

Television's Formal Properties on Social Structures

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Content

1. Even girls may pray in long-term 'television families'. The consequences of television ownership for family and gender relations in a traditional Tunisian village
2. The Destruction of Middle Institutions. Assumptions on Individualizing Effects of Television on Traditional Social Structures

Even girls may pray in long-term 'television families'

The consequences of television ownership for family and gender relations in a traditional Tunisian village

Introduction

Since the beginning of the 1980s, social scientists from Germany and Tunisia carried out several field studies in a remote mountain region of Gouvernorat Zaghuan, Tunisia (Auer 1982, Donsbach et. al. 1985, Donsbach 1992, Kepplinger et. al 1986). The occasion of these studies was that electrification was planned to be introduced in several villages of the region. This seemed to offer the rare opportunity of examining the impact of television (whose spread was expected to go hand in hand with electrification) on a society which had presumably been more or less untouched by the medium so far. The aim of the studies was to find out whether changes in the concept of values of the villagers could be observed. It is important to mention that the region concerned is relatively far away from bigger agglomerations and even has no access to paved routes; and there are no other obvious influences of 'modern life'. So electrification and television were indeed the only 'new' variables that were able to influence village life in a significant way. Changes in village life, if they were to be observed, therefore should be allowed to be traced back to electrification and television as their only causes.

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor was one of the villages visited. A series of interviews was carried out there before the beginning of the village's electrification. (Because of the public power-supply company's long-term planning, it was known that and when the village was about to be connected to electric power supply). The second series of interviews was carried out 15 months after electrification, and a third one another 21 months later. All three examinations were drawn up as panel examinations. One of the results of these studies was that, even within the relatively short period of some three years, far-reaching changements in the villages which had been examined could be noticed. Therefore, it seemed to be of a special interest to carry out another survey some ten years later, in order to find out whether these changes were only of short-term character or whether meanwhile long-term consequences of television could be shown. However, the panel procedure could not be applied for this study, mainly for organizational reasons. As the electoral registers were incomplete, they could not be used for a long-term study. If it had been realizable at all, the organizational expenditure, which would

have been necessary to guarantee that the same test persons could be interviewed another time, would have been excessive. Since, however, the previous examinations as well as ethnological studies about the region, especially those carried out by Pierre Bardin (Bardin 1965), and Nadia Abu Zahra (cf. Abu Zahra 1974, 1976, 1982), demonstrated the homogeneity of the villages in North Tunisia, it seemed to be legitimate to carry out a random sampling which promised both an efficient and economic field study. Anyway, a random sampling has to be extensive enough so that trends can be established. Therefore, about ten percent of the total population were to be interviewed in order to guarantee reasonable results even with a maximum random error assumed (– even with a random error of about 50% assumed, a fiction which is certainly unrealistic with respect to such a homogeneous population). Finally, 79 inhabitants of the village Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor were interviewed; Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor being a village with a population of approximately 500 inhabitants. The survey in Douar El Hadj Amor was carried out by students of the « Institut de la Presse et des Sciences de l'Information » of Université Tunis 1, with the assistance of Prof. Mohammed Ali Kembi, whom this author very thankful for his help. (As, however, the interpretation presented here is made by this article's author, he therefore solely is responsible for all possible faults, of course.) The study was funded by the *German Science Foundation*.

The media in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Some ten years after electrification, television sets were widespread in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor. Inhabitants confirmed quite proudly that a large majority of the families have their own television set. At the moment of this examination it was confirmed that there was even a first video recorder in the village.

Nevertheless, at first it seemed quite doubtful whether a 'natural' handling of television had really already developed. This would be inconsistent with the general observation that all the families visited protected their television set against dust with a cloth (not only the upper side, but also the screen!). Since this did not apply for radios and tape decks, there is no doubt that television sets were – unlike audio media – not yet taken for granted, they obviously were a precious, 'outstanding' property which had to be suitably protected. The reason for this is probably that television was still a 'new' property, even if electrification was brought to an end ten years ago. In the third and last survey of the earlier examinations, 66% of the inhabitants of the then examined three villages confirmed that there was a television set in their household. This means that there was a second boom of buying television sets within the very years prior to this examination. By now, we can – and must – definitely assume a full supply of the population with television: meanwhile

97.5% of the households in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor are in the possession of a television set (table 1). As a rule, however, television indeed was acquired not too long ago. More than a quarter of the population (27.9%) just bought their television sets in the course just of the last three years before this field study. This might explain the impression given by the cloths. However, since nearly half of the households have had their television sets for 10 years or longer, and approximately three quarters at least for three years, consequences of television were possible and probable.

This assumption is supported by the average daily television time (table 2). None of the test persons choose the option 'less than once a week'. Obviously, this is not a realistic option. On the other hand, 92.4% of the test persons watched television every day for one hour or more. More than a third of the test persons watched television for more than four hours a day. So television obviously played an important role for the inhabitants of Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor.

Results of the previous studies

The previous studies already revealed that the families did, in fact, seize the opportunity to watch television at home. 15 months after electrification already, some 90% of the test persons having their own television sets had answered that they preferred watching at their own home, a value which has been constant over the years. Therefore, as more and more villagers had the possibility to watch television at home, the percentage of those making use of this possibility rose accordingly: from three fifths of the inhabitants of the villages examined 15 months after electrification up to three quarters 21 months later. The social surroundings within which people watched television had changed though, being nearly exclusively reduced to the family members. At the same time the number of those constituting an 'audience' decreased from an average of 8.6 persons 15 months after electrification down to an average of 6.8% 21 months later. There was actually a tendency that – more and more obviously – the size of each audience approached the size of the households. From 15 months after electrification to 21 months later the number of family members in a wider sense (partners, brothers and sisters, children, relatives) to watch television with increased by 32 percentage points, whereas the number of acquaintances (especially neighbours and friends) decreased by 21 percentage points. Since television had become the most important leisure activity, considerably more time was spent on watching, together with one's family, whereas less and less time was spent with other members of the village community. Whenever it was possible, people retired into the circles of their families, according to the previous studies' authors. The existence of a television set in their own household thus seemed to determine whether people watched television together with

their families or together with their acquaintances. Television thus seemed to strengthen the family, whereas the village community seemed to be weakened accordingly.

Of course, it can be assumed that this led to changes both in the villagers' attitude and behaviour, too. The possession of a television set thus seemed to have effects on the social life in the village as well as on the families. The authors of the previous studies therefore assumed that the family got a completely new value. Television even seemed to bring about an impact on the relationship of men and women towards each other. The relatively strict separation of sexes (together with the different value of the different competences attached to each of the sexes) seemed to have become more fragile. So the attitude of both men and women changed: their willingness to discuss about various subjects was growing. As a consequence, women started longing for more competences even in fields which they had not had access to so far. For example, both men's and women's attitude towards the joint family prayer have definitely changed. In families who have a television set it was distinctly more common that besides the father other family members, especially sons, but also wives (and less often daughters) were allowed to assume the responsibility for the family prayer.

10 years later: Where do they watch television?

Ten years later, the villagers watched television with even fewer persons (table 3). There are three peaks: The first one in the field of the small families (two persons watching television together), the second one in the field which also corresponds to the average (five to eight persons watching television together), the third one in the field of a large social surrounding (ten persons watching television together). All in all, a further decrease in the number of persons forming an audience can thus be noticed (from an average of 8.6 persons 15 months after electrification down to an average of 6.8 persons 21 months later to 6 persons ten years later).

Also, there had been a further, slight increase in the percentage of those who did not watch television at another than their own place, who thus used only their own television set (table 4). So it now seemed to be clear that the possession of a television set tended to exclude that people watch television somewhere else than at home. This suggested that the possession of a television set tended to weaken more and more the wish to watch television together with other villagers at their places. It is just the time people spent in front of the television set that was now missing for common activities with other villagers.

Social situation and preferences when watching television

Which consequences did the desire have that people did not want to watch television at someone else's place, but just at their own place? Did it also mean that the villagers did not like anymore watching television with other villagers? Indeed, 92.4% of the persons liked most watching television at home (table 5). As a result of the multiple answers, it was not just 7.6% of the persons interviewed who name other places. The inversion, though, confirmed the tendency of the results. It was striking that there were considerably less people answering 'yes' compared to the question for the place where people watched television usually. 20.3% of the test persons were used to watching television at their families' or relatives' place. Only 16.5% liked to do so. As to the friends and neighbours, the difference was even more striking: 13.9% of the test persons were used to watching television at their friends' place, 12.7% at their neighbours' place – respectively 5.1% only liked to do so. The result was clear: People not only liked less watching television at someone else's place (than they did at their own place), but they also liked less watching television together with others, the own family being still more supportable than other social surroundings within the village. The more television got important for the villagers, the more the social surroundings lost of their importance. At the same time the social structures on which the value of the social surroundings was based upon (before) obviously got less important.

Furthermore, almost half the villagers who were interviewed confirmed without any reservation that they personally considered they had less time to meet friends, acquaintances or relatives since television had been introduced; if the number of those answering 'often' or 'sometimes' is added, nearly three fourth of the test persons confirmed so (table 7). And what is (even) more, one participant out of four declared he or she prefers watching television all alone (table 6), although the traditional structures would indicate an opposite answer as desirable and even necessary for the self-definition of the village and its inhabitants.

Concepts of the nature of family life after the children get married

It was already stated that television, therefore, seemed to have led to changes on the village's social life as well as on the families. A question focused on the concepts of the nature of family life after the children get married, being an evident indicator for a social changing process (table 8). More than 70% of the test persons who have had a television set for a relatively short time only select the family-oriented option. On the other hand, among those who have had a television set for a relatively long time, for who television

has become a part of their everyday life, the situation is completely different. Statistically speaking, the result is very significant. The tendency towards the small family can thus be considered as indeed a long-term consequence of the mass medium television.

Concept of family prayer

Within the family, the traditional separation of sexes also seemed to have changed. The question referred to a similar one at the previous examination that focused on the relationship of men and women towards each other, it related to the attitude towards the joint family prayer (table 9). The results were, in some 75% of the families, the father was still the person to be responsible for the prayer. But in more than 50% of the families, this role could be conferred to the mother. This alone would be striking enough. But in contrast to the previous examinations, the daughters' roles had become as important as that of the sons. The changes which had taken place compared to the previous studies were more far-reaching than expected. Before electrification, only 19% of the test persons declared that the mother could assume the responsibility for the prayers. 15 months later, already 26% of the test persons declared that the mother could assume the responsibility for the prayers, and another 21 months later, the figure was 23%. The confirmation resulting of this examination, where 57% of the test persons declared that the mother had meanwhile adopted this function within the family, emphasized the extent of the changing process. Within ten years, the (procentual) number of women who assumed that function had doubled. Moreover, there was another indication for these changing processes. Earlier, daughters were more or less excluded from this development. This examination had proved though that the daughters had meanwhile come up to the sons. This could mean that women's role has improved as a whole.

And it indeed seemed to be television that was the cause of those changing processes, as a reconsideration test confirmed. Those test persons who had had access to television for a relatively short time only gave less often attention to women as far as the distribution of roles is concerned, whereas this had changed with families that had access to television for a longer period of time. The mothers' influence distinctly increased in households where television has been available for quite a long time from 47.1% up to 61.7%: after all, nearly half of the participants who had had access to television for at least two years confirmed that mothers may assume such a responsibility, and among those participants who had had access to television for more than two years, it was even more than three fifths who confirmed this statement. It is clear that the distribution of roles had become stable for boys and girls who had had access to television for a long time already (respectively 13%).

The results are interpreted as follows: The structural distribution of roles according to the sexes became less and less important. The corresponding cultural responsibilities shifted from the sexes to the family unit where they could be assumed by each family member. The separation according to the ages subsisted, but the separation according to the sexes got weaker and weaker. The father's status as a head of the family had become less dominant, slowly though, but anyway. And although his status was still unassailable, these processes indicated the beginning of a change in the traditional family structures. As a consequence, women gained competences even in fields which they had not had access to so far.

Interpretation

Thus, it can be concluded that television's influence was the cause of severe changes both in the villagers' attitudes and behaviours, as there existed statistical significancies regarding the amount of time people were exposed to television and their attitudes and behaviours. The cause seems to lie in the fact that the television set changed the social focus from village towards family live. As a result of this process, television even seemed to contribute to a change of the sexes behaviour towards each other, as could be shown regarding the question whether a new-married couple should create a new household or should rather stay with the man's family home, as well as regarding the question who was allowed to conduct the family prayer. Thus, television sets might be regarded as possible contributors to an individualization process that, by weakening traditional structures, leads to more personal freedom and strengthens the chances of society's weaker groups, as could be shown regarding the village's women.

The Destruction of Middle Institutions.

Assumptions on Individualizing Effects of Television on Traditional Social Structures

Introduction

In the sixties and seventies the idea was widespread that mass media, in particular television, was a helpful instrument to 'modernize' the Third World in such a way as to change traditional structures, and even dissolve them, and thus lead to a more innovative society. These ideas can be associated with authors such as Daniel Lerner (esp. 1958), Wilbur Schramm (for example Schramm 1964; together with Lerner: Schramm/Lerner 1976), and others (for example Rogers 1969). They exerted so much influence that they were even supported by the *United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (Unesco)*.

Lerner puts the static of 'traditional' societies in contrast to the term of 'mobility'. Three types of mobility are of particular significance in this respect: geographical, social and psychic mobility. In Lerner's opinion mass media, especially television, is important for modernizing societies, because they contribute to psychic mobility.

Regardless of academic criticism concerning the definitions of the 'modernization theories' (for example already Galtung 1971. 44) that brought about a certain loss of their importance, the supposed influence of mass media in the Third World is still widely taken for granted and determines the action of many politicians.

This paper, however, suggests that some modifications are necessary to reach a more consistent theoretical presentation. The argumentation is based on data obtained from field research that was conducted in Tunisia and in Germany. As it seems to be very difficult to *prove* precisely how long term processes that change social structures work and what their very causes are, this paper will present but assumptions that were gained in a phenomenological way. However, although the data is used merely to initiate and support these assumptions and to verify their consistency, they seem to be interesting and descriptive enough to warrant a theoretical concept.

Theoretical Problems

To start, it seems right to say that modernization is a process that causes effects on the structures of society. However, these structures must be described differently than Lerner or Schramm did.

The 'modernization theory', for example, focuses on the 'nation state' (Lerner 1974. 83) as a necessity for an innovative society. In fact, states or other abstract and anonymous institutions are not at all important in 'traditional societies', nor do they constitute the people's identity, their *Gemeinschaft*. 'Traditional societies', in contrast, focus solely on their direct village, kinship, or clan, as 'middle institutions', in contrast to small, individualized institution such as the core family, or big, far-away institutions such as the nation state, that build the political system. Social anthropologists describe them especially with the help of structural characteristics such as the concept of reciprocity or gender networks. Both reciprocity and gender networks can be observed in almost every traditional society.

