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Television violence and young adults in Brazil:
a content analysis of the popular telenovella, "Malhação"

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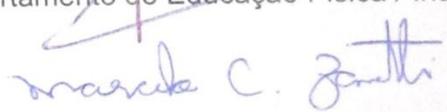
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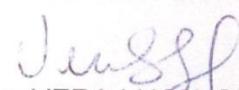
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Summary

Acknowledgments

Abstract

The problem of this study was to examine the prevalence, or *salience*, of general television violence and sex-related violence on a widely popular Brazilian television program for teenagers, "Malhação" (*Workout,* in English), and to determine what types of violence are depicted. The purpose of this investigation, therefore, was first: to identify if and how violent content occurs in a Brazilian television program designed for young viewers, the telenovella, "Malhação" (Part 1); and secondly, to quantify sex-related violence, particularly forms that involve misogyny, gender stereotypes, and messages and images that reinforce the sexualization of teens (Part 2). The study employed two specific quantitative content analysis protocols to measure frequency and duration of violent content that reflect general and sex-related violence. We determined types, categories and subcategories, and intensity of violence. Also, we included an analysis of demographic variables (i.e., age, race, and gender) in the program's storylines. For the first part of the study, our results confirmed the existence of a large proportion of scenes with violent content, although this appeared at a level of subtle and, therefore, low intensity. Two types were identified, priming for violence (PRI) and overt violence (VIO). Within our sample, the VIO type dominated the scenes. The highest incidence occurred in the category/subcategory of intrapersonal/psychological violence. Males were more involved in overt violence, and females in psychological violence. Teens appeared predominantly as perpetrators, and less as victims, than did adults. In the second part of the study, our results confirmed a trend towards representations of misogyny, stereotypes, female objectification, and the sexualization of female teens, as well as the acceptance of inappropriate behaviors by institutions (school and family) and the community in general.

Keywords: media effects, violence, Brazilian television, media content analysis, novella

Violência na televisão brasileira e jovens: uma análise de conteúdo da telenovela popular, "Malhação"

Resumo

Este estudo examinou a prevalência, ou ênfase, da violência geral e violência relacionada a sexo em um programa popular da televisão brasileira para adolescentes, "Malhação" (*Workout*, em Inglês), além de determinar quais tipos de violência estão nele representados. O objetivo desta investigação, portanto, foi: primeiro, identificar se e como violento conteúdo é inserido em um programa da televisão brasileira projetado para os jovens espectadores, a telenovela "Malhação" (Parte 1); e, segundo, para quantificar as cenas que descrevem a violência relacionada com o sexo, principalmente envolvendo a misoginia, estereótipos de gênero, e as mensagens e imagens que reforçam o sexo entre adolescentes (parte 2). O estudo utilizou dois protocolos de análise de conteúdo quantitativos específicos para medir a frequência e duração de conteúdo violento que reflete mensagens de violência em geral e relacionadas com o sexo. Nós determinamos tipos, categorias e subcategorias, e intensidade da violência. Além disso, incluímos uma análise das variáveis demográficas (i.e., idade, raça e sexo) nas estórias deste programa de TV que tem como alvo o jovem brasileiro. Para a primeira parte do estudo, os resultados confirmam a existência de uma grande quantidade de cenas com conteúdo violento, embora muito sutil e, por conseguinte, de baixa intensidade. Dois tipos são identificados, priming para a violência (PRI) e atos violentos (VIO). O tipo VIO domina as cenas dos episódios selecionados. A principal categoria/subcategoria que aparece é a expressão psicológica da violência interpessoal. Os homens são mais envolvidos em atos violentos, e as mulheres em violência psicológica. Adolescentes aparecem predominantemente como agressores, e menos como vítimas. Na segunda parte do estudo, os resultados confirmam uma tendência óbvia em direção à misoginia, estereótipos, objetificação feminina, mensagens sobre sexo entre adolescentes com representação inadequada de aceitação de tais comportamentos por parte das instituições (escola e família) e da comunidade em geral.

Palavras-chaves: efeitos da mídia, violência, televisão brasileira, análise de conteúdo da midia, novela

Introduction

For some, globalization cannot happen quickly enough. The digital economy brings with it such prosperity that its proponents simply cannot wait to see it permeate every corner of the earth (Campbell, 1999). One of its main tools, the internet, has been touted by nearly everyone for its potential to unite the world (Jenkins, 2006; Shirky, 2010; Tapscott, 1996; 1998). Additionally, developments in satellite and wireless technologies have helped media giants expand their markets for new media, TV, and film products. For these companies, it has literally become a world without borders (Seabrook, Miller & McChesney, 2001).

Many feel we have reached a critical point in time—when the value of profits, produced by global digital information and communication systems, have surpassed the value of human welfare. For example, 2010 sales revenue from North America's top seven media companies totaled $136 billion (CNN Money, 2011). Yet, for the same year, the combined GDP of the 25 least-developed countries was just $21.35 billion (IMF, 2011). Ironically, these same poor countries still find the resources necessary to feed this huge and hungry entertainment industry.

Today, this industry is controlled worldwide by only six major multi-national companies: Comcast, Disney, News Corporation, Time Warner, Viacom, and CBS (Milord, 2013; Transmedia Storytelling in Television, 2009). This number changes slightly and often, with mergers and buyouts, but these companies are relatively small in number, and they form what could be considered an *oligarchy*—which means rule by a few. It is this oligarchy that determines what media content we will consume. This handful of companies creates the stories we listen to, and, ultimately, the cultures we live in.

In countries throughout the world, for example, MTV has caused changes in art, music, fashion and personal tastes, creating the desire in viewers to be just like their Western counterparts. In her 1995 report, prepared for the Division of the Advancement of Women of the United Nations, Margaret Gallagher revealed how "Lipstick Imperialism" has facilitated globalization. "In fashions, behavior, language and morals, more and more youngsters are falling to the thrall of MTV and are drawn into aping the West," according to Menon (as cited in Gallagher, 1995). In what could be considered relatively early in the global media explosion, Gallagher noted that MTV easily invaded Latin America with what researchers Gabriel Escobar

and Anne Swardson called "cultura lite." This, they claimed, was a bland form of North American songs, words and images with "touches of Latin American rhythm..." (Escobar & Swardson, 1995). MTV's director of international program sales disclosed, reported Gallagher, that, "The youth audience is the most sought-after and most lucrative demographic internationally" (Jenkison, 1994, p. 104, as cited in Gallagher, 1995).

The first step in reaching this demographic is through what Gallagher called a "global cultural invasion" (Gallagher, 1995). What this means is that—through mass media—U.S.-produced media such as MTV invade all other cultures of the world with North American "culture." A Brazilian scholar referred to Gallagher's "global cultural invasion" less politely, although perhaps more realistically. She called it a type of "ethnic cleansing" (personal communication, Mauerberg-deCastro, 2000).

What *is* North American culture? This is complex and difficult to define. However, one thing is certain. It has one characteristic whose presence it seems impossible to deny: It is a culture of violence. Journalist Nicholas Thompson (Thompson, 2013) observed that "… American violence doesn't just come from the assault weapons we buy and the gun shows we frequent. It's much deeper than that. This is also the country that supplies three-quarters of the world's arms trade. And, he continued, "This country also supplies most of the world's violent entertainment." Indeed, recent studies support this claim, and it seems that violent programming is on the rise. According to two studies about the portrayal of violent death in television programming (funeralwise.com, 2012; 2011), the "body count" *increased a notable 12 percent within a one-year period*. These studies concluded:

> Portrayals of death on TV appear to be on the rise. The 40 TV series included in the study, in total, averaged nearly 5 dead bodies per episode. This was a 12% increase over the body count results from the previous study conducted earlier in the year. All the shows studied were deadly but a few took it to another level. The top 3 shows had 598 dead bodies or 40% of the total bodies counted. They averaged 25 bodies per episode. While not at that level, the remaining 37 shows still averaged over 3 dead bodies per episode.

