old-fashioned and counterproductive.

This example is a predictor to what is presently occurring in the imitation of "ghetto culture" by youth in Bwa Maigo. Just as the British influenced Americans, the African American cultural patterns imitated in this community will one day be engrained as usual behavior in this population. Of the perceived "negative" influences parents believe television and the
subculture it helped to create has on this community, is it really causing a detriment in the quality of life of these young individuals? This is a complicated matter to address, for although the adoption of slang and dance moves may just be surface changes that will continue to change with succeeding generations, I believe that some aspects of this influence may act to inspire negative developments for some young viewers. For instance, as is seen in the United States, the inaccurate portrayal of the female form on television can lead to a disfigured body image for young girls, and in the same way young boys who fantasize about being rap artists may associate success with carrying a gun. Television has not been in the village long enough to see how its influences will pan out, so only time will tell if these fears held by parents will lead to tangible alterations in Bwa Maigo society.
CONCLUSION

Through my efforts I realized that television viewing has had a pronounced impact on the lives of children in Bwa Maigo. My 2008 time allocation data on village children indicated that young people spend as much as one third of their non-schooling time either watching television, or else engaged in alternate activities while the device remained on in the background. Television viewing seemed to occupy much of the time formerly spent engaged in other passive activities such as relaxing and resting. Data also indicated that television viewing, along with time spent in "play" activities, had increased since 1995, of which I believe was due to its inheritance of the free time formerly spent in actions such as household chores and transportation. I attribute the technological advancements in these areas as the main contributor in positioning these children to be more accessible to the medium. This high degree of exposure is the main reason the device has so rapidly influenced village dynamics.

With youth interviews I deciphered a notion of the group’s program preferences. I found trends to highly reflect those observed in the U.S.; as The Disney Channel and Cartoon Network successfully attracted viewers in this dissimilar arena. Yet, I realized this was achieved in a slightly diverse fashion in accordance to the specific context of Dominican culture and Bwa Maigo society. From interviewing parents it became apparent that though adults favored the medium’s ability to assist their children academically, they opposed many of the social influences American programming initiated in their youth. Increases in aggressive behavior, as well as communal trends among young people, are just a few of the byproducts television viewing can have on young vulnerable minds. Although the data I collected was not
considerable in quantity, the gathered information persisted in supplying me with a distinct portrait of how television viewing influenced the lives of Dominican youth in 2008.

In inquiring whether television viewing has a more positive or negative effect on the region, I realized that it is entirely dependent on the individual parenting strategies exercised by local parents. Television has the capacity to imprint countless impressions upon youth in all contexts, and through open communication parents can work to deter the false realities displayed in the broadcasting world. I feel television programming can act to inspire young people to initiate the actions needed to improve the current status of this nation. As attested by Dominican historian Lennox Honychurch, "Dominicans now know more about world events than ever before. Developments abroad influenced their views of events around them... (and) this increased awareness has been a noticeable contribution to social change over the past two decades" (Honychurch 1995). Television programming can extend this trend, but only time will tell if its influences pan out in that direction.

In exploring how quickly television served to alter life in Bwa Maigo, I became more aware of the immense power the medium has over us all. Never before in history or prehistory has there been an entire generation who is on average absorbed into an estimated 8 ½ hours of alternate universes a day (Elias 2004), and repercussions of this influence have only just begun to surface. This unprecedented situation leads me to stress the importance of sustained investigation on this topic. By continuing to realize how the media environment can covertly influence our daily lives, we can better comprehend ways to reap the positive benefits of this tool in order to promote a greater good in communities, both at home and abroad.
APPENDIX

1.1: Television Station Listings

The following is a list of television stations available in Bwa Maigo through Marpin Telecoms, Incorporated. I obtained this list through manually flipping through stations during my P-O activities.

2 DIS (Disney Channel)
3 Cartoon Network
4 Boomerang (Spanish-Boomerang Cartoon Network)
5 Kids Channel
6 Dominican Local Radio
7 Dominican Local Radio
8 Dominican Local Radio
9 Caribvision
10 EWTN (Eternal Word Television Network)
11 Church 3ABN
12 Church 3ABN
13 Local Radio Dominican
14 BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation)
15 CNN (Cable News Network)
16 FOX (FOX Broadcasting Company)
17 CNN (Cable News Network)
18 FOX Review/CNBC
19 TCM (Turner Classic Movies)
20 SHO (Showtime)
21 SHO (Showtime)
22 SHO (Showtime)
23 SHO (Showtime)
24 WON America
25 LIFE (Lifetime Channel)
26 ABC (American Broadcasting Corporation)
27 CBS (Columbia Broadcasting System)
28 TNT (Turner Network Television)
29 ESPN (Entertainment & Sports Programming Network)
30 ESPN (Entertainment & Sports Programming Network)
31 Cricket Sports Max
32 SCIFI (Science Fiction Channel)
33 BBC America (British Broadcasting Corporation-America)
34 COM (Comedy Central)
40 Discovery Health
41 DSC (Discovery Channel)
42 DW-TV (Deutch Welle Television)
43 A&E (Arts & Entertainment Television)
44 TV Land
45 HGTV (Home & Garden Television)
46 TLC (The Learning Channel)
47 BET (Black Entertainment Television)
48 Top Caribbean Music
49 TNT (Turner Network Television)
50 VH1 (Video Hits-One)
52 USA (USA Network)
53 CW11 (The CW Television Network)
54 TBS (Turner Broadcasting System)
55 Spanish Programming
56 T (Telmun-Spanish Programming)
58 WTH (Weather Channel)
59 ARTS
60 Dominican8
61 Dominican Local Radio
62 Dominican Local Radio
64 DomiNews8 (Dominican News)
66 CMC Sports8 (Caribbean Media Corporation-Sports)
67 CCTV (China Central Television)
80 Chinese News8
2.1 Adult Interview Questions