The concept of reciprocity was best described in 1924 by Marcel Mauss' in his *Essai sur le don*. Compared to our conception of living together, reciprocity is quite a strange principle. Yet it builds the basis of many historical societies because it enables the people to survive, particularly in extreme situations such as hunger caused by drought or long cold winters. It obliges every constituent of the society to share his belongings. This sharing, however, cannot be considered as a gift or a present. It is rather a claim that in turn constitutes a new obligation. Hence, the society is penetrated with mutual obligations. These obligations also extend to non-materialistic matters, such as visits (which must be responded); they also extend from the individual to his segment (that is, if an individual doesn't respond to his obligations, his community is compelled to respond).

It is also quite common to share and split work with respect to gender, men and women each having their own and clearly described duties which they execute mostly in gender groups thereby reducing 'family life' as a rule to meals (see, for example, Gough 1975). These gender groups are themselves organized and also in relation to the opposite sex groups according to the principle of reciprocity; both institutions are closely related.

'Middle institutions' means, on the one hand, that people are not individualized, and on the other that political and social order is not focussed on far-away, abstract institutions. The middle institutions often consist of large numbers of people, and the individual is expected to dedicate most of his time to them, even more so than to his family core group.

As the 'middle institutions' determine social life, they guarantee that the society persists with stability, because the mutual claims that are maintained persist even in a state of distress. Indeed, traditional societies have mechanisms to make reciprocity work, even

in situations where tensions and personal problems exist amongst the society's members. These mechanisms are not necessarily based on affection and even hold up with structural dependencies, such as with master-servant relationships. However, they are often connected with a feeling of belonging together (referring to the tribe, clan, kinship or village which builds the frame) – a feeling that is stronger than aversion or personal antipathy. As this principle is based on economic necessities, its aim is to control conflicts and to establish social security. It should not create emotional warmth or enable individuality. Of course, it is therefore not an abstract principle but affects almost every part of social life, determining social behaviour even with disliked persons.

The opposite form to organize a society is to isolate the individual from his frame, in order to let him live without or with only weak obligations with respect to his fellow people. This is the case in most urban societies, for example in Central Europe or in the United States of America. Here the process which changes the structure of society to 'individualistic' already took place, the latter being the one Lerner obviously considered to be 'modernized'. Whereas the structural process can be described – weakening of the 'middle' institutions and isolating, even atomizing the individual –, its causes and consequences have not yet been sufficiently examined. Scholars have found several possible causes – from abstract ones, like 'urbanization', to concrete ones such as mobility or, what is referred to here, mass media and in particular television. Numerous studies have already been conducted by Lerner himself (studying several societies in the Middle East; 1958), Schramm (for example Chu/Alfian/Schramm 1991, concerning Indonesia), not to mention the ones after them that prove some 'modernization effects' of television indeed exist. The reason why this happens, however, is still only partially understood.

For example, it is evident that the most important process is the one that leads to individualization. This process, however, is not necessarily connected with the concept of the 'nation state' (as with Lerner's assumption described above). It was shown for example by Snyder, Roser, and Chaffee (1991), that television could even enforce some people's desire to emigrate (in their case: from Belize to the United States of America) rather than to identify themselves with their very nation – those who wanted to emigrate being especially 'modern'-minded, which means they had less bonds and commitments with their home *Gemeinschaft*.

Method

The question now is how and to what extent television influences, changes and dissolves a traditional society. As a study on this theme would focus on structural and not

on cultural processes, a cross-cultural comparative analysis was possible and indeed necessary.

The societies searched for to conduct this study should have had a structure proven *Gemeinschaft*-like before they got into contact with mass media. So firstly societies were looked for which were described by social scientists before, but not very long before their contact with mass media began. Secondly, other potentially influencing causes except mass media should not exist or at least only to a small extent. Thus, it should be possible to compare their traditional status with their present situation, which, then, was to be accepted as most probably being determined by mass media.

The first village to be examined, Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor, is located in Tunisia, in the mountain region of Gouvernorat Zaghuan – a remote place without paved roads, and with no industries in the near vicinity. Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor became electrified some ten years before this examination took place, so mass media is of course present today. The village was, however, examined by social scientists a few months before, a few months after and about three years after its electrification (Donsbach/Hamdane/Kembi/Kepplinger/Skik 1985; Kepplinger/Donsbach/Auer/Kembi/Hamdane/Skik 1986; Auer 1987; Donsbach 1992).

The second village to be examined is called Orscholz. It is located in the northern part of the Saarland (a Federal State of Germany), in a region called 'Hochwald' (literally translated: 'High Forest') which passes over to the *Hunsrück* region. The *Hunsrück* is also known from the "Heimat" television series by Edgar Reitz, which was broadly accepted as to show a true phenomenological insight into German village life from the beginning of this century, describing it according to the theoretical framework used here. This region is fertile, but remote by means of conveyance "and did barely get touched by industrialization until the late 20th century", according to Christiane Glück-Christmann¹ – so there should exist only weak influences on the village's traditional structures until about the middle of this century. Indeed, this is confirmed by social anthropologists, who again and again stress on the region's "pre-industrialized traditions", "archaic structures" and "forms of economy like in the late medieval times"². Inheritances in this region are the same for all children, which leads to homogenous structures, the agricultural economy necessarily being organized by means of a co-operative society. These structures were preserved and continued in some cases even until the present, according to Wolfgang Bierbrauer (1990).

¹ „und wurde von der Industrialisierung bis weit ins 20. Jahrhundert hinein kaum berührt" (Glück-Christmann 1993. 100)

² quotes from Bierbrauer 1990. Pp. 12: „vorindustrielle Traditionen", „eine archaische Struktur" and „spätmittelalterliche [Wirtschafts-]Formen".

The field research in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor was carried out almost exactly ten years after the referring region's electrification, in Spring 1994, together with the Institut de la Presse et des Sciences de l'Information (IPSI) of the Université de Tunis 1, and the institute's students. It was possible to interview 79 inhabitants of Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor, which represent more than ten percent of the village's population. They accepted questions that should enable a comparison between their social life *before electrification*, to their life now.

The research in Orscholz was carried out in Autumn 1995 by students of Sociology at the Universität des Saarlandes in Saarbrücken (see Giessen/Steil 1996). It was possible to interview 82 inhabitants born 1930 or earlier, which means that they were old enough to remember the times before their village got into contact with mass media and therefore could recognize the changes since then. As six interviewed inhabitants did not grow up in the village their answers were not used for evaluation. Still, some ten percent of the relevant population of older village inhabitants could be analyzed. The elderly people of Orscholz were asked questions that should enable a comparison between their social life *in their youth*, to their life now.

Traditional Social Structures

It is evident already when studying the socio-anthropological publications that the structures in both villages *before electrification* and *in the time of the inhabitant's youth* respectively can be compared. Separate gender networks existed in the Tunisian Douar (cf. for example Abu Zahra 1974; 1976; Bardin 1965; Donsbach/Hamdane/Kembi/Kepplinger/Skik 1985; Kepplinger/Donsbach/Auer/Kembi/Hamdane/Skik 1986; Auer 1987; Donsbach 1992) as well as in the German village (cf. for example Bierbrauer 1990; Glück-Christmann 1993; Kuhn 1994; Wiegelmann 1958). Only men participated in the village assemblies; women likewise had their meeting points exclusively reserved to them: in Douar Ouled El Hadj Amor this was the brook's source and in Orscholz mainly the village's washing house. Nearly identical duties were clearly defined according to gender in both places, and these were also performed likewise in both places by gender groups in network-like organizations. Reciprocity, too, was an important factor in both villages. This means sharing and helping each other were obligations difficult to withdraw oneself from in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor as well as in Orscholz.

Therefore, both villages appear suitable for a comparative study of the impact of mass media on traditional social structures.

Media Presence in Both Villages

At the time of the field research, both villages are completely supplied with television sets. In Orscholz, diffusion began about forty years and was completed more than twenty years before field research took place (table 10), in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor diffusion began more than ten years and was completed about two years earlier (table 1). The people in both villages watched tv daily; a third of the interviewed inhabitants from Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor were 'heavy viewers' (which means they watched more than four hours a day, table 2), as well as a quarter of the interviewed elderly inhabitants of Orscholz (table 11).

Mass media in Orscholz were common and naturally have been used for more than a generation. Radio had been well known for more than fifty years (table 12); newspapers or at least periodicals have already commonly been used by the parents of the interviewed elderly village people (table 13). All in all, the utilization of media in Orscholz has been higher with the interviewed person's parents than it was with the people of Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor before electrification (tables 14, 15). People in both villages were also asked indicator questions – whether they would 'miss' specific media – that should give a hint to the importance it has for them. Now, people in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor said they would miss print media (table 16) much less than people in Orscholz (table 17). The results for radio were quite the opposite, in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor a loss is more deplored (table 18) than in Orscholz (table 19). Only television had a similar and very high rate of importance in both villages – there were 76 percent of the people that would deplore a loss in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor (table 20), and 75 percent in Orscholz (table 21). One third of the Germans, however, chose the restricted answer, whereas almost all Tunisians chose the unrestricted answer.

The Destruction of the Middle Institutions

The assumption presented here is that television produces changes in the traditional social structures in both villages, that is, it dissolves the 'middle institutions' by its pure existence.

Firstly, television necessarily seems to hinder reciprocity. Of course, in order to correspond with the obligations of reciprocity, the villagers that did not possess a television set in the beginning had to be invited by those who owned one. This indeed was the case in both villages, as was regularly confirmed. However, these invitations obviously couldn't be responded, simply because of not possessing a tv set. The explanation

therefore proposed here is that more and more families tended to and indeed strived for purchasing a set of their own in order to avoid such even shameful situations.

Now the obligation to share invitations for television evidently is no longer important. Thus, television not only seems to lead to situations where reciprocity is impossible, but also seems to play an active part in dissolving its social importance. Whereas in earlier days there existed an obligation to share almost everything, it now seems to be necessary to exclude others from an important aspect of modern life that requires more and more time.

Secondly, it is a commonplace that television – in contrast, for example, to the movie theatre – is not valued in big halls with a lot of other people as it shows a small picture and is effective therefore only in a small room (cf. for example Kalb 1986). This seems to be the adequate explanation for the fact that the interviewed people from Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor as well as from Orscholz *prefer* to watch television at home, and no where else. Moreover, they *prefer* to watch television in small groups only, especially within the core family (tables 5, 22).

Evidently, the only social organization that is small enough not to hinder an undisturbed and enjoyable television viewing is the core family. It will now be postulated that this fact has several consequences.

The first consequence is that the time spent with television now is no longer available for the formerly important social situations such as the gender networks. In both villages, people stated that they not only *prefer* to but indeed *do usually* watch television at home (tables 4, 23). In Orscholz, people said pubs have played a certain role in the earlier days of television, but they too became less and less important the more families purchased their own television set. Today, pubs in Orscholz no longer play a role in this respect, as was frequently said by the villagers, even when it comes to events like soccer games that used to constitute the village's *Gemeinschaft*. (In Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor, a pub doesn't even exist).

As more and more time is now spent in the core family due to the existence of television, emphasis is obviously put on this institution. In Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor, only a fifth of the interviewed people said they also use to watch television with other relatives, and 14 per cent with friends, whereas 92 per cent use to watch at home; in Orscholz, all interviewed village inhabitants watch television at home and nowhere else. As a result, the size of the groups of people watching together declined, too. In Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor within three years the average group size decreased from 8.6 persons (mean in 1982) to 6.8 persons (in 1985; both according to Auer 1986), today it is only six persons exactly (table 3). In Orscholz, no one among the elderly village people

watched television with more than three persons, more than half of them watched with only one person (i.e. the conjugal partner), whereas one out of five watches all alone (table 24). In this context, it is interesting that in both villages 'heavy viewers' build an important segment of the society.

In both villages, the inhabitants confirmed that they had the impression of reciprocity being weaker now (tables 25, 26). Almost three quarters of the interviewed from Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor as well as half of the interviewed from Orscholz stated that they had less time to visit relatives or friends since the introduction of television (tables 7, 27).

The People's Choice

However, people don't seem to suffer from this loss. In Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor, where television was introduced more than ten years ago, and has totally diffused within the last two years before this research took place, about one fifth declared they prefer watching all alone; in Orscholz, where television has been popular for more than forty years, the degree of preference is almost three times as high³ (tables 6, 28). The reduction of social contacts seems to be compensated by television itself. Instead, most people seem to salute these changes. The explanation might be that the village people obviously see a chance in television to reduce unliked social contacts.

But this process is ambivalent and has problematic aspects, too. For example, due to the reduction of the social contacts and the dissolution of the gender networks seemingly caused by television, especially women became increasingly isolated and alone. The gender's duties do not change as fast as the social structures. Whereas men in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor still mainly work outside the house and the village (and have their social contacts at work), more than 90 % of the women still never leave the village (table 29). So one result is that women remain limited to the confines of their very house – their isolation only to be reduced by the cause of this process, by television.

In Orscholz, due to motorization, almost all interviewed villagers depart from their village at least several times a week, with no statistically significant difference with respect to sex. All in all, however, the situation of the elderly village people in Orscholz seems to be even more dramatic. Here not only each family, but indeed each core family or even each individual possesses a television set of its own. Now all these people watch

³ This result seems to be even more evident as people had to answer with 'no', that is contrary to the direction of the question which out of methodological considerations ought to anticipate what was presumed as socially desired: "Do you personally prefer watching television together with others, do you have more fun then?"

television in their own rooms (even when living together in the same house), and the elderly are alone (except for their conjugal partner, if he or she is still alive), at least for almost all evenings (cf. Table 20).

Summarized, television, out of formal reason (that is, out of its pure existence) seems to dissolve the 'middle institutions' of traditional structures. What results is a process of individualization that has its positive and its negative aspects.

The Historical Interpretation

Of course, the similarity between the two villages is striking. However, the differences should not be ignored. Most of all, the importance of reciprocity as well as the gender networks seems to have declined in Orscholz much stronger than in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor. How can this difference be explained? The example of the question whether mutual visits occur less often today than they occurred *before electrification* and *in the time of the youth* respectively shows that there are two possible explanations. The first one says that reciprocity was in Orscholz *in the time of the participant's youth* indeed more common than in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor *before electrification*. The other one says that mass media are more effective in the German village than in the Tunisian one since they only had a relatively short period of time to show consequences there. The second possibility, of course, is the more plausible one.

The same question – how to explain the difference – arises when investigating the different values and usages of the village people concerning all mass media except for television. Again, the historical approach is the only plausible explanation. This means that the importance of mass media depends on the historical situation of each village: the longer the time people can read, and the longer the time they have contact to mass media, the more the media get utilized, especially the print media ('more of the same', a common *topos* in media science). It is remarkable that different usages of mass media could not be observed with television, being equally (and highly) important in both villages. It seems that in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor, already after a relatively short period of time, a 'ceiling value' was reached, that rose neither in time nor through other influences.