Unsurprisingly, television's part in the global cultural invasion relies heavily on this characteristic. Violence portrayed through graphic, often misogynistic images of women's mutilation and destruction, and delivered via MTV and channels such as the AXN Network, make up part of the constant diet of violent images North American TV programmers beam to

other cultures throughout the world (Gerbner, 1994). Media scholar and critic Sut Jhally (Jhally, 1991, 1997, 2007) has argued that violence is an integral part of MTV's ubiquitous "message."

From 1996 to 1997, UNESCO performed one of the most extensive media surveys ever undertaken in an attempt to establish global intercultural television usage patterns and effects (Groebel, 1998). Researchers queried 5,000 12-year-old students living in urban areas, from 23 countries. They found that 93% of them had access to television, and that it played a dominant role in children's lives; their daily use of television—more than three hours—exceeded their participation in any other out of school activity, "… including homework, being with friends, or reading" (Media Awareness Network, 2011). These findings suggested that "television is the most powerful source of information and entertainment besides face-to-face interaction." Their findings also confirmed that 88% of all of the children surveyed knew who Arnold Schwarzenegger's character, The Terminator, was, confirming the reach of such media icons. Their study also revealed that children both from war and high-crime environments, as well as from low-aggression neighborhoods, reported "a strong overlap in what they perceive as reality and what they see on the screen" (Media Awareness Network, 2011).

An earlier study by the Kaiser Family Foundation, *The National Television Violence Study* (1998), revealed through a content analysis of programming for three years (1994-1997), that "Nearly 2 out of 3 programs contained some violence…," and that "Violence was found to be more prevalent in children's programming… than other types…" According to the report, "The average child who watches two hours of cartoons a day may see nearly 10,000 violent incidents each year…" (Kaiser Family-UCSB, 1998)

Nearly twelve years after that investigation, a new Kaiser Family Foundation study (Kaiser Family-UCSB, 2010) examined how media use among young people had changed. A significant finding was that, even with the emergence of new mobile and online technologies, television watching by 8- to 18-year-old American children had increased an average of 38 minutes per day (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010).

International telecommunications giant, Ericsson, found that the internet and social networks had begun to change the way in which people watched TV (Niklas & Ronnblom, 2011). In effect, we prefer to watch content when we want it (i.e., "on-demand"), and we multi-task while watching it. That is, according to the Ericsson 2011 study's findings, "Many have already

adopted a kind of chatting behavior, sitting in front of the TV with their tablet or SmartPhone in their lap to chat with other people who are watching the same show" (Niklas & Ronnblom, 2011). In effect, we are sharing our *mediated cultures*, our *imagined communities*.

A 2014 Ericsson report (Ericsson, 2014) also found that traditional viewing continues to give way to cross-platform use and the viewing of streaming media, although the number of hours that people typically spend viewing television has not changed. And, the Ericsson report emphasized, "Content is king."

With this proliferation of content, available 24 hours a day, seven days a week, often unrestricted to young consumers, many teachers, parents, doctors, and professionals argue that television content, especially violent content, isn't simply benign, innocent entertainment. Recent findings and events suggest that violent television content has real and as yet undetermined negative effects on individuals, as well as on the societies they live in. However, many members of the communications industry, and even some media scholars, continue to insist that the effects of watching television—particularly violent content—are harmless (Merino, (2010).

What, then, is the truth about violent television content, specifically violent programming in Brazil? Is violent programming aimed toward young Brazilians relatively non-existent, or has television programming produced in Brazil begun to mirror programming from other, more "developed" countries like the U.S.? Does television content follow the trends in violence, including sexual violence?

Review of the literature

Studies about the effects of television violence, especially in North America, are abundant. There is no shortage of findings with regard to the damaging effects of television violence, although media conglomerates would have us believe otherwise. Says media violence researcher Joanne Cantor, "… despite concurrence by almost all academic researchers and child advocacy groups that media violence contributes to youth violence, discussions in the media often conclude that the research findings are equivocal" (Cantor, 2000, p. 30). Of course, it's no secret that the media giants benefit by suppressing information that isn't favorable to their interests.

Author Margaret Gallagher reminded us that the current global revolution toward what media scholar Marshall McLuan termed a "global village," may not be for all the members of the world community what it first appears to be. She said, "The global village metaphor is attractive; it is simple; and it is profoundly misleading (Gallagher, 1995)." Gallagher continued:

> It may well be tempting to imagine the world as a village, when a network like CNN can make television audiences in five continents eye witnesses to US marine landings in Somalia, Boris Yeltsin climbing on to a tank in Moscow, or indeed the events at the UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. From a certain perspective, this is indeed impressive. But the global information and communication system is far from involving the majority of people around the world—even as consumers, and certainly not as participants or producers. It is a system that perpetuates many inequalities (p. 1).

Effects of media violence

The discourse on media violence indicates that its effects are varied, and many are as yet undiscovered. A seminal meta-analysis by Paik and Comstock in 1994 compared more than 200 correlational and experimental studies and more than 1,000 comparisons between violent media and control groups (Paik & Comstock, 1994). It concluded that media violence "is associated with higher levels of antisocial behavior ranging from the trivial (imitative violence directed against toys) to the serious (criminal violence), with many consequential outcomes in between (acceptance of violence as a solution to problems, increased feelings of hostility, and the apparent delivery of painful stimulation to another person)" (Cantor, 2000, p. 30).

According to the 2012 report of the *Media Violence Commission,* the findings from a study by the International Society for Research on Aggression, more than 15 meta-analyses have

examined relationships between media violence and aggression. And, while results of these studies are varied, they all indicate that "greater media violence viewing statistically predicts greater aggression by the viewer" (International Society for Research on Aggression - ISRA, 2012). Additionally, the results of these studies suggested that, depending on the individual, "…exposure to media violence can increase not only aggressive behavior in a variety of forms, but also aggressive thoughts, aggressive feelings, physiological arousal, and decrease pro-social behavior…" "…The effects are remarkably consistent regardless of the type of medium, age, gender, or where the person lives in the world" (International Society for Research on Aggression - ISRA, 2012).

There are other observable effects. Communications scholar George Gerbner studied the effects of television in one of the longest-running studies in the history of television (Gerbner, 1977). He founded the Cultural Indicators Research Project in 1968, at the Annenberg School for Communication, University of Pennsylvania. Gerbner and his colleagues determined that long-term use of television has the following "cultivation effects":

- Our studies have shown that growing up from infancy with this unprecedented diet of violence has three consequences, which, in combination, I call the "mean world syndrome." What this means is that if you are growing up in a home where there is more than say three hours of television per day, for all practical purposes you live in a meaner world— and act accordingly—than your next-door neighbor who lives in the same world but watches less television. The programming reinforces the worst fears and apprehensions and paranoia of people.
- Another consequence of watching a lot of television is that one comes to believe that the violence portrayed on television is normal—that everybody does it, and that it's a good way of solving problems… A more pervasive effect is that television de-sensitizes viewers to victimization and suffering: they lose the ability to understand the consequences of violence, to empathize, to resist, to protest.
- The third consequence, and I think the most debilitating one, is the pervasive sense of insecurity and vulnerability… …they are likely to be afraid to go out on the street in their own community, especially at night. They are afraid of strangers and meeting other people. A hallmark of civilization, which is kindness to strangers, has been lost (Gerbner, 1994).