The following is the list of questions used in parent interviews:

ADULT INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Researcher: Jenna Hansen, Undergraduate Anthropology student of Washington State University. Telephone: 767-295-4995

1. When did your home first get the current?

2. When was the first time you watched TV? Where?

3. When did your home first get a television set?

4. Do you have a cell phone? When did you get it?

5. What television channels do each of your children watch the most?

6. What are the good things watching television has done for your children and family?

7. What are the bad things watching television has done for your children and family?

8. Do you think television has changed the way Dominican children act?
2.2 Youth Interview Questions

The following is the list of the questions used in youth interviews:

**YOUTH & YOUNG ADULT PARTICIPANTS**

Researcher: Jenna Hansen, Undergraduate Anthropology student of Washington State University. Telephone: 767-295-4995

1. Is there a television in your home?
2. What are your three favorite television channels?
3. What are your three favorite television programs?
4. What shows do you watch on TV in the mornings (before 12:00 noon)? (up to five answers)
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
   4-1 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   4-1 b. How many times a week do you watch (said show)?
   4-2 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   4-2 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?
   4-3 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   4-3 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?
   4-4 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   4-4 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?
   4-5 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   4-5 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?

5. What shows do you watch on TV in the afternoon (12-5 p.m.)? (up to five answers)
   1. 2. 3. 4. 5.
   5-1 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   5-1 b. How many times a week do you watch (said show)?
   5-2 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   5-2 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?
   5-3 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   5-3 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?
5-4 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
5-4 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?

5-5 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
5-5 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?

6. What night time TV shows do you watch? (5 p.m. to bed time)? (up to five answers)
   1. __________ 2. __________ 3. __________ 4. __________ 5. __________

   6-1 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   6-1 b. How many times a week do you watch (said show)?

   6-2 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   6-2 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?

   6-3 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   6-3 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?

   6-4 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   6-4 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?

   6-5 a. Do you watch (said show) every day?
   6-5 b. How many times a week do you watch said show?

7. Are there any shows you watch only on the weekends (Saturday and Sunday)?
   (up to five answers)
   1. __________ 2. __________ 3. __________ 4. __________ 5. __________

   7-1 a. Do you watch (said show) every weekend?
   7-1 b. Do you watch (said show) on both Saturday and Sunday?

   7-2 a. Do you watch (said show) every weekend?
   7-2 b. Do you watch (said show) on both Saturday and Sunday?

   7-3 a. Do you watch (said show) every weekend?
   7-3 b. Do you watch (said show) on both Saturday and Sunday?

   7-4 a. Do you watch (said show) every weekend?
   7-4 b. Do you watch (said show) on both Saturday and Sunday?

   7-5 a. Do you watch (said show) every weekend?
   7-5 b. Do you watch (said show) on both Saturday and Sunday?

8. Does watching television help you decide what music to listen to?
9. Is there any specific Dominican or West Indian TV you like to watch?
10. What are your plans after school is over? Like, will you go work or keep going to school?
3.1: Robert Quinlan’s IBS Coding Methods

The following is the list of coding methods developed by Robert Quinlan for use in his time allocation data set (Quinlan 1995), as well as the coding examples he listed in his thesis. Note: italicized codes are those which I added for use in my 2008 IBS coding.

Coding Manual For Instantaneous Behavioral Scans, Dominica, 1994

Robert J. Quinlan

I. Activity Codes

100. Childcare

110. watching/babysitting
120. feeding
    121. breast feeding
130. teaching/instructing
140. cleaning/grooming/bathing
150. holding negative (restraint)
160. holding neutral
170. holding positive (cuddling/tickling)
180. working w/child as helper
190. punish/reprimand/scold

200. House Chores

210. clean (sweep, pick up, etc.)
220. heavy maintenance (building/repairing)
230. carry or go for water
240. food preparation
    241. fixing (pealing, cutting, etc.)
    242. cooking
    243. washing
250. laundry
    251. washing
    252. hanging clothes
    253. other
260. small repairs (e.g., sewing/repair clothes line, etc.)
270. chopping wood
280. washing dishes
290. looking for something
300. Eating/Drinking