Summarized, it can be concluded that the Tunisian Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor and the German Orscholz might symbolize different moments within a historical process. It seems plausible to assume that television's impact on Orscholz was the same, twenty years ago, as the one now observed in Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor. That is, Orscholz today might represent a society that is, regarding its social structure, similar to the one of Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor in the future.

Theoretical conclusions

1. The decline of traditional societies can be described best with reciprocity and the existence of gender networks. The dissolution of these 'middle institutions' leads to individualization. This can have different causes; one of these causes seems to be television. When there are no other factors (such as industrialization or others), television's impact alone may even be sufficient to cause such individualizing effects.

2. The potential of television seems mainly to be based on two factors: It bonds more time than any other medium - time that is now lacking for other activities; and it has its effects only in small rooms and with few people – with the consequences that social contacts focus on the family or even the core family, and that the principle of reciprocity, the obligation to share is replaced by structures of possession and property, at least in context with television.

3. A result of this is the theoretical assumption that television has different consequences depending on form or on content. The contents of television might have an impact on society's cultural and political rituals and expressions, but obviously not on society's structures. In contrast, not through its contents, but through its pure existence television seems to have tremendous effects on the social structure of society. (The impact of television's pure existence on culture or politics is outside the scope of the present analysis).

4. Television's consequences on traditional societies such as the destruction of traditional 'middle institutions', and the tendency towards individualization seem to mean that groups in society which have a weaker social standing (such as the women at the Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor, or the elderly at Orscholz) may become isolated. Television, being the cause of this processes, is at the same time also able to fill this vacuum.

5. Nonetheless, people even from these isolated parts of society seem to favour television to social participation. It might be presumed, therefore, that television is seen as a chance to minimize social participation; that is, television is seen as a medium of individual liberation.

Tables

Table 1:

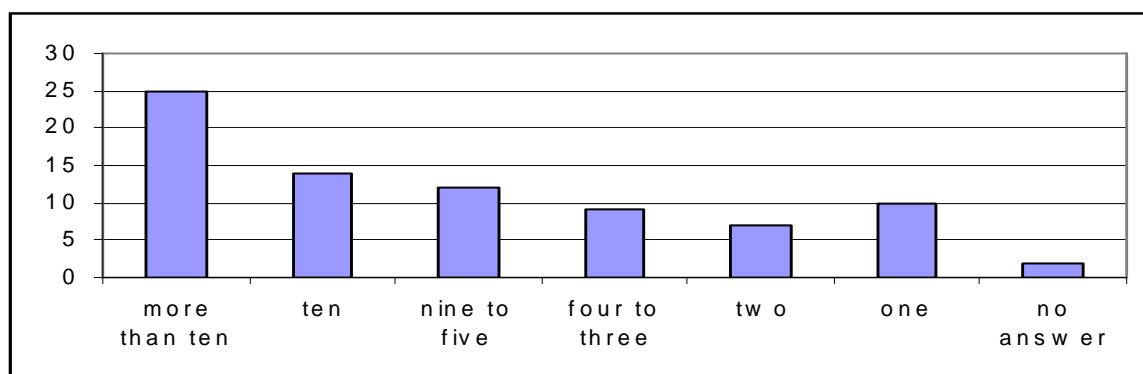
Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Quand est-ce que votre famille s'est procuré le premier poste de television (approximativement) ?

When did your family acquire the first television set?

[in parts aggregated]

... years ago	frequency	percentage
more than 10	25	31.6
10	14	17.7
9 - 5	12	15.2
4 - 3	9	11.4
2	7	8.9
1	10	12.7
no answer	2	2.5
in total	79	100.0



Median: 9 years.

Table 2:

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Combien de temps regardez-vous en moyenne la télé (inclus la vidéo) ?

How long do you watch television (and video) on an average?

time spent in front of television set	frequency	percentage
less than once a week	0	0.0
once or twice a week	1	1.3
less than one hour a day	3	3.8
1 - 2 hours a day	25	31.6
2 - 4 hours a day	17	21.5
more than 4 hours a day	31	39.2
no answer	2	2.5
in total	79	100.0

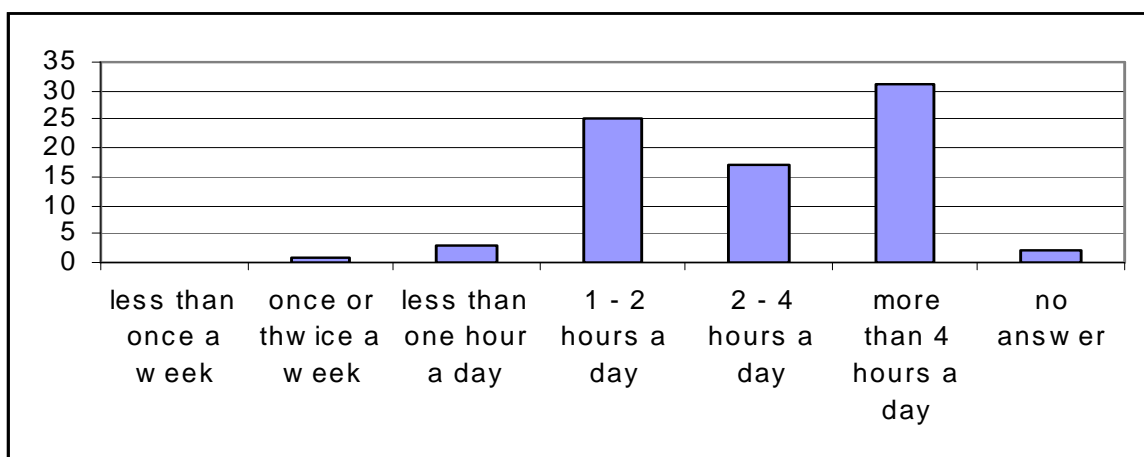


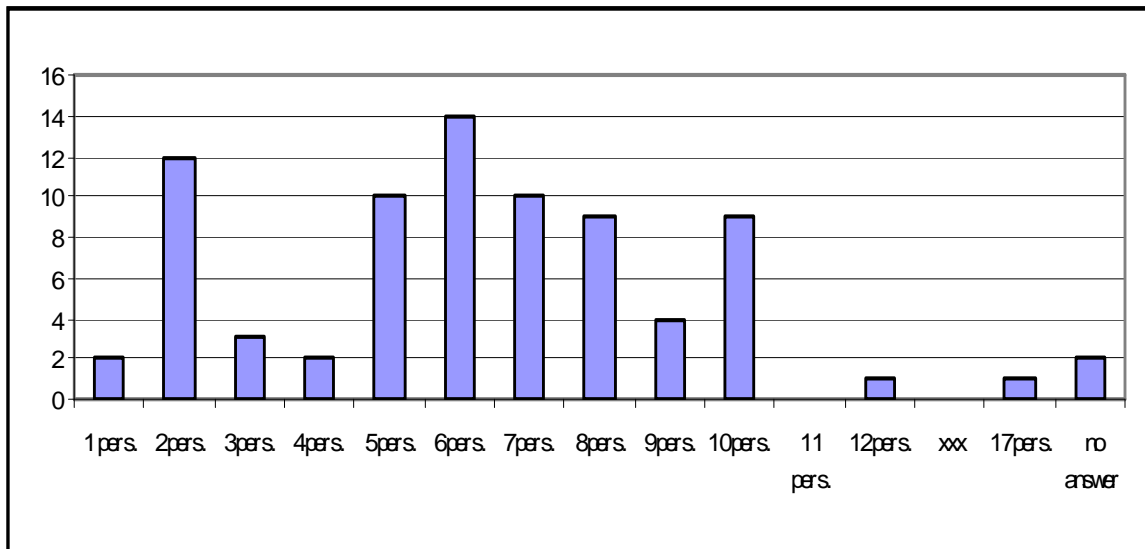
Table 3:

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Avec combien de personnes est-ce que vous regardez normalement la télé ?

With how many persons do you watch television usually?

with ... persons	frequency	percentage
1	2	2.5
2	12	15.2
3	3	3.8
4	2	2.5
5	10	12.7
6	14	17.7
7	10	12.7
8	9	11.4
9	4	5.1
10	9	11.4
12	1	1.3
17	1	1.3
no answer	2	2.5
in total	79	100.0



Mean as well as median: 6 persons.

Table 4:

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

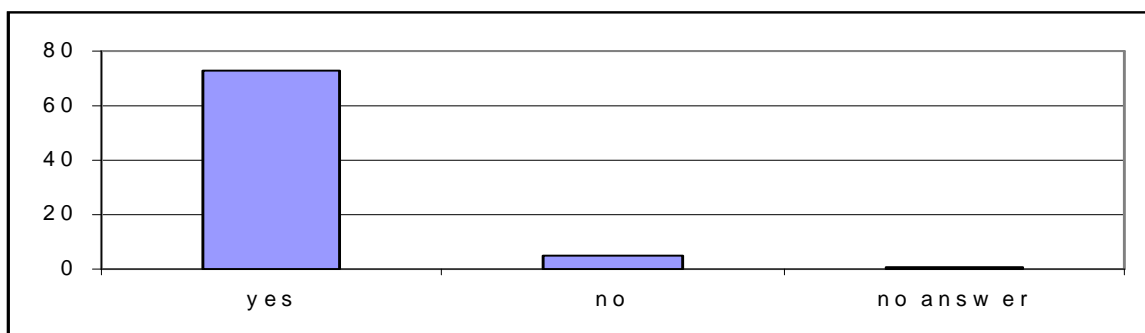
Est-ce que vous regardez normalement la télé ?

Where do you usually watch television?

[more than one answer possible]

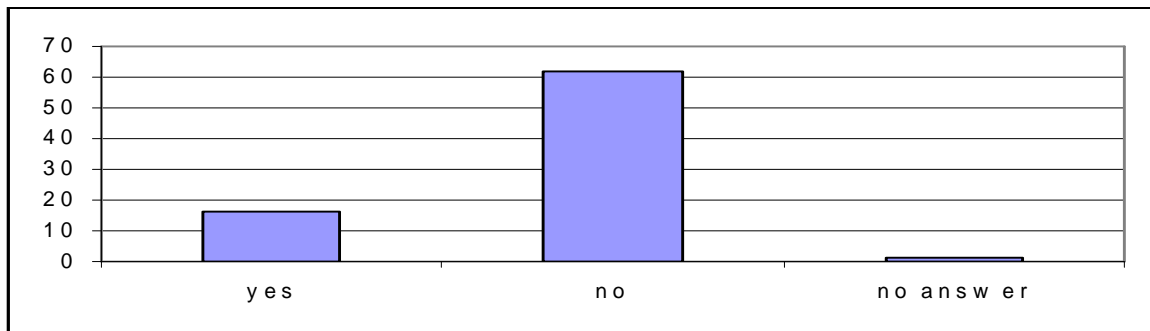
– à la maison ? (at home?)

	frequency	percentage
yes	73	92.4
no	5	6.3
no answer	1	1.3
in total	79	100.0



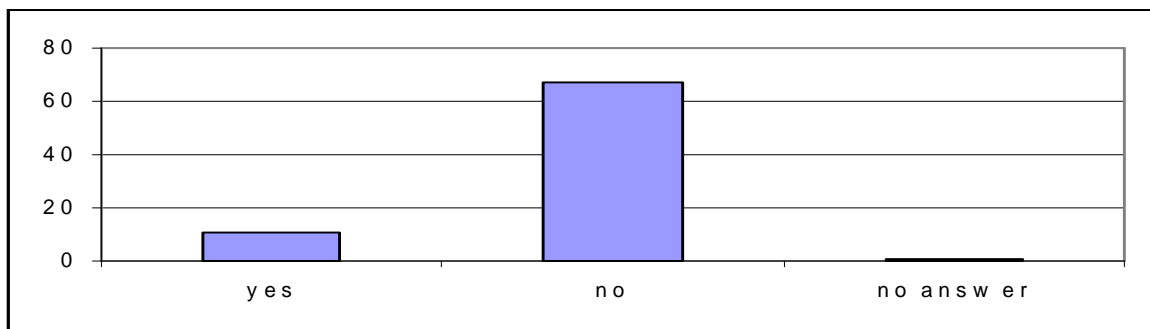
– chez des parents, chez la parenté ? (at your parents' or relatives' place?)

	frequency	percentage
yes	16	20.3
no	62	78.5
no answer	1	1.3
in total	79	100.0



– chez des amis ? (at your friend's place?)

	frequency	percentage
yes	11	13.9
no	67	84.8
no answer	1	1.3
in total	79	100.0



– chez des voisins ? (at your neighbor's place?)

	frequency	percentage
yes	10	12.7
no	68	86.1
no answer	1	1.3
in total	79	100.0

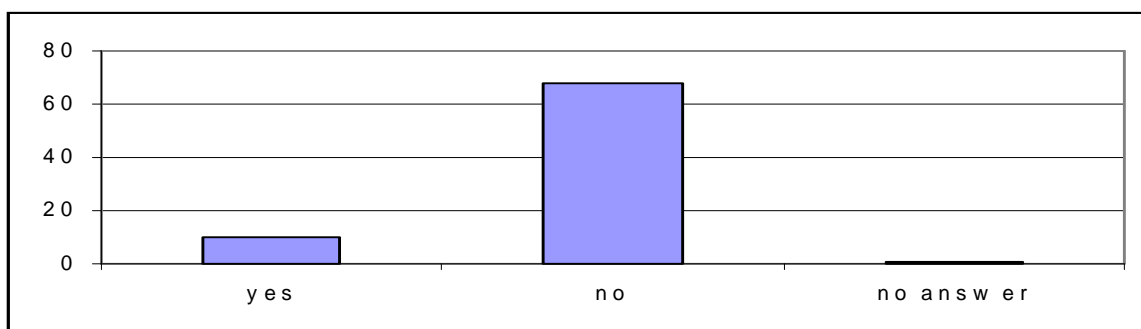


Table 5:

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

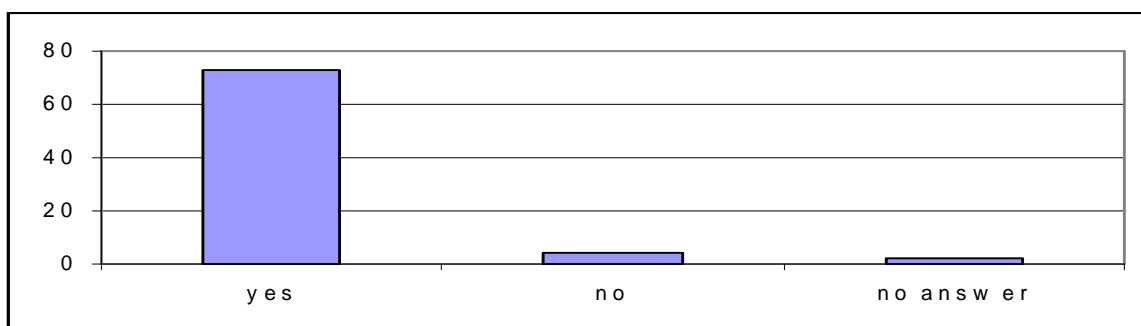
Où est-ce que vous *préférez* regarder la télé?