One area of particular concern is how television violence affects children and youth. Researchers have found that children often miss the subtleties of violent programming and instead focus on the overt behaviors (Collins, Berndt & Hess, 1984;

Huesmann, Moise-Titus, Podolski, & Eron, 2003; Seabrook, 2001). Child behavior specialists seem to agree that there are three general areas of concern related to the effects of media violence on children. The Mediascope National Television Violence Study (2000) identified them as: 1) Learning aggressive attitudes and behaviors; 2) Becoming desensitized to real world violence; 3) Developing a fear of being victimized by violence. A report by the American Academy of Pediatrics, which was underwritten by five other national medical associations, came to similar findings. It concluded that "prolonged viewing of media violence can lead to emotional desensitization toward violence in real life" (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000).

Clearly, the evidence is in with regard to the effects of media violence and children. Anderson (2003) observed, "After 40+ years of research, one might think that debate about media violence effects would be over. An historical examination of the research reveals that debate concerning whether such exposure is a significant risk factor for aggressive and violent behavior should have been over years ago." With the abundance of data supporting the need for action, David A. Walsh suggested that in the future the following areas of concern should be addressed: 1) Physiologic and neurologic effects of media use; 2) The extent to which individual differences mediate media effects; and 3) The effectiveness of media education (Walsh, 2000).

How, then, do media affect, or "cultivate," us?

There is no single explanation for how exposure to violent media content changes, or "cultivates," our behavior. The literature suggests that various factors are responsible, that they are "complex and variable" (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000), and that changes in behavior often occur over time and with repeated exposure. Various theories explain the psycho-physical mechanisms through which media use affects us. As Anderson *et al*. (2012) noted, "The effects of violent content are learning effects in the brain."

One explanation suggests that we become *desensitized* after repeated exposure to certain stimuli (i.e., violent images, as described above by Gerbner, 1994) (Carnagey, Anderson, & Bushman, 2007; Grossman, 1999; International Society for Research on Aggression - ISRA,

2012). The Media Violence Commission Report by the International Society for Research on Aggression (2012) concluded that:

> Desensitization to violence disrupts the process of moral evaluation because the desensitized individual will not perceive or respond to the cues that typically would initiate evaluative processes… …Therefore, negative actions may occur without consideration of their moral implications, or a needed prosocial action may not be initiated… …Emerging research identifies a link between exposure to media violence and desensitization, as measured in psychophysiological and behavioral research, over both the short and the long term… (p. 339)

Thus, according to these findings, the more we consume violent media, the more likely we are to learn to ignore our own moral judgment.

Theoretical foundations

Another process that helps our brains "learn" to respond to violent media content is called *priming*. According to the Media Violence Commission Report by the International Society for Research on Aggression (2012), neural paths are established through repeated associations between two stimuli: a rose and its distinctive smell, for example. Through the activation of nodes in the brain, such stimuli become linked together, or what these researchers refer to as "wired." Eventually, this process includes not just nodes, but networks, with "known concepts, feelings, and memories." Individuals, "even young children," develop neural pathways that link stimuli, as well as those related to aggression—guns and violence, for example. When an individual experiences one of the stimuli, it "primes" the brain to anticipate the other, linked stimulus. The International Society for Research on Aggression - ISRA (2012) describes the process and how it can affect the behavior of viewers of violent television content.

> …any time a person is exposed to a violent scene, the resulting activation of nodes spreads out to linked nodes and activates them… This neural process is called *priming*. When nodes associated with a behavioral tendency are primed, it makes it more likely (but not certain) that the behavior will occur. This behavior is more likely to occur if other stimuli simultaneously prime the node… …studies show that, if a person is insulted by another person, the mere sight of a gun can push that insulted person over the threshold to retaliate aggressively against the provoker… (p. 337)

In what has now become a classic study about *priming* in the mass communication research literature, Robert Entman (1992) investigated representations of blacks on televised news in Chicago. Entman suggested that representations of blacks, via "mass cultural institutions" such as media, perpetuated stereotypes, which in turn, perpetuated what he called "modern racism." Modern racism, unlike the racism of old, appeared more in whites' attitudes than in their actions. It is subtle; not blatant or easily observed. Entman claimed that modern racism had three major components: "general affective hostility toward black persons; rejection of blacks' political aspirations; and denial that discrimination continues to be a problem for blacks" (p. 346). And, he suspected, these subtleties were present in the TV news. Entman wrote,

> These implicit comparisons of blacks and whites may deny individuation and associate blacks with negative traits, while implicitly individuating and associating whites with more positive qualities. It is in this way that TV can—without manifestly derogating blacks—encourage modern racism (p. 346).

Through a content analysis, he found evidence that, indeed, the Chicago news broadcasts helped to predispose viewers to have certain negative perceptions of blacks; that they could "… reinforce stereotyping that feeds modern racism" (p. 346). Thusly, through the way in which visual and verbal images about blacks were woven through the content of the nightly news—through their *framing* (Entman, 1993; Hallahan, 1999; Reese, Gandy, & Grant, 2001; Scheufele, 1999), the broadcasts *primed* viewers.

Similarly, other types of media representations—images of women and violence, for example, act to prime viewers and reinforce certain stereotypes, or, to create expectations.

Social learning theory and modeling

In the 1960s—with the propagation of television, parents, teachers, and government officials began to wonder about the effects of television violence on children. Among the various resulting studies were those by Albert Bandura and colleagues, in 1963 (Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963), popularly called the "Bobo Doll" experiments. Children were exposed to a variety of conditions, and the results indicated that the children who viewed a film of an individual "beating up" a large, air-filled doll imitated the behavior. That is, they, too, beat the doll.

Bandura's findings helped him develop what is known as *social learning theory* (Bandura, 1983). Social learning theory posits that children learn social behaviors through observation and reinforcement. A key component of social learning theory is that humans learn through the observation and imitation—or *modeling*—of others' behaviors.

Role modeling, then, is the process through which individuals learn by imitating one another. Bandura concluded children are more likely to imitate, or model, individuals who are similar to themselves (i.e., the same gender), as well as those who they perceive as attractive. Children identify with attractive television characters and personalities. *The Future of Children* website noted that children vary to the extent that they identify with people on television, but, "In one survey nearly 40 percent of teens named a media figure as their role model—nearly the same share that named a parent or relative" (Wilson, 2008). She also observed "that children's susceptibility to media influence can vary according to their gender, their age, how realistic they perceive the media to be, and how much they identify with characters and people on the screen."

When behaviors are normalized in media representations, such as when actors that young people identify with use violence as a viable solution to problems, the child is likely to imitate the character and adopt the behavior: "Children see, and children do," noted the Media Violence Commission study (Anderson, *et al*., 2012). A classic study in 1983 revealed that violence can help viewers learn novel forms of behavior. Albert Bandura concluded,

> Television can shape the forms that aggressive behavior takes. Television can teach skills that may be useful for committing acts of violence, and it can direct the viewer's attention to behaviors that they may not have considered. For example, young people may mimic karate and judo moves, or they may learn effective tactics for committing violent crime. This information may give direction to those who are already motivated to engage in aggression. Such a modeling process could lead to more severe forms of aggression. It could increase the frequency of violence if people who are motivated to harm someone choose a violent method they have observed on television (Bandura, 1983).

A military strategist and psychology professor at the leading U.S. military academy—West Point, Lt. Col. Dave Grossman, concluded in his books on the psychology of learning to kill, "*On Killing: The Psychological Cost of Learning to Kill in War and Society*," (Grossman,

1995) and *"Stop Teaching Our Kids to Kill,"* (Grossman, 1999), that children who become killers have one trait in common: "… an obsession with media violence …"

Additionally, children under the eight years old cannot yet discern fantasy from reality (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2000). They cannot, therefore, distinguish between television and everyday reality.

With regard to how we learn from the media—including how we learn from these role models, the Report of the Media Violence Commission (2012) came to what seems like an obvious conclusion: "With media, the content is crucial." They continued, "…When that media is educational or carries messages about caring and helpful behavior, the child's developing neural network will reflect that input. However, if the content is violent, the developing neural network will also reflect that input."