310. meals
320. mangoes/figs/jellies
330. candy
340. misc. food/snack
350. bottle
360. water
370. alcohol
380. breast
390. tea or other drinks

400. Personal Hygiene

410. wash, groom self
420. wash groom other (non-childcare)
430. piss
440. shit (or latrine)

500. Transport

510. walk
520. carry
   521. misc. light
   522. misc. heavy
530. running
*540. transport by vehicle

600. Play

610. social cooperative
   611. cricket
   612. misc. (police and dread etc.)
   613. b-ball
   614. rounders
620. dyad/mult. same task
   621. nuts/stones
   622. cards
   623. music
   624. dominoes
   625. oral games
   626. w/toys
   627. swinging
   628. swimming
629. wrestling
630. solitary play
   631. skip rope
   632. driving toy cars
   633. riding
   634. mind game (imagining)
   635. play w/pet
   636. crafts
   637. music
   638. misc.

4

700. Passive

   710. sleep
   720. resting
   730. sitting
   740. standing
   750. watching
   760. watching TV
      *761. Disney
      *762. Cartoon Network
      *763. Boomerang
      *764. other
   *770. homework
   *780. internet
   *790. drawing/artwork

800. Oral

   810. conversation
      811. joking
      812. discussion-trivial
      813. discussion-serious
      814. greeting
      815. arguing
   *816. talking on phone
   820. temper tantrum
   830. crying
      831. pain
      832. anguish
      833. fussing
   840. laughing
850. shouting (play hoots etc.)
860. fighting (serious real/w/physical contact)

900. Subsistence

910. agricultural
   911. bananas
   912. bay
   913. food
   914. coconut

920. equipment repair

930. home garden

940. animals
   941. goats
   942. fowl
   943. beef/pig

950. fishing
   951. from boat
   952. from shore
   953. in water w/line
   954. spear fishing

III. Location Codes:

General

*Big road  22
Bush  32
*Bus stop  20
Catholic Church  26
Health center  33
Other hamlet  28
Other near village  34
*Primary school yard  21
River  29
Rosalie  31
School  30
Sea  27
Town  35
*Village Council  36

Specific Location Suffixes
Location codes are constructed by using a general location code and then adding a specific location suffix. Thus, all location codes should be three, four or five digits.

V. Constructing the Data Set

Observations are coded in an Excel file under the following column heading: (1) Date, (2) Time, (3) Ind (individual ID no.), (4) Loc (location code), (5) Act (activity code), (6) Act 2 (2nd activity code), (7) dist (proximity code to nearest person), (8) Ind 2 (ID code of nearest person), (9) Dist 2 (proximity code for social interaction of more than two people), (10) N (number of social interact ants), (1) Ref # (ID no. of social group), and (12) Notes (any clarifying notes including notes on observations reported by third parties). Thus, one line of data containing information under each column looks like example 3.

Example 3:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Act 2</th>
<th>Dist</th>
<th>Ind 2</th>
<th>Dist 2</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Ref#</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70894</td>
<td>1525</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1110</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here individual 34 is observed at 15:25 on July 8, 1994 in J. Newton’s yard (1110) holding a child (160) and talking (810). She has one or both arms around (48) individual 65 and is in a larger group of people within 2 to 4 m. of each other (20). There are 4 people in the group which has been assigned group ID no. 56.

The observation of this individual can be put into its proper social content by considering all the lines of data with Ref# 56 in example 4.
Example 4:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Act 2</th>
<th>Dist</th>
<th>Ind 2</th>
<th>Dist 2</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Ref#</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>70894</td>
<td>1525</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>1110</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>48</td>
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<td>4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>1110</td>
<td>160</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here we see that individuals 34, 13, and 363 are in J. Newton’s yard talking while individual 65 is passive in her mother’s arms.

Although example 4 is not particularly interesting, coding in this manner can preserve quite detailed observations of household activities. Consider another example,

Example 5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Ind</th>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>Act</th>
<th>Act 2</th>
<th>Dist</th>
<th>Ind 2</th>
<th>Dist 2</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Ref#</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>936</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1607</td>
<td>242</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>936</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>810</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70994</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>1608</td>
<td>350</td>
<td></td>
<td>48</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70994</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>810</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70994</td>
<td>936</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1610</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>810</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>50</td>
<td>1610</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>57</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this example we see the record of a family interaction. For convenience sake we will treat individual 70 as ego. Individual 70 cooks (242) in her small outdoor kitchen (1607) while MZD (75) holds (48) ego’s MZSD (348) and gives her a bottle (120). MZD also talks (810) to ego’s D
(59) who is sweeping (210) the yard. 70's other D (28) washes dishes (251) in the yard and talks with MZD and D. 7's toddler D is in the yard watching (750). This is a fairly complex behavioral observation which would go undetected (and hence, unanalyzed without the use of codes for social groups.)
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