Where do you *prefer* to watch television?

[more than one answer possible]

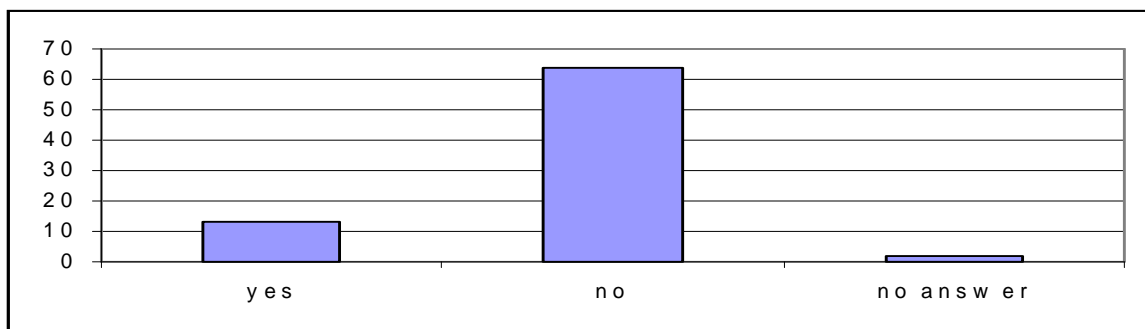
– à la maison ? (at home?)

	frequency	percentage
yes	73	92.4
no	4	5.1
no answer	2	2.5
in total	79	100.0



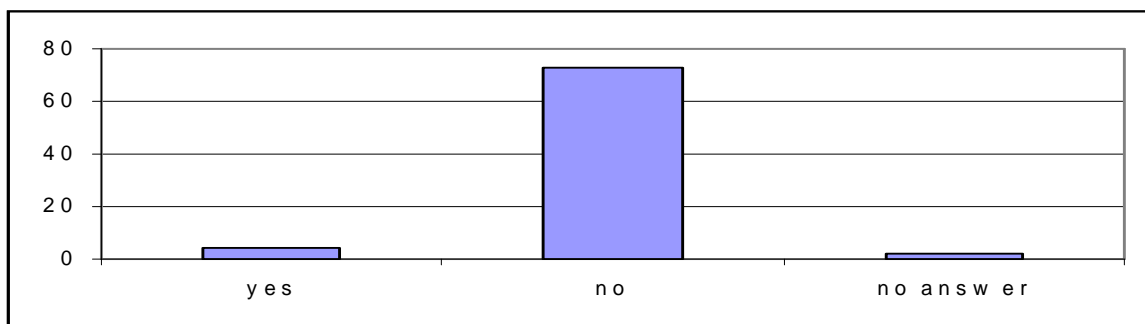
– chez des parents, chez la parenté ? (at your parents' or relatives' place?)

	frequency	percentage
yes	13	16.5
no	64	81.0
no answer	2	2.5
in total	79	100.0



– chez des amis ? (at your friends' place?)

	frequency	percentage
yes	4	5.1
no	73	92.4
no answer	2	2.5
in total	79	100.0



– chez des voisins ? (at your neighbours' place?)

	frequency	percentage
yes	4	5.1
no	73	92.4
no answer	2	2.5
in total	79	100.0

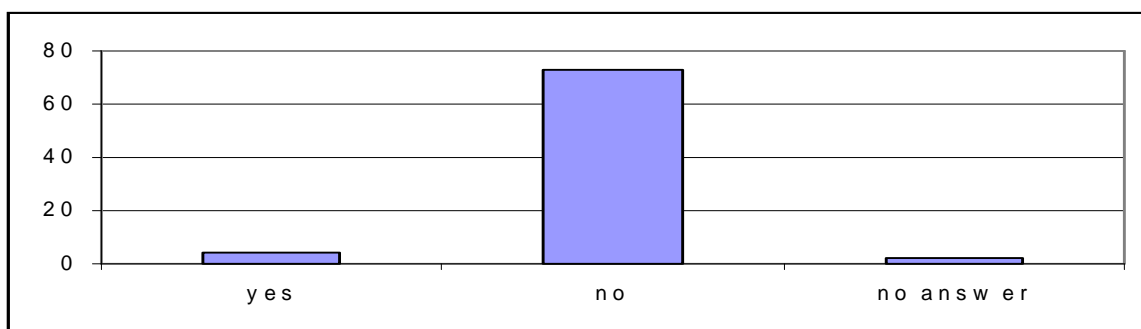


Table 6:

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Est-ce que vous personnellement préférez regarder la télévision ensemble avec d'autres ?

(Do you personally prefer watching television together with others, do you have more fun then?)

	frequency	percentage
yes	26	32.9
occasionally	36	45.6
no	15	19.0
no answer	2	2.5
in total	79	100.0

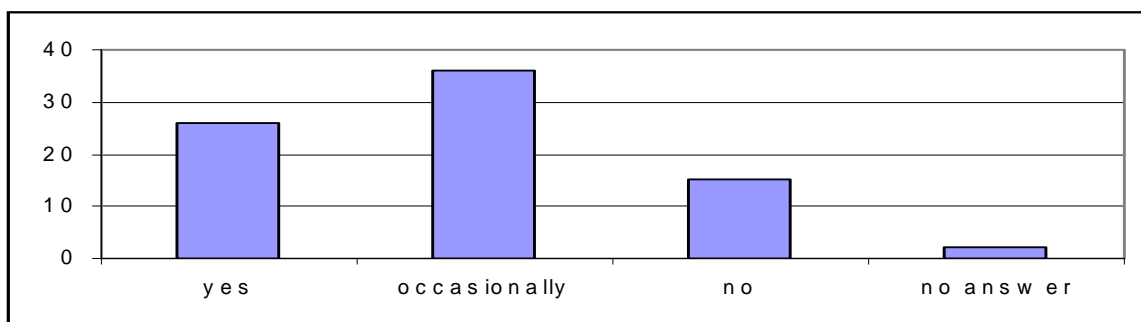


Table 7:

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Est-ce que vous personnellement avez le sentiment que depuis l'introduction de l'appareil de télévision vous avez moins de temps de rendre visite aux amis, aux voisins ou aux membres de la famille ?

(Do you personally consider that you have less time to see your friends, neighbours or members of the family since television has been introduced?)

	frequency	percentage
yes	40	50.6
often	16	20.3
sometimes	4	5.1
no	16	20.3
no answer	3	3.8
in total	79	100.0

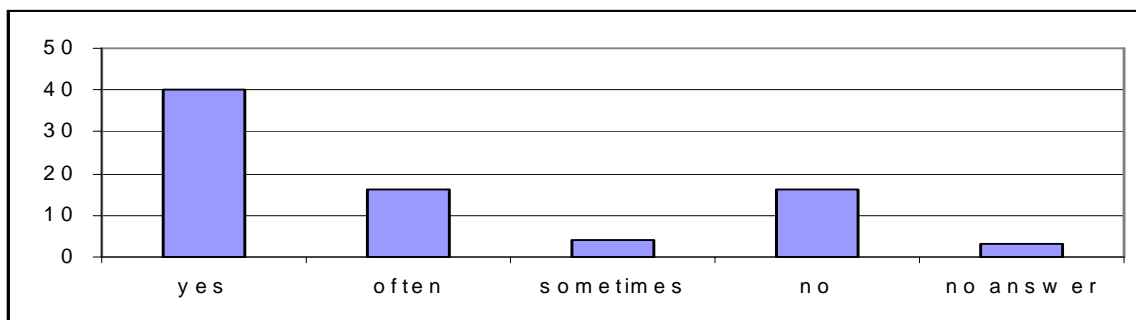


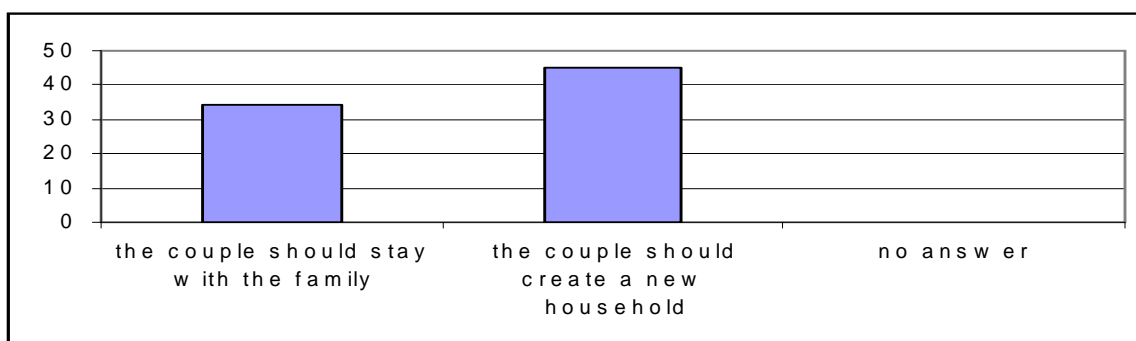
Table 8:

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Quelle est votre opinion : Quand un membre de famille se marie – trouvez-vous qu'il devrait fonder un nouveau ménage avec son conjoint – ou devrait-il plutôt rester au sein de sa famille ?

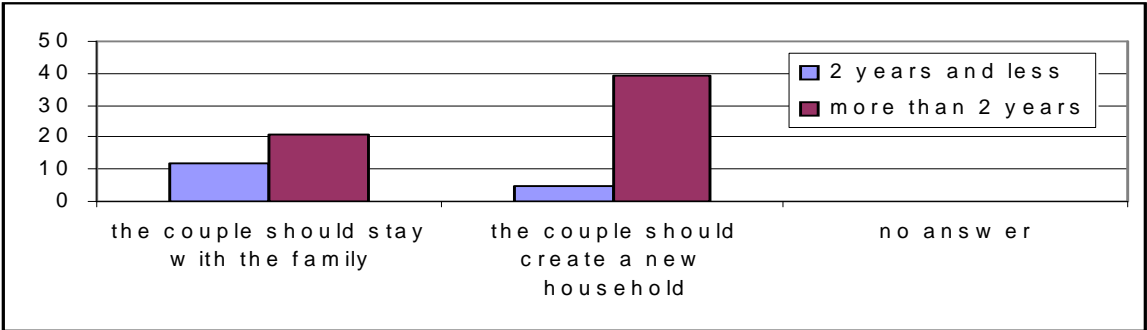
(Which is your opinion: When a member of the family gets married, do you think that the couple should create a new household – or should the couple rather stay with the family?)

	frequency	percentage
the couple should stay with the family	34	43.0
the couple should create a new househod	45	57.0
no answer	0	0.0
in total	79	100.0



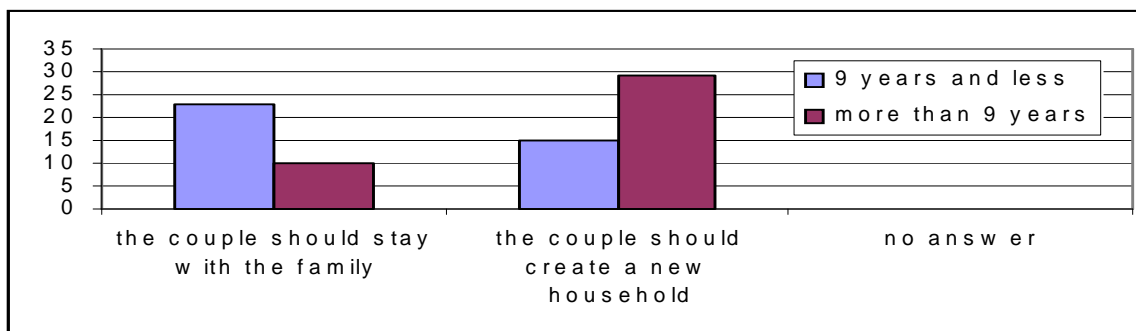
Decision of the households X
When did your family acquire the first television set?

	2 years and less	more than 2 years	frequency, percentage
the couple should stay with the family	12	21	33 42.9
the couple should create a new househod	5	39	44 57.1
no answer	0	0	0 0.0
in total	17 22.1	60 77.9	77 100.0



(p=.00886)

	9 years and less	more than 9 years	frequency percentage
the couple should stay with the family	23	10	33 42.9
the couple should create a new househod	15	29	44 57.1
no answer	0	0	0 0.0
in total	38 49.4	39 50.6	77 100.0



(p=.00198)

2 years and less: possession of a television set for two years and less

more than 2 years: possession of a television set for more than two years

9 years and less: possession of a television set for nine years and less

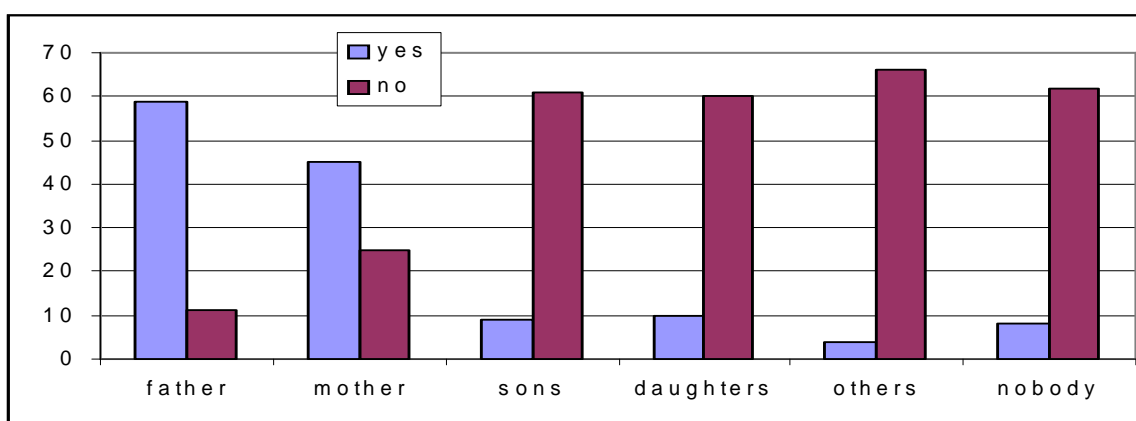
more than 9 years: possession of a television set for more than nine years

Table 9:

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

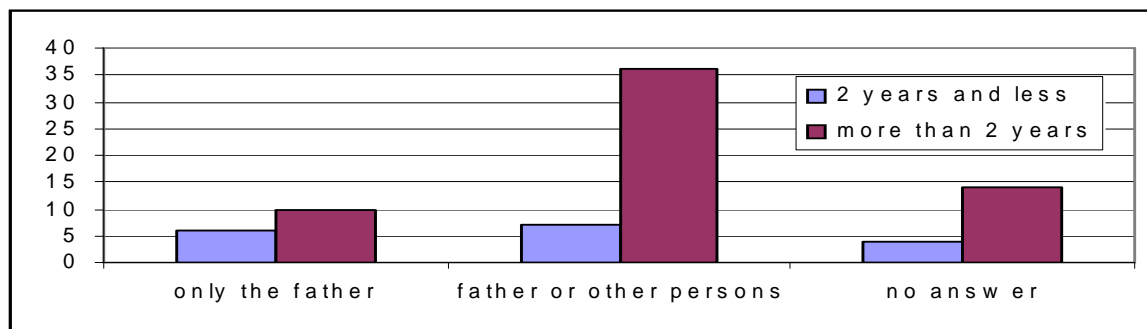
Qui surveille les prières dans votre famille ? (Who in your family is responsible for the prayers?) [multiple answers were possible. Valid options were: le père (the father); la mère (the mother); les garçons (the sons); les filles (the daughters); une autre personne (another person); personne (nobody). Answers; Percentage]

	father	mother	sons	daughters	others	nobody
yes	59	45	9	10	4	8
no	11	25	61	60	66	62
no answer	9	9	9	9	9	9
total	79	79	79	79	79	79



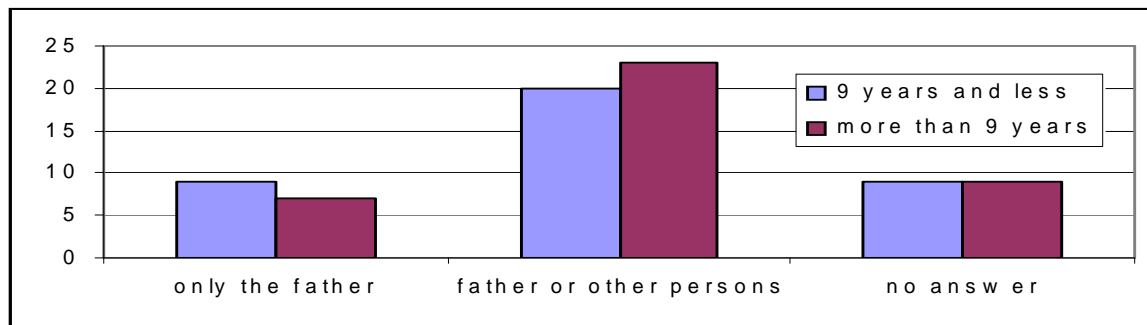
Who is responsible for the family prayer X
 When did your family acquire the first television set?

	2 years and less	more than 2 years	frequency, percentage
only the father	6	10	16 20.8
father or other persons	7	36	43 55.8
no answer	4	14	18 23.4
<hr/>			
in total	17 22.1	60 77.9	77 100.0



(p=.05663)

	9 years and less	more than 9 years	frequency, percentage
only the father	9	7	16 20.8
father or other persons	20	23	43 55.8
no answer	9	9	18 23.4
<hr/>			
in total	38 49.4	39 50.6	77 100.0



(p=.16410)

2 years and less: possession of a television set for two years and less

more than 2 years: possession of a television set for more than two years

9 years and less: possession of a television set for nine years and less

more than 9 years: possession of a television set for more than nine years

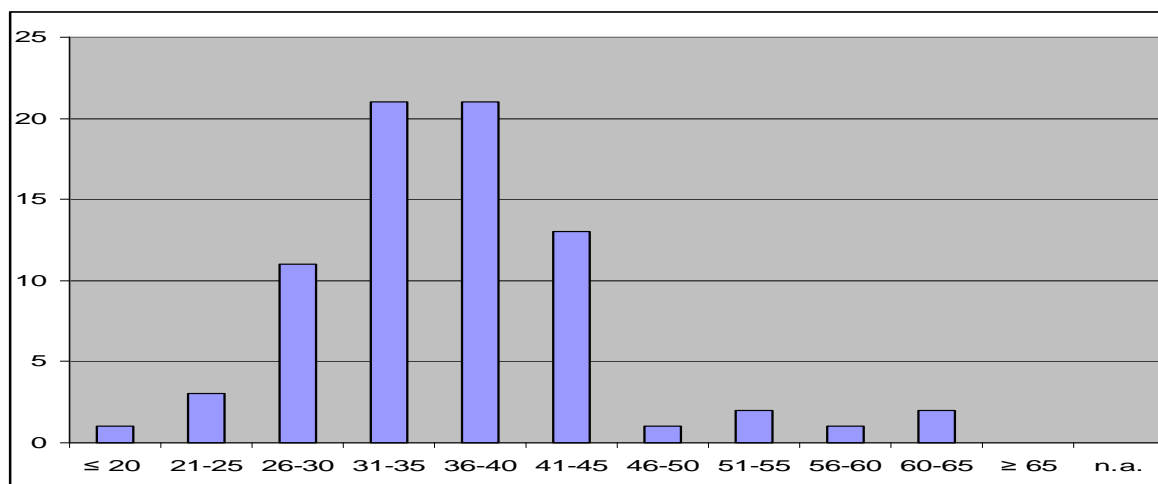
Table 10

Orscholz

Wie alt waren Sie, als sich Ihre Familie das erste Fernsehgerät angeschafft hatte (ungefähre Altersangabe genügt)?

How old were you when your family acquired the first television set (aproximatively)?

... age	frequency	percentage
less than 20	1	1.3
21 - 25	3	3.9
26 - 30	11	14.5
31 - 35	21	27.6
36 - 40	21	27.6
41 - 45	13	17.2
46 - 50	1	1.3
51 - 55	2	2.6
56 - 60	1	1.3
61 - 65	2	2.6
more than 65	0	0.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0



Median: 36 years.

Table 11

Orscholz

Wie lange sehen Sie im Schnitt fern (& Video)?

How long do you watch television (and video) on an average?

time spent in front of television set	frequency	percentage
no time at all	0	0.0
less than 1 hour a day	2	2.6
1 - 2 hours a day	28	36.8
2 - 4 hours a day	27	35.5
more than 4 hours a day	19	25.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0

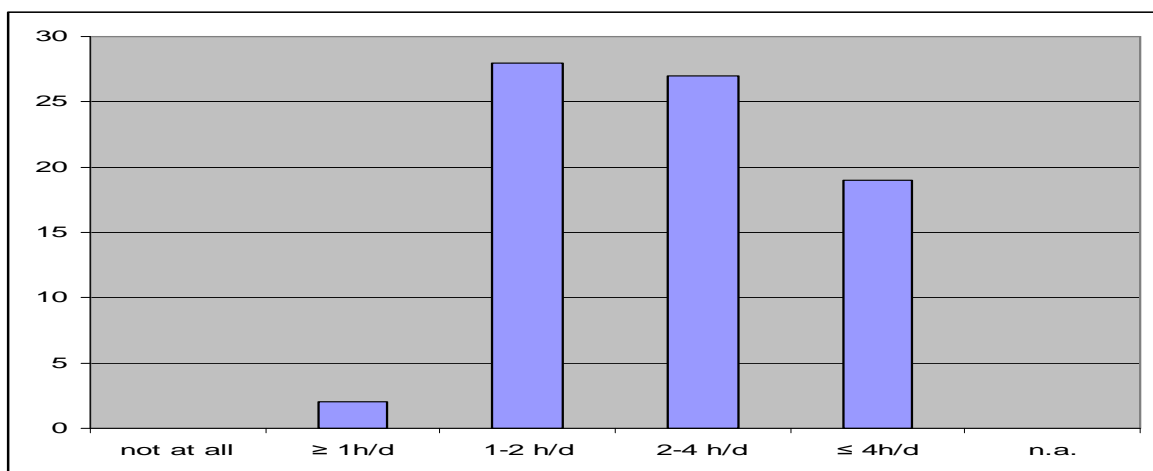


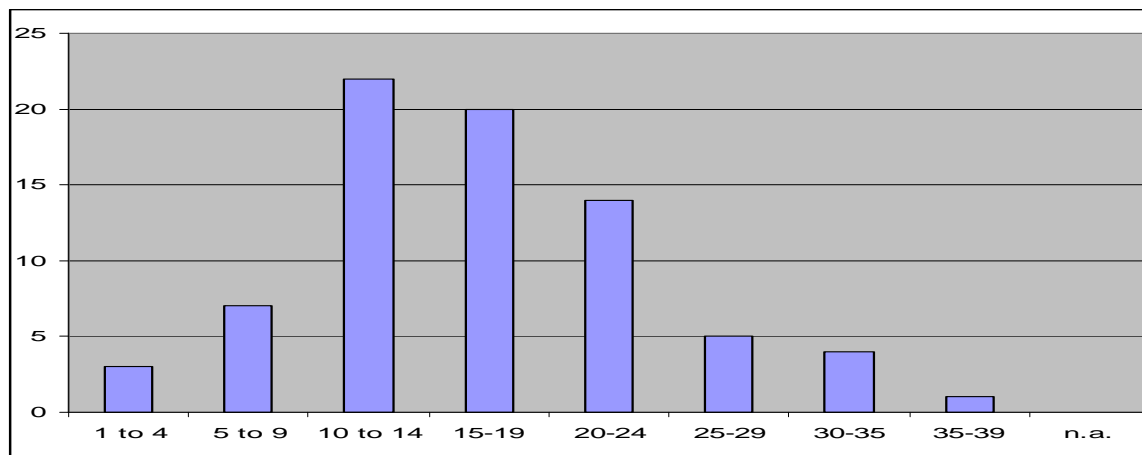
Table 12

Orscholz (Note: interviewed inhabitants were born 1930 or earlier)

Wie alt waren Sie, als sich Ihre Familie das erste Radiogerät angeschafft hatte (ungefähre Altersangabe genügt)?

How old were you when your family acquired the first radio set (aproximatively)?

age	frequency	percentage
1 - 4	3	3.9
5 - 9	7	9.2
10 - 14	22	28.9
15 - 19	20	26.3
20 - 24	14	18.4
25 - 29	5	6.6
30 - 34	4	5.3
35 - 39	1	1.3
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0



Mean: 16,2 years (standard deviation: 7,2)

Table 13

Orscholz

Können Sie sich erinnern, ob Ihrer Eltern früher, *in Ihrer Jugendzeit*, regelmäßig eine Zeitung oder eine Zeitschrift gelesen haben?

Do you remember whether your parents regularly read a newspaper or magazine *when you were young*?

	frequency	percentage
yes, they were regular readers [ja, sie waren regelmäßige Leser]	47	61.8
yes, they were occasional readers [ja, sie waren gelegentliche Leser]	8	10.5
they were more or less scarce readers [sie waren relativ seltene Leser]	8	10.5
they never read (no print media at home) [haben sie nie getan: keine Printmedien]	10	13.2
no answer	3	3.9
Total	76	100.0

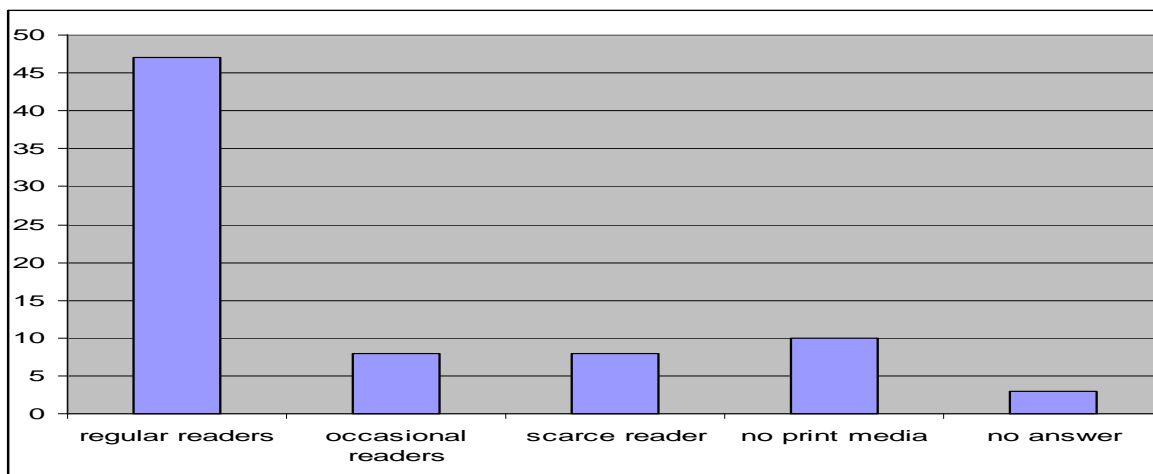


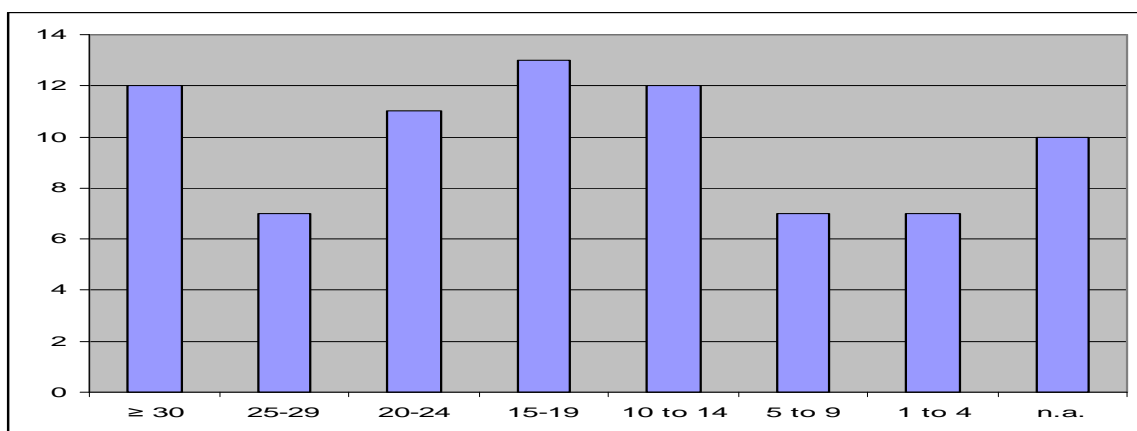
Table 14

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Quand est-ce que votre famille s'est procuré la premier poste de radio?

When did your family acquire the first radio set?

... years ago	frequency	percentage
more than 30	12	15.2
25 - 29	7	8.9
20 - 24	11	13.9
15 - 19	13	16.4
10 - 14	12	15.2
9 - 5	7	8.9
1 - 4	7	8.9
no answer	10	12.7
Total	79	100.0



Mean: 15,3 years (standard deviation: 11,3).