While much of media research has focused on aggression and violent effects, a growing body of literature indicates that various forms of media can be used to develop pro-social effects. More recently, Gentile *et al*. (2009) found that pro-social video games can be used to develop pro-social attitudes and behavior. Wilson (2008) claimed, "… if children spend time with educational programs and situation comedies targeted to youth, media exposure can have more pro-social effects by increasing children's altruism, cooperation, and even tolerance for others." And, social media sites are now being used around the world to create positive change (Impatient Optimists, Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, 2015; ShapingYouth.Org, 2015). In 2004, Bandura began a worldwide campaign, "Changing behavior through TV heroes," to use his knowledge to improve social conditions globally (American Pyschological Association – APA, 2005).

Violence against women

There is an entire body of study related specifically to the effects of media violence on women. In *Dreamworlds* (Jhally, 1991), a classic film that investigates the portrayal of women in music videos, a connection is made between images designed to entice adolescent males and their subsequent attitudes toward women. Jhally claimed there is a relationship between the images widely shown in music videos and the perceptions by young men that rape is a normal and acceptable behavior.

The use of violence on television is an issue that shares widely divergent views between men and women. In at least one regard, television programming reflects reality: Like many other aspects of society, mass media have traditionally been dominated by male representation.

Gerbner observed that women's roles as major characters in children's programs were so scarce that, "A child growing up with children's major network television will see about 123 characters each Saturday morning but rarely, if ever, a role model of a mature female as leader" (Gerbner, 1994).

While Gerbner made these observations nearly two decades ago, today, the situation seems to have worsened. Women may actually appear more frequently on television than they did 20 years ago—as cartoon heroes, for example; yet, it seems their representations, qualitatively, have gotten worse. Jennifer Pozner claims this is exemplified in current "reality" programming (Pozner, 2010). Says the media critic, "… misogyny is embedded within the DNA of the reality genre." She claims that present representations of women on reality programs reflect historic attitudes about women, and, rather than educating new generations of viewers, they glorify stereotypes from 35 years ago. In her *NY Times* review of Pozner's book, "*The Disposable Woman*," Anna Holmes writes, "… on reality television, gratuitous violence and explicit sexuality are not only entertainment but a means to an end. These enthusiastically documented humiliations are positioned as necessities in the service of some final prize… But they also make assault and abasement seem commonplace, acceptable behavior, tolerated by women and encouraged in men" (Holmes, 2011).

A report about children's programming by the National Organization for Women (NOW) (2011) concluded that in television programming for kids:

- Male characters appear at about twice the rate of female characters.
- Animated programs in particular are more likely to portray male characters.
- Females are almost four times as likely to be presented in sexy attire and twice as likely to be shown with a diminutive waist.

Additionally, the current number of women in film industry management positions has actually declined 1 % since 1998, and remains equal to 2009 figures (Center for the Study of Women in Television & Film, 2010).

Therefore, what Gallagher noted in 1995 still holds true: "The world depicted by the media seems to be frozen in a time-warp of obsolete and damaging representations" (p. 8). She concluded that, "Media representations of women and men take shape within particular, and changing, socio-economic formations which must themselves be analyzed and understood" (Gallagher, 1995; p. 8).

The global "cultural invasion" is economic, and violence sells. It should be no surprise, then, that violence against women plays such a major part in television programming and is so widely used to attract and maintain new markets. Yet, some would ask, at what price?

It should be noted that one of the major issues in the debate about violence and the entertainment industry is how women are portrayed through pornography. Additionally, a new and disturbing trend is how children are being sexualized and exploited via violent televised content and new media (Gallagher, 1995; Greenberg, 2014).

Effects of gender

Television programming is determined predominantly by males (Center for the Study of Women in Television & Film, 2010). However, what men think sells to women viewers is different than what women think sells to women viewers. Also, women and men share very different opinions about what they consider to be violence.

Other differences between men and women internationally and their tastes for television violence, according to Gallagher (1995), are that women are more likely to object to the level of television violence than men and they are more concerned with the possible impact of violent messages than men.

One significant finding in a Canadian study was that, of the women "questioned in MediaWatch's 1994 survey, *82% said they believed that violence in the media contributes to violence in society"* (Gallagher, 1995, p. 11).

Too, girls, more than boys, seem to be affected by television characters. Wilson (2008) observed that, "By the time they reach age eight, however, children, especially girls, are more likely to mention characters' affective states when retelling a televised story."

Research confirms that males are more likely than females to use and be exposed to violence. One report concluded, "The routine activities of young adult males are particularly

important since they are most prone to use violence" (Dimmick, McCain, & Bolton, 1979). Also, according to another study, exposure to violence was significantly associated with being male (Purugganan, Stein, Silver, & Benenson, 2000).

In a study of college students, males were exposed to a neutral film and a film in which women reacted positively to men who had attacked them. Several days later these men completed a survey. It revealed that the males "who had viewed the violent films showed greater acceptance of violence against women" (Garcia & Milano, 1990). This was also supported in Jhally's findings about male college students' viewing of violent music videos and their attitudes about rape (Jhally, 1991, 1997, 2007).

Violence and media culture

Clearly, our own cultural and experiential contexts affect our perceptions about violence on television. But what are the specific effects of television violence on viewers throughout the world—whose cultures and morays are quite different than those of the U.S., the producers of the bulk of televised violence? That is, how does televised violence affect those in other countries and cultures that are not considered Western, but are more "traditional"?

Two Ericsson Consumer Lab studies (Ericsson, 2014; Niklas & Ronnblom, 2011) suggest that other countries, including Brazil, follow TV, video, and electronic media consumer trends in the U.S. There is a consensus between parents and educators worldwide that, with this rapid emergence of a global communication system, there is a new urgency to the debate (Groebel, 1998).

Exported North American television products primarily include films, series, and reality shows. Interest in the North American soap opera genre (or novella) is declining (Adweek, 2012). However, Brazilian television producers are major exporters of novellas (soap operas) (Straubhaar, 2011), a genre that traditionally has been highly popular in Brazil and Latin America. Relative to North American televised products, violent television content produced in Brazil has been almost nonexistent (Straubhaar, 2011). However, violent programming produced principally in the U.S. is increasingly evident on Brazilian television, particularly on paid television, such as cable and satellite TV (Straubhaar, 2011). It appears that Brazilian television producers have begun to follow this trend.

For the past 60 years, Brazilian viewers have learned much about the outside world through the lens of the telenovella (*Veja* Magazine, 2011). Through this medium they are routinely exposed to global popular culture, technological trends, fashion, and music (MundoDaNet, 2012; Sonora, 2012; *Veja* Magazine, 2011), and parents, teachers, and scholars argue that young Brazilians form their own identities by copying their televised "peers" (Santos, 2010). Hamburger (2005) noted that the soap opera is important to Brazil in "the development of collective and individual behaviors."

The telenovella in Brazil has traditionally functioned to bring attention to problematic family matters and social issues. Hamburger (2005) observed that, since the genre's inception, the novella has "monopolized" the airwaves, and highlighted such issues as urbanization, poverty, socio-economic development, nationalism, the "landless" movement, family relations between young and old, missing children, drug abuse, and urban violence, to name a few.

The use of violence in Brazilian productions has historically been *limited* and *specific*. Santos (2010) noted that violence has intentionally been programmed into the novella in order to "problematize" certain social issues—violence among youngsters in school, for example, and to illustrate how such problems can reflect broader social issues. Its function has been "to create debate and discussion about certain situations."