Mean of positive answers: 17,5 years (standard deviation 10,4).

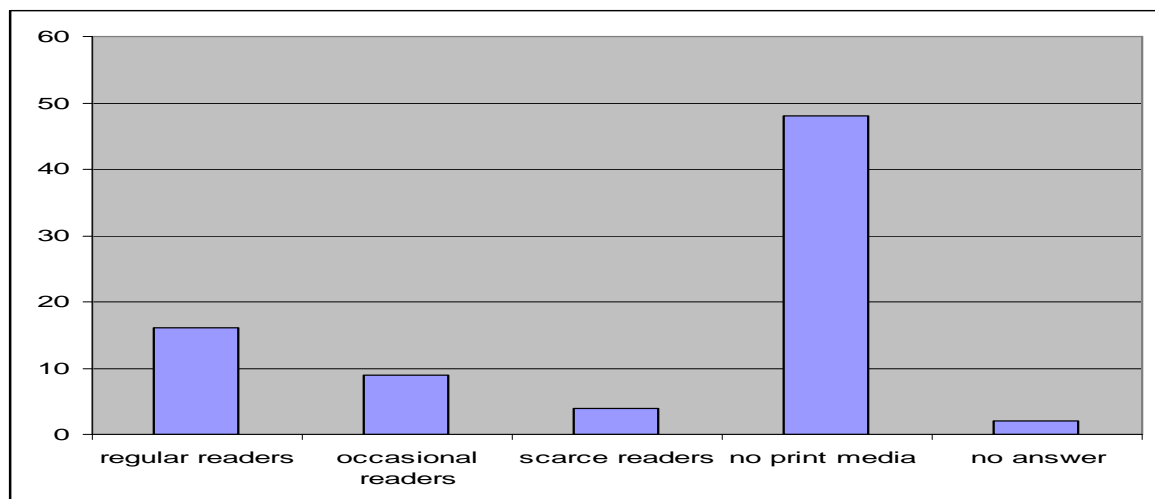
Table 15

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Est-ce que vous savez vous rappeler si dans votre famille on a lu régulièrement un journal ou une illustré avant l'électrification de votre village?

Do you remember whether in your family a newspaper or magazine was regularly read *before the electrification of your village*?

	frequency	percentage
yes, we were regular readers [ja, wir waren regelmäßige Leser]	16	20.3
yes, we were occasional readers [ja, wir waren gelegentliche Leser]	9	11.4
we were more or less scarce readers [wir waren relativ seltene Leser]	4	5.1
we never read (no print media at home) [haben wir nie getan: keine Printmedien]	48	60.8
no answer	2	2.5
Total	79	100.0

**Table 16**

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Est-ce que ce serait grave pour vous si vous ne pouviez plus lire votre journal (vos journaux) ou votre illustré (vos illustrés)?

Would you deplore it if you couldn't read your paper(s) or magazine(s)?

	frequency	percentage
yes	8	10.1
quite a bit	3	3.8
not too much	1	1.3
no	12	15.2
no answer	55	69.6
Total	79	100.0

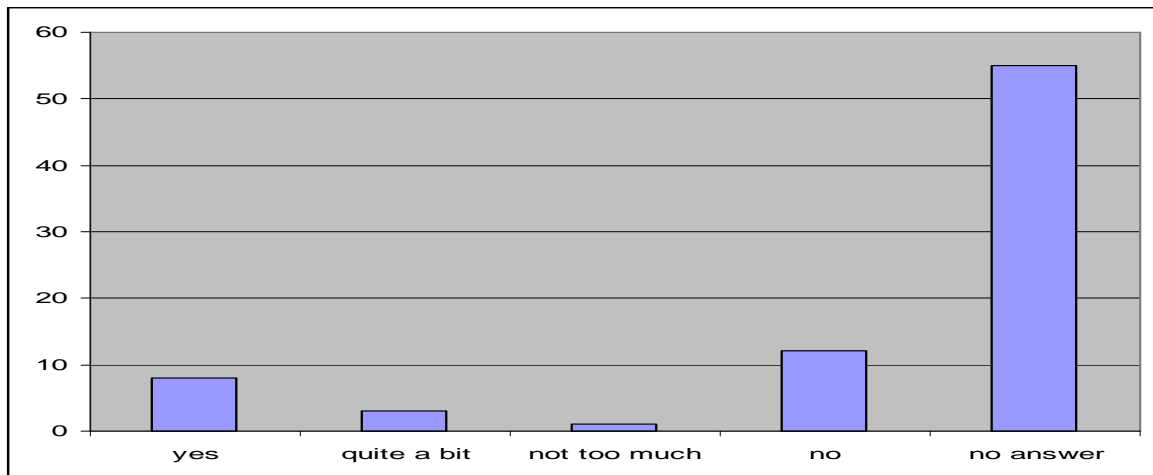


Table 17

Orscholz

Wäre es schlimm für Sie, wenn Sie nicht mehr Ihre Zeitung(en) oder Zeitschrift(en) lesen dürften?

Would you deplore it if you couldn't read your paper(s) or magazine(s)?

	frequency	percentage
yes	41	53.9
quite a bit	18	23.7
not too much	5	6.6
no	10	13.2
no answer	2	2.6
Total	76	100.0

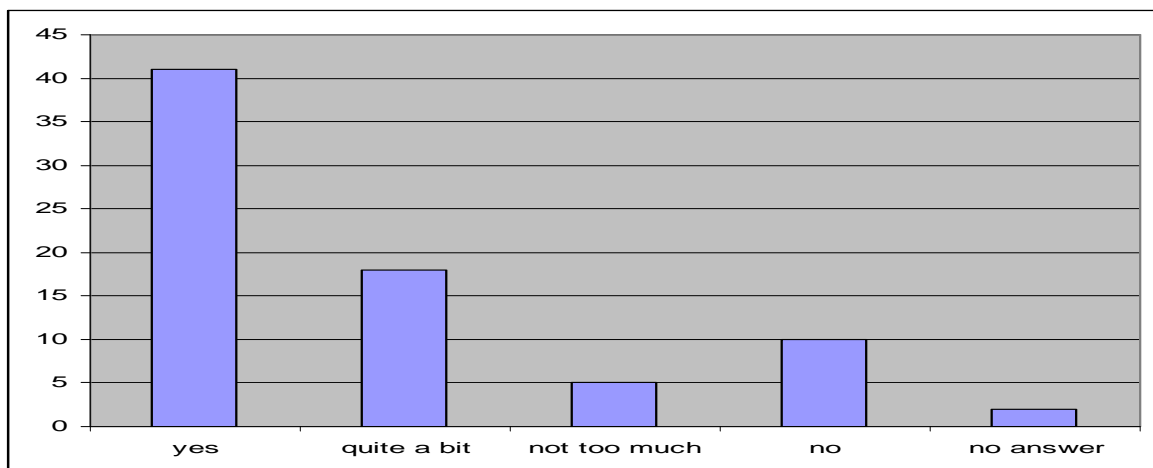


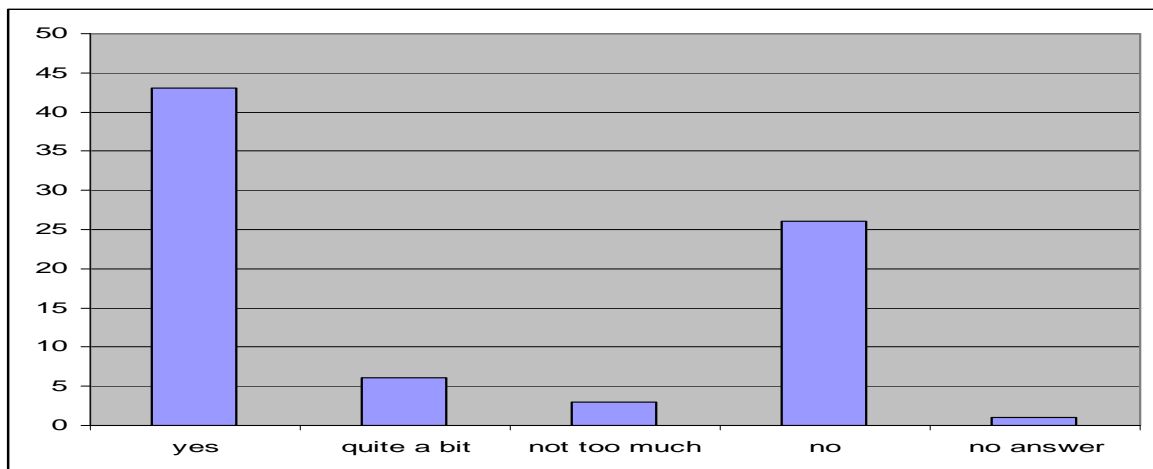
Table 18

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Est-ce que ce serait grave pour vous si on vous enlevait votre poste de radio?

Would you deplore it if your radio were taken away?

	frequency	percentage
yes	43	54.4
quite a bit	6	7.6
not too much	3	3.8
no	26	32.9
no answer	1	1.3
Total	79	100.0

**Table 19**

Orscholz

Wäre es schlimm für Sie, wenn Ihnen Ihr Radioapparat weggenommen werden würde?

Would you deplore it if your radio were taken away?

	frequency	percentage
yes	21	27.6
quite a bit	15	19.7
not too much	25	32.9
no	10	13.2
no answer	5	6.6
Total	76	100.0

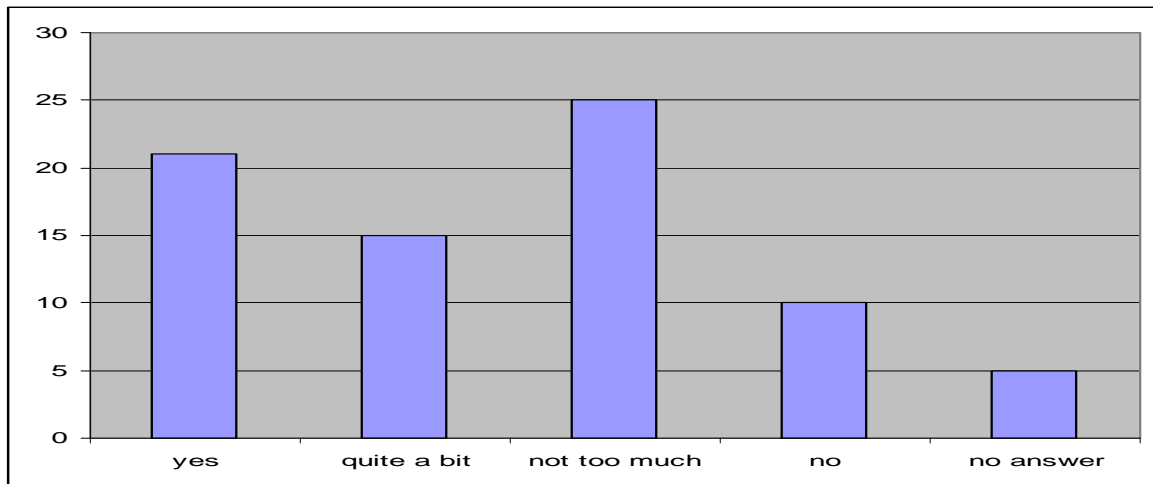


Table 20

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Est-ce que ce serait grave pour vous si on vous enlevait votre appareil de télévision?

Would you deplore it if your tv set were taken away?

	frequency	percentage
yes	59	74.7
quite a bit	1	1.3
not too much	2	2.5
no	13	16.5
no answer	4	5.1
Total	79	100.0

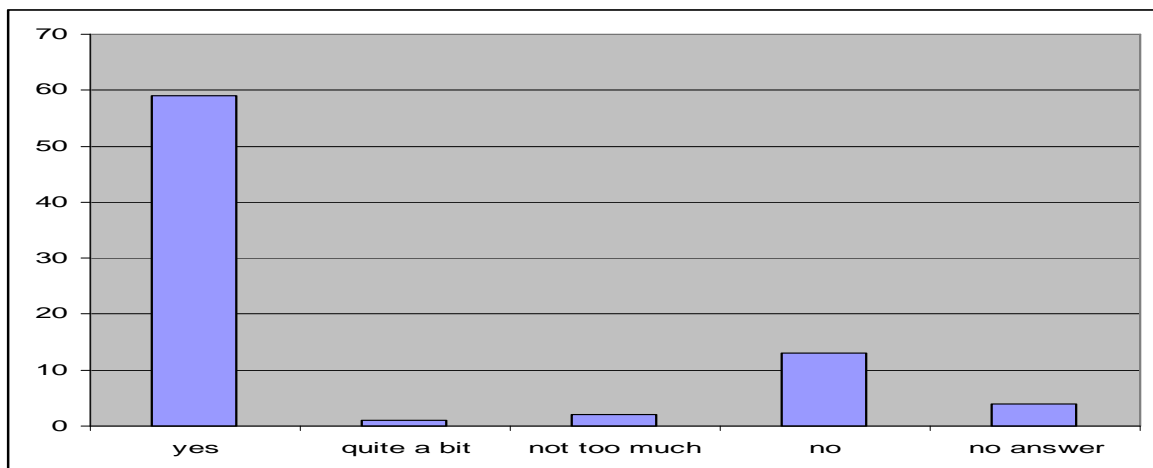


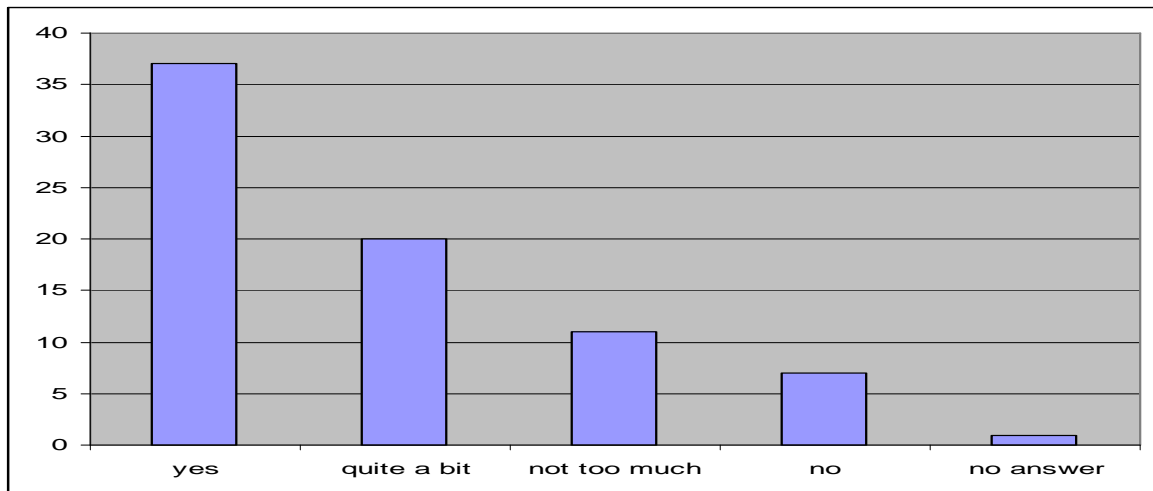
Table 21

Orscholz

Wäre es schlimm für Sie, wenn Ihnen Ihr Fernsehapparat weggenommen werden würde?

Would you deplore it if your tv set were taken away?

	frequency	percentage
yes	37	48.7
quite a bit	20	26.3
not too much	11	14.5
no	7	9.2
no answer	1	1.3
Total	76	100.0

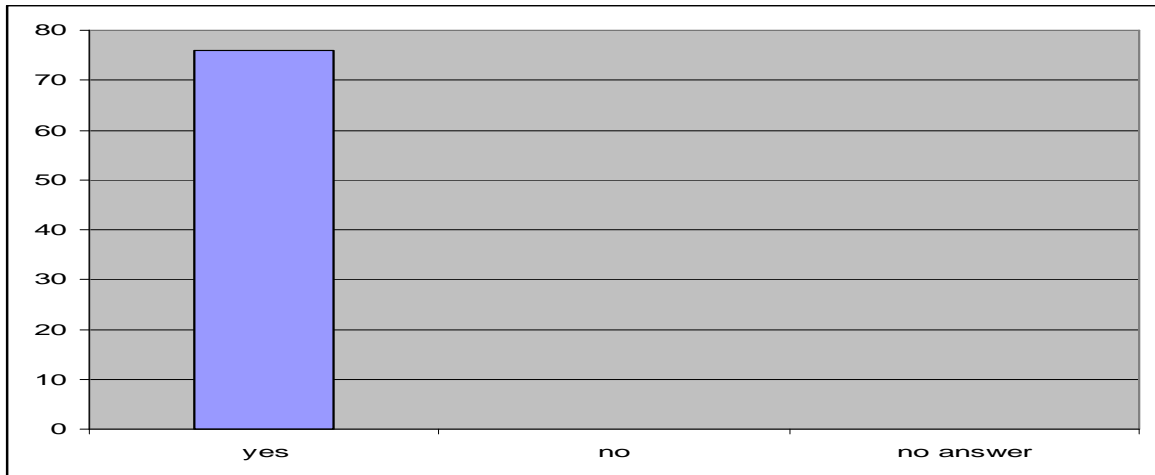
**Table 22**

Orscholz

Wo sehen Sie *am liebsten* fern?Where do you *prefer* to watch television?

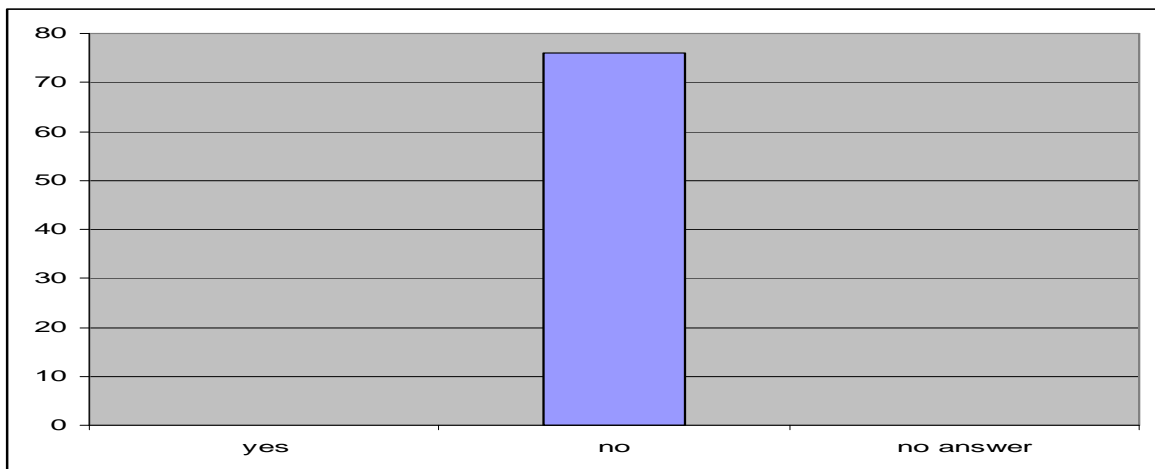
- at home? [zu hause?]

	frequency	percentage
yes	76	100.0
no	0	0.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0



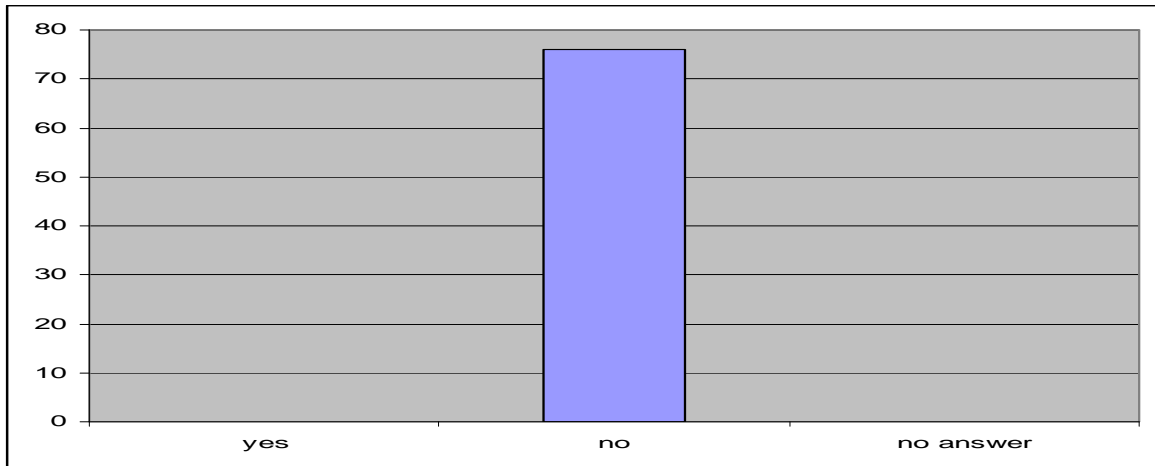
- at your parents' place? [bei Eltern, Verwandten usw.?]

	frequency	percentage
yes	0	0.0
no	76	100.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0



- at your friends' place? [bei Freunden?]

	frequency	percentage
yes	0	0.0
no	76	100.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0



- at your neighbours' place? [bei Nachbarn?]

	frequency	percentage
yes	0	0.0
no	76	100.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0

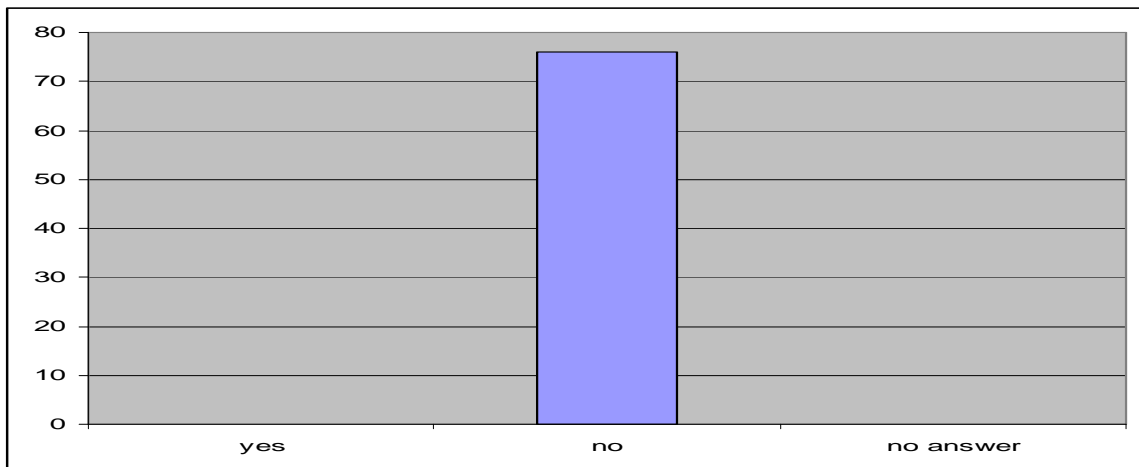


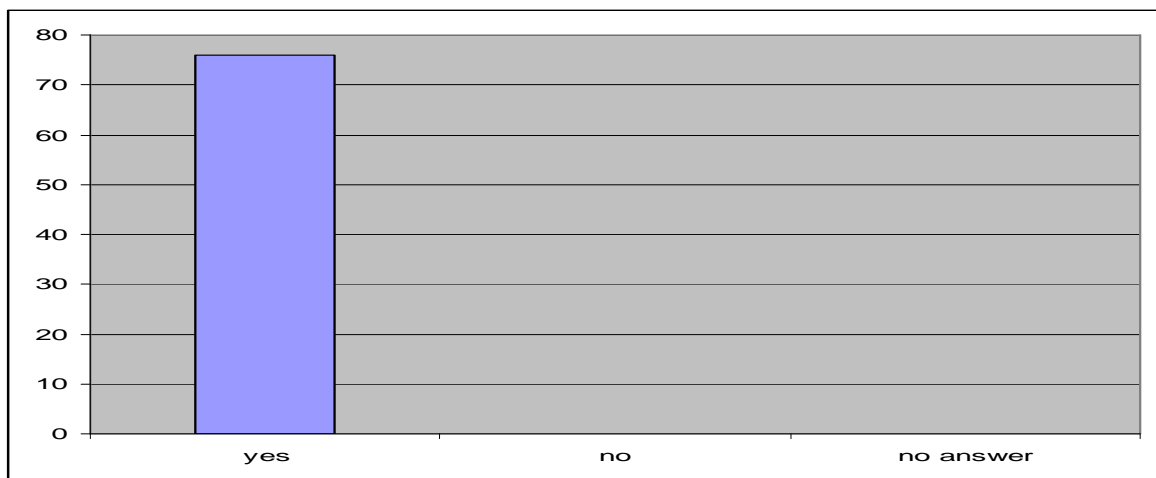
Table 23

Orscholz

Wo sehen sie *normalerweise* fern?Where do you *usually* watch tv?

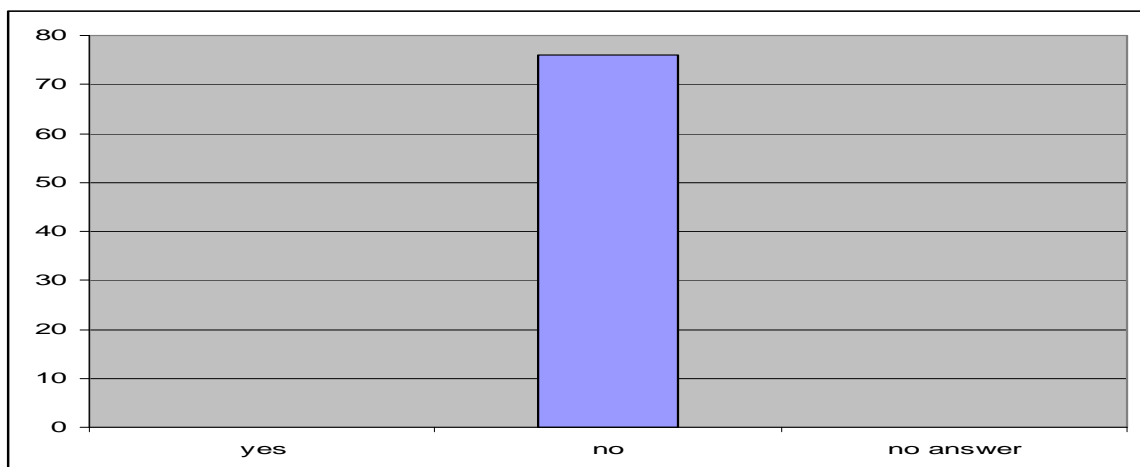
- at home? [zu Hause?]

	frequency	percentage
yes	76	100.0
no	0	0.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0



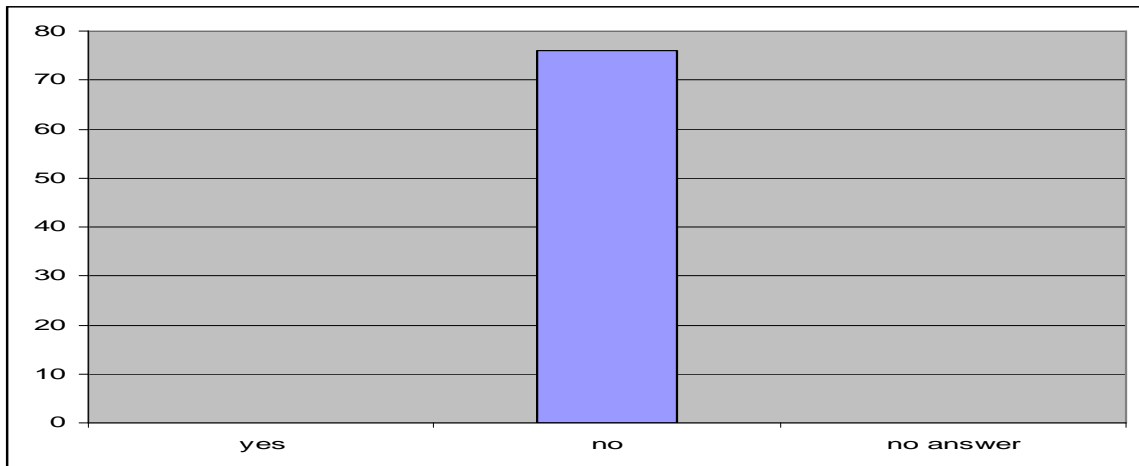
- at your parents' or relative's place? [bei Eltern, Verwandten usw.?]

	frequency	percentage
yes	0	0.0
no	76	100.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0



- at your friends' place? [bei Freunden?]

	frequency	percentage
yes	0	0.0
no	76	100.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0



- at your neighbours' place? [bei Nachbarn?]

	frequency	percentage
yes	0	0.0
no	76	100.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0

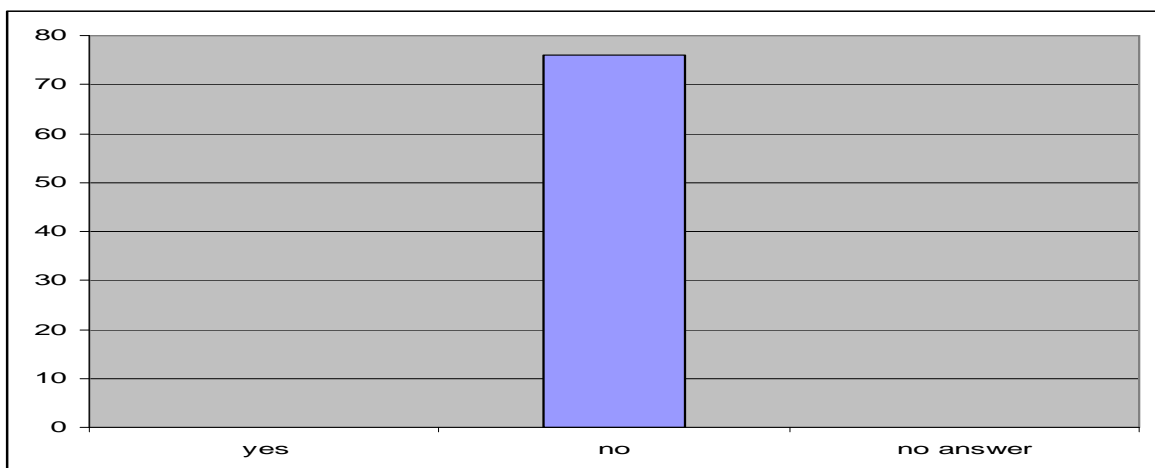


Table 24
Orscholz
Mit wievielen Personen sehen Sie normalerweise fern?