However, recently, it appears that Brazilian novellas have begun to employ the time-honored technique, long used by Western producers, as an instrument to gain viewership. Brazilian network television producers have begun to integrate violence into their programming. In 2006, the Folha de São Paulo noted that one of RedeGlobo's competitors, the Band network, was breaking Globo's monopoly by "introducing sex and violence (Muniz, 2006). Yet, the vice-president of the Band network, Marcelo Parada, in his criticism of the gratuitous use of violence in the genre, suggested that the novella should employ violence, "… only in sufficient doses to make a point (Muniz, 2006).

The research literature on television violence reveals two important aspects: 1) Women and men share divergent views on the subject, and 2) Males are more likely than females to use and be associated with violence.

The literature also suggests that the spread of violence to other cultures through mass media may be one of the first steps in the process of increasing the overall incidence and

magnitude of violence in these cultures (Gerbner, 1994), including in Brazil Muniz, 2006).

Additionally, the airing of violence—simply for the sake of ratings—may be one of the first of many steps that strip cultures of their collective identities, desensitize individuals to human-ness, encourage collective fear, and subsequently, promote consumerism by capitalizing on our needs to gain or regain a sense of belonging (Utz, Tanis, & Vermeulen, 2012), or to be "cool" (Seabrook *et al.*, 2001). A recent online survey of 30,000 people in 15 countries revealed that North Americans are considered "the coolest in the world" (Badoo.com, 2011). This is no accident. Multi-national advertising conglomerates spend billions of dollars to learn what makes products popular to the North American youth market. They spend billions more to incite youth in other parts of the world to want to copy them. In their series, "The Merchants of Cool," PBS revealed how advertising conglomerates spend billions of dollars to reach the lucrative global youth market (Seabrook, 2001).

Can this need to be cool, or, perhaps, to "belong," cause young people in other cultures to want to be like North Americans, including (as Bandura observed in young children decades ago) the *modeling* of their violent behaviors?

Violent behavior often includes psychological as well as physical abuse, which can induce fear, pain, and dissatisfaction—bullying, for example. Recent events related to social networking reveal that young people's identity formation can profoundly be affected by cyber-bullying, to such an extent that they have committed suicide (Hinduja & Patchin, 2010). Violence has become such a common part of our everyday lives that we often don't even recognize it when we see it.

However, violence can be subtle—such as when young people reject their peers because they don't meet certain physical criteria—being thin, for instance.

Additionally, other types of behaviors—self-destructive behaviors, for example, can constitute violence. We don't commonly recognize certain self-destructive behaviors by young people as violent behaviors—steroid abuse or starving oneself to fit the "thin ideal," for example, but, indeed, each of these behaviors can correspond to the WHO's definition of violence. Each sometimes "… results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation" (Krug, Dahlberg, & Mercy, 2002).

Within this landscape of rapid global media expansion, relatively little research has been conducted in Brazil (or in all of Latin America) (Lozano, 2008) on the effects of media use—

specifically on the effects of violent television programming on young viewers. Lozano reviewed 51 Latin American empirical studies about television audiences—dating from 1992 to 2007—in what he called the "most important journals in the region." He determined that in Latin America there is a *dearth*, or *lack*, of studies about media effects, and that, of those that have been undertaken, "… many studies still lack a solid theoretical foundation…" (Lozano, 2008).

A recent search of the Brazilian academic data base, Parthenon, using the key terms— here, translated from Portuguese to English, "content analysis in mass communication, content analysis of media, content analysis and popular culture, media effects, and telenovela" (in Portuguese—"análise de conteúdo dos meios de comunicação, análise de conteúdo da midia, análise de conteúdo e cultura popular, os efeitos da mídia, telenovela"), revealed that, indeed, Lozano's observations still appear to hold true. This cursory search revealed a relatively low number of studies published in top-tier, peer-reviewed journals, and a relatively high number of graduate student theses. Perhaps these results reflect Brazil's past and present. First ruled by an indigenous monarchy, Brazil became a colony of Portugal, and eventually a military dictatorship, which remained until 1985, before it achieved permanent democratization. Unlike some of its North American and European counterparts—the United States and Great Britain, for example— Brazil does not have a long tradition of free press and free speech. Additionally, Brazilians view journalistic practices quite differently than do those in countries with a "free press" philosophy. For example, in 2009, Brazilian lawmakers rescinded a law that required journalists to be formally trained in university programs (The Knight Center, 2015a). However, journalists themselves have been some of most vocal opponents of this recision, and have lobbied, successfully, to reinstate the law. It passed the first round of approvals in the Senate and is waiting, in the House, where it will likely be reinstated (The Knight Center,, 2015b). Within this context, it seems logical to assume that Brazilian scholars (as well as those in several other South American countries) have only recently been able to develop certain areas of empirical inquiry— including in the fields of journalism and media studies, which formerly were affected by government control and censorship. However, the relatively high number of graduate studies theses suggests that research in these fields is now beginning to burgeon.

About Malhação

The television novella, "Malhação"—designed for teenaged viewers—has, for 22 seasons, been one of most heavily-viewed programs on Brazilian primetime network television amongst this demographic. Brazil's largest network, RedeGlobo, launched the program in 1995. It peaked in popularity in 2004, and, like other programs in the novella genre, has shown variable popularity (Brasiltelenovelas, 2011). From 2004 to 2010, "Malhação's" ratings ranged "from 31.7 (best result) to just 17 points, a difference of 14.7, a 46% reduction" (Entretenimento.r7.com, 2011), according to multinational research company, Instituto Brasileiro de Pesquisa e Estatística (IBOPE), statistics. (IBOPE measures viewership habits to provide statistics for advertisers, and defines each point as equal to 58,000 households in the greater São Paulo area) (IBOPE, 2011).

In 2013-2014, IBOPE ratings for Malhação averaged 15 points (Notícias da TV, 2014). Its performance remained variable throughout the season. For example, on Apr. 6, 2012, "Malhação" achieved a rating of 12 points, which, when adjusted to then current viewing indexes, made it the "absolute leader" in that night's programming (TV Foco, 2012). While its future remains uncertain (Entretenimento.r7.com), it is certain that, since 1995, "Malhação" has been a "staple" of programming for young Brazilian viewers.

In a graduate thesis, Barbosa (2005) performed a qualitative content of analysis of exchanges between members of an online telenovella forum in order to investigate a Brazilian novella, "El Clone," as a means of disseminating cultural knowledge. Porto (2005) employed a content analysis to examine "how much political content was included or how frequently [Brazilian] television fiction discussed political themes." In the current study, the content analysis helped determine how much and what type of violent content is broadcast through episodes of Malhação.

Statement of the problem

        The current study acted as a precursor to other empirical studies about the effects of television violence on Brazilian viewers. It served as a starting point for later examinations of the effects of television violence on various populations of viewers in Brazil.

        The problem of this study, then, was to examine the prevalence, or *salience*, of television violence on a widely popular Brazilian television program for teenagers, "Malhação" (*Workout*, in English), and what types of violence are depicted.

What is violence?

        The National Television Study research program, funded by the National Cable Television Association (2000), defined *violence* as:

> Any overt depiction of a credible threat of physical force or the actual use of such force intended to physically harm an animate being or group of beings. Violence also includes certain depictions of physically harmful consequences against an animate being or group that occur as a result of unseen violent means.

        However, a broader conception of violence includes it psychological as well as its physical aspects. The World Health Organization (WHO) defines violence as, "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation (Krug, Dahlberg, & Mercy, 2002).

Purposes of the study

        The overall purpose of this investigation was to identify to what extent and how violent content occurs in a Brazilian television program designed for young viewers, the telenovela, "Malhação." That is, do violent themes permeate the storylines of this Brazilian program, much as they permeate North American- and Western-produced programs? The study investigated how direct and indirect violent content (i.e., general violence and sex-related violence)—along with representative accompanying behaviors, are woven into the storylines of programming for young Brazilians. Such behaviors include bullying, use of steroids, self-abuse, self-starving, defiance, destruction of property, sexual harassment, misogyny, and compulsive consumerism. The study investigated these more subtle forms of violence, which often appear in the form of "priming," as

well as through overtly violent acts. Therefore, the purposes of this investigation were twofold: first, to identify if and how violent content occurs in a Brazilian television program designed for young viewers, the telenovella, "Malhação" (Part 1); and second, to quantify scenes depicting sex-related violence, particularly those involving misogyny, gender stereotypes, and messages and images that reinforce the sexualization of teens (Part 2).

Research questions

The research questions for Part 1 of this study were:

1. To what extent (i.e., duration) does violent content—and its types (i.e., priming, PRI and overt violence, VIO)—appear in Malhação's programming?

2. What are the predominant forms (or categories/subcategories) of violent content that appear in Malhação's programming? How do they range in intensity levels?

3. Who and how old are the perpetrators and victims in the storyline?

The sex-related violence content analysis (Part 2) questions were:

1. To what extent (i.e., duration) does sex-related violent content—and its types (i.e., priming, PRI and overt violence, VIO)—appear in Malhação's programming?

2. What are the predominant forms (or categories/subcategories) of sex-related violent content that appear in Malhação's programming? How do they range in intensity levels?

3. Who and how old are the role players (i.e., initiators and recipients) regarding sex-related violent content in the storyline?

Methodology

A content analysis was performed on episodes that were recorded from the 21st Malhação 2013-2014 season (called "Malhação 2013" or "Malhação Casa Cheia") from the TV Globo website (TV Globo, 2012) in order to identify and measure the prevalence of television violence used in its programming, and to identify and measure its most salient "types" of *general* violence (Part 1), and *sex-related* violence (Part 2). The season was comprised of 241 episodes, which aired from July 8, 2013, until June 11, 2014.

Statement of the terminology

Violence: Initially, this study used the definition proposed by the World Health Organization (WHO). It says that violence is "… the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation (Krug, Dahlberg, & Mercy, 2002).

The judges, or coders, were asked to follow this broad definition of violence, and we used it to determine subheadings in the codebook.

However, due to the results of a pilot study in which the two coders coded 10 percent of the randomly-sampled episodes (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Campenella-Bracken, 2010), we determined that a second category of violence was needed: sexual violence. Therefore, general violence was coded in Part 1, and sexual violence was coded in Part 2.

The definition of sexual violence is, "…any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic, or otherwise directed, against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work" (WHO, 2002, p. 149).

Yet, there are types of sexual violence that might not involve overt sexual acts or even contact. The Center for Disease Control (CDC) (2015) claims that one type of sexual violence, "Noncontact unwanted sexual experiences…"

> … does not include physical contact of a sexual nature between the perpetrator and the victim. This occurs against a person without his or her consent, or against a person who is unable to consent or refuse. Some acts of non-contact unwanted sexual experiences occur without the victim's knowledge. This type of sexual violence can occur in many different settings, such as school, the workplace, in

public, or through technology. Examples include unwanted exposure to pornography or verbal sexual harassment (e.g., making sexual comments) (Center for Disease Control - CDC, 2015).

Due to rising concerns about media treatment of girls and their sexualization, a task force of the American Psychological Association (APA) was formed to investigate "… psychological theory, research and clinical experience…" with regard to the sexualization of girls (American Pyschological Association - APA, 2005). The task force determined that "…sexualization has negative consequences for girls and for the rest of society." The task force study also concluded that sexualization occurs when any of these four conditions are present, and that these occur separately from healthy sexuality (American Pyschological Association - APA, 2005):

- a person's value comes only from his or her sexual appeal or behavior, to the exclusion of other characteristics;

- a person is held to a standard that equates physical attractiveness (narrowly defined) with being sexy;

- a person is sexually objectified — that is, made into a thing for others' sexual use, rather than seen as a person with the capacity for independent action and decision making; and/or

- sexuality is inappropriately imposed upon a person.

Therefore, Part 2 of the study required the development of a second codebook that reflected this definition, as well as its subcategories (see Appendix 4).

The content analysis

Berelson described the content analysis as "a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of manifest content of communications" (Berelson, 1989, p. 74). Content analysis is widely used in media studies to analyze print and broadcast content, particularly in the areas of newspaper, magazine, and internet site content, and broadcast programming. Content analysis is often used in studies on television news reporting, advertising,

violence, gender portrayals, and sexual content (Adams & Shriebman, 1978; Krippendorf, 1980; Riffe, Aust, & Lacy, 1993; Weber, 1990).

Sampling for program-level violent content

Manganello, Franzini, and Jordan (2008) investigated television program sampling as it related to the phenomenon they studied, sexual content. They concluded that there is no "gold standard" for the number of episodes to sample for a content analysis of television and sexual content, but offered suggestions for making a "representative assessment," including how to choose a random sample of programming (Manganello, Franzini, & Jordan, 2008). These authors concluded that, for their content analysis, a technique formerly employed by Lacy, Rifle, and Randle (1998) would be appropriate. Dooley (1990, chap. 8) warned that researchers should not make a general "conclusion from small samples to large populations." However, we can use such samples to "help us make a leap of faith" and make more general assumptions (Dooley, 1990). Although 10% of a sample is considered appropriate for this method (Lacy, Rifle, & Randle, 1998), which would render 15 episodes, we chose a more conservative approach and increased our sample to 30 episodes (i.e., 31%) (Table 1).

Table 1. Sampled episodes, IBOPE rates, number of the episode and description (in Portuguese). Source: http://noticiasdatv.uol.com.br/noticia/audiencias/final-da-temporada-de-Malhação-tem-pior-audiencia-da-historia-3725

Sample	IBOPE	episode #	Scene description
08/01/2014	12	132	Ben recebe vídeo de sua noite de amor com Anita
10/01/2014	12	134	Antônio diz a Anita que Ben lhe contou sobre o término
15/01/2014	14	137	Cercado pela polícia, Antônio foge e sofre queda
21/01/2014	16	141	Anita acredita que Ben foi o responsável pela divulgação do vídeo
23/01/2014	14	143	Anita afirma que não quer mais saber de Ben
28/01/2014	15	146	Anita acusa Ben de prejudicar Antônio e colocá-la contra Sofia
31/01/2014	11	149	Caetano é preso e Anita acusa Ben
10/02/2014	14	155	Bem e Sofia veem Antonio beijar Anita
13/02/2014	14	158	Bem se atira sobre Amanda
19/02/2014	13	162	Antônio manipula Anita e a convence a roubar as provas do colégio
20/02/2014	14	163	Anita se atrapalha para pegar as provas e acaba ateando fogo na sala de Raissa
24/02/2014	16	165	Anita dispensa Antônio
03/03/2014	15	170	Sofia beija Ben
07/03/2014	17	174	Anita flagra Sofia e Ben se beijando

14/03/2014	15	178	Bernardete beija Abelardo na frente de Caetano
21/03/2014	16	183	Anita sonda Bruna sobre a viagem com Antônio
25/03/2014	16	185	Antônio comemora a decisão de Anita de se casar com ele
01/04/2014	13	190	Ben e Sofia discutem
10/04/2014	16	197	Antônio ameaça Ben para Anita e a obriga a participar de seu plano contra o irmão
22/04/2014	15	205	Cícera diz a Ronaldo que Ben voltará com ela para os EUA
24/04/2014	16	207	Ben anuncia que voltará com a mãe para os EUA
01/05/2014	18	212	Anita tenta atrapalhar o plano do assalto e desafia Antônio
06/05/2014	15	216	Sofia chora nos braços de Anita
13/05/2014	16	220	Anita e Pedro desconfiam de que Bruna seja a autora do desenho
15/05/2014	14	222	Anita recebe mais um desenho misterioso
16/05/2014	16	223	Investigador revela que corpo dentro da cabana não era o de Antônio
22/05/2014	14	227	Sidney pede Sofia em casamento
27/05/2014	15	230	Sidney desabafa sobre a dívida de Maura com Sofia
30/05/2014	15	233	Antônio sequestra Sofia
05/06/2014	16	237	Ben e Anita pedem permissão para morarem juntos

We randomly selected episodes via the online software program at Random.org from the period aired between January 1, 2014 and June 11, 2014, totaling 97 episodes (Adams & Shriebman, 1978; Best & Kahn, 1999). Thirty randomly selected episodes were coded for both types of content analysis: *general* violence and *sex-related* violence.