With how many persons do you usually watch tv?

With ... persons	frequency	percentage
no one (alone) 0	17	22.4
1	44	57.9
2	8	10.5
3	7	9.2
more then 3	0	0.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0

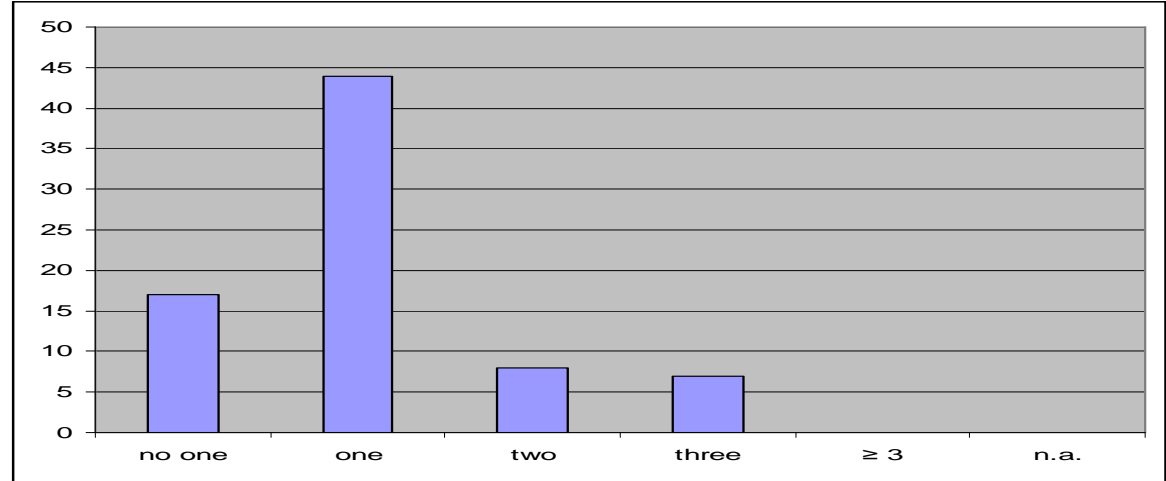


Table 25

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Est-ce que vous avez l'impression que des visites réciproques et aussi aides sont devenues plus rares depuis l'électrification de votre village?

Do you have the impression that mutual visits and forms of support are less frequent now in your village than in the time before electrification?

- Less reciprocity?

	frequency	percentage
yes, evidently	32	40.5
somewhat	12	15.2
staying constant	31	39.2
rather more frequent	2	2.5
evidently more frequent	1	1.3
no answer	1	1.3
Total	79	100.0

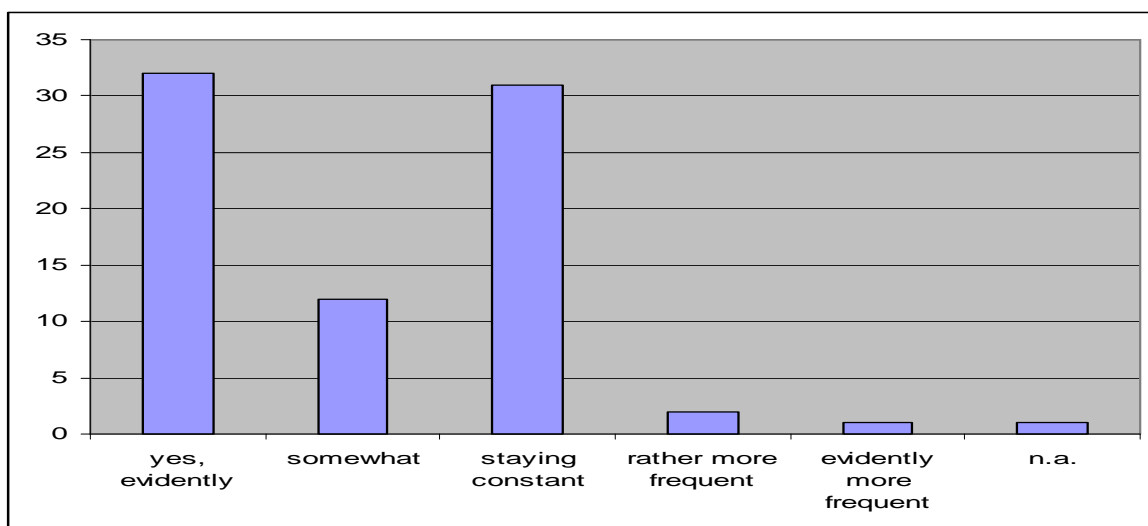


Table 26

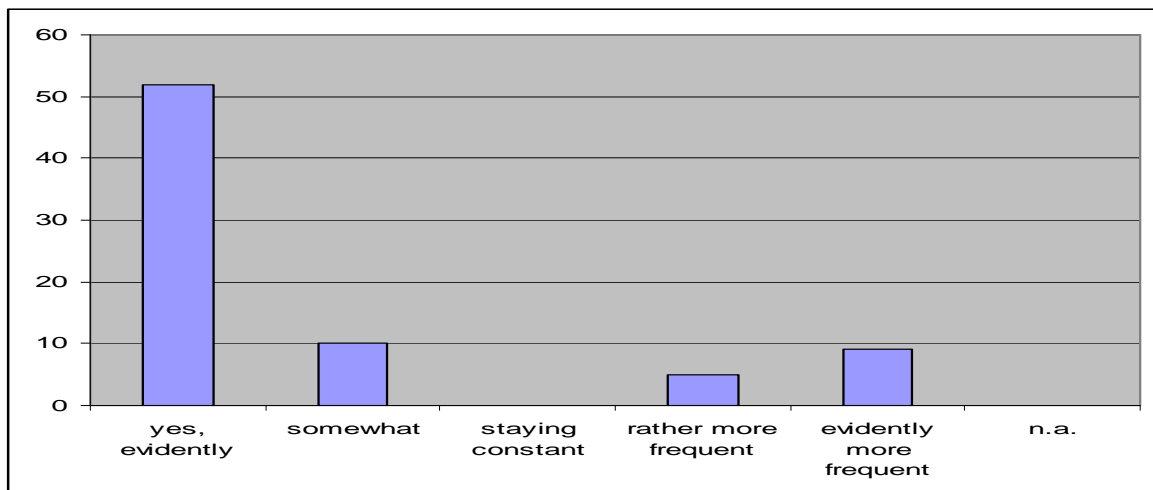
Orscholz

Haben Sie den Eindruck, daß gegenseitige Besuche und auch Hilfeleistungen seit ihrer Jugendzeit seltener geworden sind?

Do you have the impression that mutual visits and forms of support are less frequent now in your village than in the time of your youth?

- Less reciprocity?

	frequency	percentage
yes, evidently	52	68.4
somewhat	10	13.2
staying constant	0	0.0
rather more frequent	5	6.6
evidently more frequent	9	11.8
no answer	0	0.0
Total	76	100.0

**Table 27**

Orscholz

Haben Sie persönlich seit der Einführung des Fernsehers das Gefühl, weniger Zeit zu haben, um Freunde, Bekannte oder Verwandte zu besuchen?

Do you personally consider that you have less time to see your friends, neighbours or members of the family since television has been introduced?

	frequency	percentage
yes	37	48.7
often	2	2.6
sometimes	3	3.9
no	33	43.4
no answer	1	1.3
Total	76	100.0

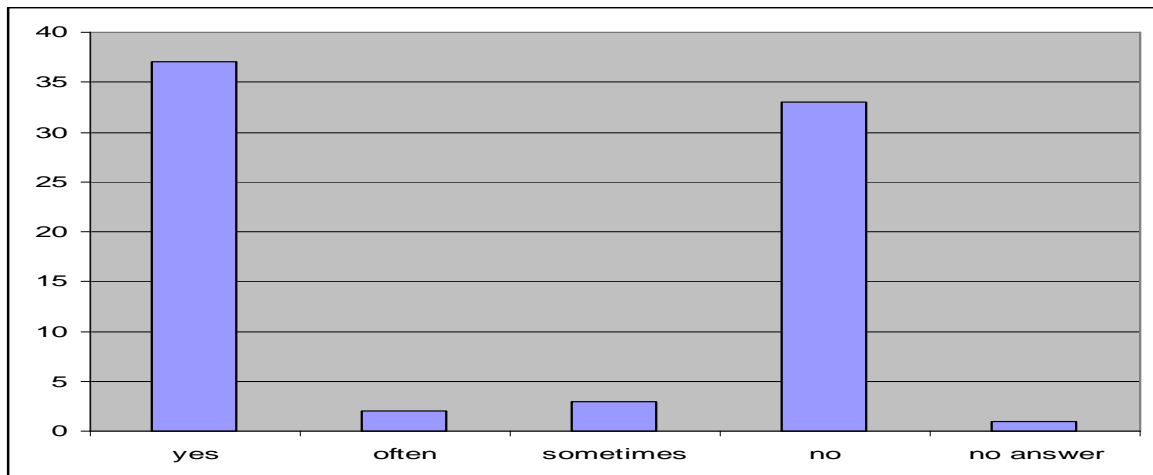


Table 28

Orscholz

Macht Ihnen das Fernsehschauen zusammen mit anderen mehr Spaß als alleine?

Do you personally prefer watching television together with others, do you have more fun then than doing so alone?

	frequency	percentage
yes	13	17.1
occasionally	16	21.1
no	43	56.6
no answer	4	5.3
Total	76	100.0

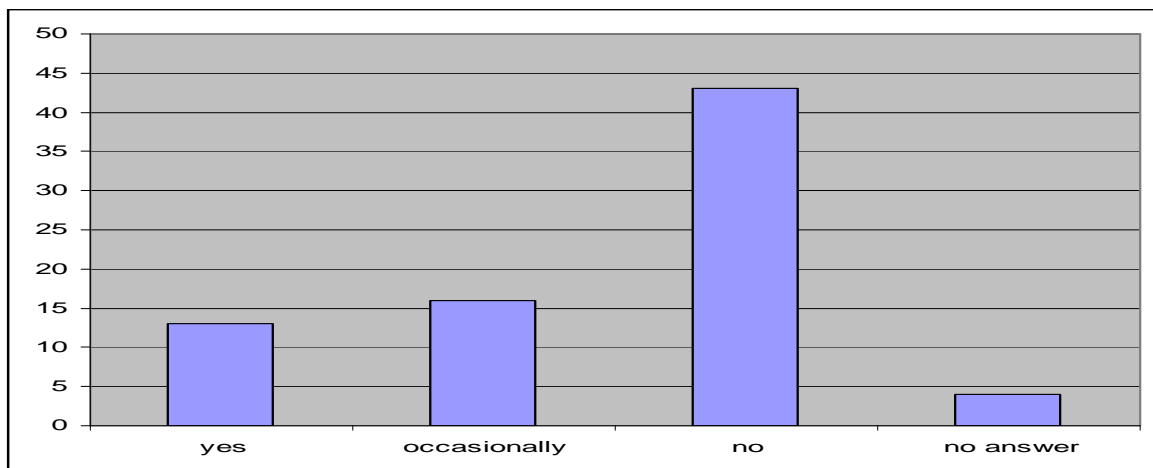


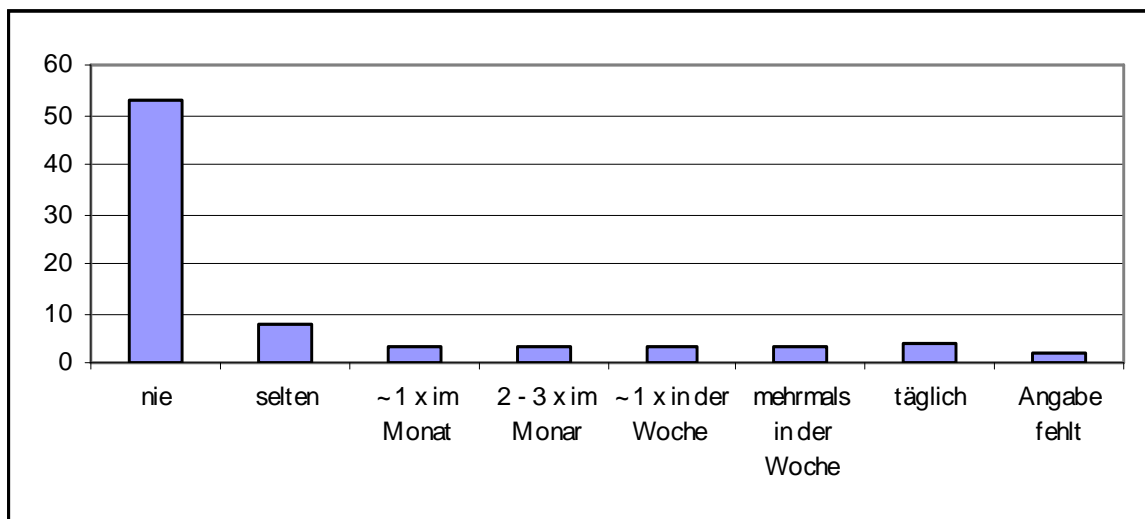
Table 29

Douar Oueled El Hadj Amor

Combien de fois quittez-vous le village?

How often do you depart from your village?

	never	sel- dom	1 x a mo.	2-3x a mo.	1x a week	several times a week	every day	
men	29	7	1	2	3	5	3	50 63.3 %
women	24	1	2	0	0	0	1	28 35.4 %
no answer	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1 1.3 %
frequency	53	8	3	3	3	5	4	79
percentage	67.1	0.1	3.8	3.8	3.8	6.3	5.1	100.0



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