The selected episodes were copied directly from RedeGlobo.com, TV Globo's streaming video website. Since, in the Website, each episode of Malhação has a variable number of scenes as well as no clear criteria for separating scenes, frequency of scenes was only relevant for coding proportions within the episode, but not across episodes. Therefore, each individual episode was further sub-divided into scenes that contained violence for determining the frequency of variables from the content analysis protocol.

Unit of analysis

The unit of analysis: ~22-25-minute episodes of the television program "Malhação," subdivided into scenes.

Coding instrument

  General violence

The coding instrument (see Appendix 1) was designed to code each individual occurrence of violence in each sampled episode. It was designed around four topics: 1) type of violent event, 2) intensity of violence (i.e., using a 5-point Likert scale), 3) categories and sub-categories of violent event, and 4) demographics. For readability during the coding by the experts, a Portuguese version was used after back-translating it to English for reliability (see Appendices 2 and 3).

The dependent variables included frequency of events, whose proportions were used in descriptive analysis, and duration of scenes for each variable.

General violence content analysis

1) Two types of concepts are related to this content analysis:

Priming (PRI): Priming is the psycho-physiological process through which we are conditioned to anticipate, or are made ready, for an event to occur. Priming includes situations (stimuli) that eventually will lead to or prompt violence (e.g., conspiracy, provocation, derogatory, or inflammatory remarks/gossip against someone or some social condition/minority; isolation via non-touch/non-contact policies); use of verbal comments, body expressions, images, sounds, or music. PRI does not necessarily lead to immediate violent actions, but it creates an anticipatory and sometimes negative/aversive feeling in an individual (e.g., the viewer). The perpetrator directs his or her intentions of committing violent actions or oppression, but the target victim might not be in the scene. Priming is not easily recognized in situations of self-violence, as anticipatory situations about oneself would be reflecting psychological abuse or poor self image. In other words, self-directed violence reflects both perpetrator and victim in the same individual. So, in this case, priming was not present.

Manifest/actual violent event (VIO): An actual violent event (e.g., attacking, preying upon, bullying, exclusion) that causes physical, psychological, or social damage (e.g., change in social, legal, or economic status) to someone or a group of individuals (victimizing them). Actions that are used to protect/defend oneself or society (e.g., police intervention, engaging in a counterattack) are also considered manifest violence. VIO requires identifying victim and, sometimes, perpetrator. A perpetrator might verbally express conflict of interest or aggression

against another individual, the target. This is a psychological form of violence. It can be of low intensity, but deflates the self esteem of the target individual (i.e., the victim). In this case, the coding intensity of psychological violence is not associated with making a judgment or taking sides.

Therefore, priming (PRI) and violence (VIO) are the two independent variables that reflected our concepts of the manifestations of violence.

2) Intensity of violence (i.e., using a 5-point Likert scale)

The intensity of the manifestations of violence was measured using a 5-point Likert-scale. Therefore, PRI and VIO were quantified either as very low (1), low (2), medium (3), high (4), or very high (5) intensity. *Very low* intensity reflects ordinary conflicts that individuals experience (e.g., cynicism or sarcastic remarks, confrontation, or accusation) and that causes him or her to feel badly; *low* intensity is similar, except that the intensity of emotions make the problem seem bigger or more serious; *medium* intensity is when the violent conflict has a more serious impact on the ego, physical comfort, or safety (e.g., yelling, screaming, crying, or emotional distress that might lead an individual to flee or counterattack—verbally or physically); *high* intensity not only deals with serious issues, but results in serious damage to an individual, including explicit physical or psychological harm; *very high* intensity means inflicting pain on someone, something, or a place (e.g., bombing a building), in a sadistic context or for revenge, causing distress to extreme, including death or mutilation.

3) Categories and sub-categories of violence

The typology proposed here (WHO, 2002) divided violence into three broad categories according to the characteristics of those who committed the violent act: *self-directed, interpersonal*, and *collective*. These three broad categories were each divided to reflect more specific types of violence:

Self-directed violence (actions, thoughts/beliefs, withdrawal/self-exclusion)

A.   Actions that result in self-damage or risk to own health, self-abuse (e.g., deliberate exercise that causes injuries, self inflicted punishment; pro-anorectic habits; teaming up with bullies), and suicide. (VIO)

B.   Expressing self-hatred (self-handicapping)—due to poor self-image, to others (e.g., expressing poor opinion of oneself in public, to someone, or to the viewer; derogatory remarks with own appearance, economic status, level of intelligence, sexual identity, etc.). (VIO)

C.   Anticipating problems, denying/refusing rewards to oneself, social withdrawal and isolation (due to poor self-image). (VIO)

Interpersonal (actions, conspiracy, exclusion)

A.   Actions that physically hurt/harm others (e.g., a partner, friend or family member, a stranger, or a group): deliberate or random acts of violence, rape or sexual assault, kidnap, murder. When a victim is not present, actions can be primed through destruction of property, sequestering of goods that would later cause suffering. (PRI VIO)

B.   Plotting conspiracy or expressing hurtful, derogatory/offensive words or concepts against others (e.g., a partner, friend or family member, a stranger, or a group): insulting (e.g., fat, poor, ugly, etc.) by various means (e.g., e-mails, posting notes in public places, in conversations with third parties) causing harm, discomfort, or inconvenience to the targeted victim, or forcing or coercing someone to abandon personal beliefs. Often, on television, thoughts can be "heard," and, when in this case the victim is not present in the scene, priming can be observed that explains a later conflict (i.e., an overtly violent event). Priming can also be noted when two or more individuals are plotting against someone not present. (PRI or VIO)

C.   Withdrawing support or sympathy, excluding or failing to defend against suffering of a partner, friend, or family member, or a stranger, leading to restrictions of access to goods, primary needs, and freedom. (PRI or VIO)

Collective (actions, conspiracy, exclusion)

A.   Groups deliberately acting violently, accusing someone of something and punishing them (e.g., prosecuting with fines, imprisonment, or execution), whether unfair or justifiable, which violates/harms human rights such as life, safety, privacy, wellbeing, socio-economic status. (VIO or VIO)

B.   Groups deliberately planning acts of conspiracy against someone (e.g., individuals, groups or entire communities), which violates/harms human rights such as life, safety, privacy,

wellbeing, socio-economic status (e.g., destruction of property or environment), or verbally abusing someone or another group (psychological violence). (PRI or VIO)

C.   Groups deliberately sympathizing or excluding, or biasing based on age, generation, gender, sexual orientation, economic status, intelligence status, religious/cultural status (e.g., Indigenous, Northeasterners, Paganism), race, which violates/harms human rights such as life, safety, privacy, wellbeing, or socio-economic status. (PRI or VIO)

4) Demography

This class of variables includes the apparent age (in years), race, and gender of perpetrators and victims.

Classification of violence

Inter-coder agreement was determined through the use of simple agreement analysis (Lombard, Snyder-Duch, & Campenella-Bracken, 2010). According to Timothy Urdan, in order to assure inter-coder reliability, "… items that are supposed to measure a single underlying construct should be answered in a similar way by respondents" (Urdan, 2011, p. 178). Urdan explains that when "… a set of items has an alpha level of .70 or higher, it is considered acceptably reliable" (ibid).

Coders (experts)

Two "experts" volunteered to participate as coders in this study. Both are native Brazilians, native Portuguese speakers, and are fluent in the English language. Both understand nuances between Brazilian and North American cultures, as they are frequent visitors to or have lived in the United States, and frequently travel abroad, using English as a primary means of communication. These individuals are savvy educators and communication professionals, and their expertise is based on their knowledge of media and on their educational experiences.

One of the major considerations during the development of the coding procedure was language. The study's main author is a native-English speaker, a North American. Early in the investigation it was determined that she missed important subtleties when attempting to code for violent content. Therefore, it was determined that the coders should be native Portuguese

speakers. Additionally, it was determined that various questions on the coding instrument needed to be modified. Also, there was an age difference between coders. But both were Brazilians who had grown up watching Malhação, as well as other Brazilian soap operas. Both are professors, and highly trained in media production and use. They are savvy users of media, who are accustomed to creating messages and deconstructing meanings in traditional and digital media contexts.

Results of a pilot study for determining reliability

A pilot study, which used 23% percent of the randomly sampled episodes was performed to determine *inter*-coder agreement and to fine-tune the coding instruments (Nuendorf, 2002). Additionally, 33% of the randomly sampled episodes were submitted to an *intra*-coder reliability test.

Inter-coder reliability

Two coders processed seven episodes for the purpose of determining inter-coder agreement. First, we checked the number of scenes in agreement according to the categories in the content analysis of general violence. Secondly, we measured coded durations and differences in timing. Table 2 displays the rate of agreement for the parameters assessed in the content analysis protocol.

Table 2. Rate of agreement for parameters measured in the content analysis protocol.

Parameter under comparison	Total agreement for incidence of coding of scenes (%)	Number of scenes
PRI	95	44
VIO	80	10
Likert score	84	41
Categories		
self-directed	83	12
interpersonal	93	42
collective	na	na
Subcategories		
overt violence	70	10
psychological violence	98	43
isolation/withdrawal	100	1
Duration of scenes		Duration (min)

PRI	90	31
VIO	75	5

The first criterion was to determine the number of scenes that were coded as either priming (PRI) or overt violence (VIO). The number of scenes coded for the entire set of seven episodes resulted in a general 95% agreement and 80% agreement, respectively for PRI and VIO. The scores attributed using the Likert 5-scale resulted in a mean value agreement of 84% of the scenes.

The number of scenes coded for the set of episodes in the three categories of violence, *self-directed*, *interpersonal*, and *collective* was 83% and 93% for the first two categories; collective violence did not appear in these scenes.

The subcategories of self-directed, interpersonal, and collective violence included *overt* violence, *psychological* violence, and *isolation/withdrawal*. For these three subcategories of violence the total agreement values were 70%, 98%, and 100%, respectively.

The duration of scenes coded resulted in an agreement of 90% and 75% in PRI and VIO, respectively. A total of 161 minutes of seven episodes resulted in 31 minutes for PRI (24%), and 4.6 minutes for VIO (3%).

It should be noted that the pilot study revealed some limitations that needed to be addressed. One included discrepancies in the coding instrument regarding the nature of PRI and psychological violence. Once this was clarified, the main researcher and the coders reached a consensus.

Intra-coder reliability

Processed data from ten episodes (33% of the study's sample) were submitted to an examination of intra-coder reliability. Two moments of coding, separated by a period of one month, were assessed and then re-assessed. We first checked the number of scenes in agreement according to categories from the content analysis of general violence; then, we checked the duration of scenes for PRI and VIO, combined. Table 3 displays the rate of agreement for the parameters assessed from the content analysis protocol.

Table 3. Intra-coder rate of agreement for parameters measured in the content analysis protocol.

Parameter under comparison	Total agreement for incidence of coding of scenes (%)	Number of scenes
PRI	92	21
VIO	98	80
Likert score	91	101
Categories		
self-directed	92	11
interpersonal	91	90
collective	na	na
Subcategories		
overt violence	91	10
psychological violence	93	88
isolation/withdrawal	100	3
Duration of scenes		Duration (min)
PRI	91	27
VIO	98	64

The first criterion was to determine the number of scenes coded as priming (PRI), or as overt violence (VIO). The number of scenes coded for the entire set of 10 episodes resulted in a general 92% and 98% agreement for frequency of scenes, and 91% and 98% agreement for duration of scenes, for PRI and VIO respectively. The scores resulting from the Likert 5-scale resulted in a mean agreement of 91% for all scenes.

The agreement values for the scenes coded for the set of episodes in two of the three categories of violence, *self-directed* and *interpersonal,* were 92% and 91%. Collective violence was not identified in these scenes. The subcategories of self-directed, interpersonal, and collective violence included overt violence, psychological violence, and isolation/withdrawal. For these three subcategories of violence the total agreement values were 91%, 93%, and 100%, respectively.

The duration of coded scenes resulted in agreement values of 91% and 98% in PRI and VIO, respectively. A total of 230 minutes for ten episodes resulted in durations of 27 minutes for PRI (13%), and 64 minutes for VIO (38%).

Sex-related violence content analysis

An unexpected finding during the pilot study led us develop a second category of violence, *sex-related violence*. While coding the initial episodes for the pilot study, the coders

found a preponderance of content that they considered violent in nature, but that was based around sexual themes.

As with general violence, sexual violence does not have to be physical. It can appear in the form of *misogyny* (hatred of women), for example. In the case of Western media, institutionalized misogyny—or institutionalized woman hatred, is expressed in the constant denigration, subjugation, and mutilation of women and girls in media representations (although males can be, and are, victims of sexual violence as well). Misogyny can appear in subtle forms, such as when individuals use sex (messages, body expressions, suggestive clothing, etc.) to gain favors or for self affirmation, during the inappropriate expression of sexuality (e.g., the sexualization of children), or through the objectification or stereotyping of girls or women.

Therefore, a second codebook was developed, based upon definitions of sexual violence in the WHO (2015) typology, on the Center for Disease Control (CDC) definition (2015), and on findings by an American Psychological Association – APA (2005) task force study, below. These data were analyzed separately, as Part 2 of the study.

The content analysis instrument for sex-related content

The coding instrument (see Appendix 3) was designed to code each individual occurrence of sex-related violence in each sampled episode. It was designed around four topics: 1) two types of violent events, 2) three classes of sex-related violence, 3) five categories of sex-related violence, also with the determination of intensity of violence (i.e., using a 3-point Likert scale), and 4) demographics.

1) Two conceptual types of violence are related to this content analysis:

Priming (PRI): Events (stimuli) that eventually will lead to or prompt sex-related violence (e.g., provocation, derogatory, gossip; discrimination); use of verbal comments, body expressions, images, sounds, or music. PRI does not necessarily lead to immediate violent actions, but it creates an anticipatory and sometimes negative/aversive feeling in an individual (e.g., the viewer) that can turn into violence.

Manifest/actual violent event (VIO): An actual violent sex-related event (e.g., preying upon, harassing, sexual assault) that causes physical, psychological, or social damage to someone

(victimizing them). VIO requires identifying an individual victim or a group (often women and children) and possibly a perpetrator or situation.

2) Class

A. Seduction – Appropriate or inappropriate (e.g., age, place/context)

B. Romance combined with seduction - Appropriate or inappropriate (e.g., age, place/context)

C. Overt sex-related violence – Can include even men as victims; also, misogyny

3) Categories

Using a 3-point Likert scale (from minor 1, moderate 2, to serious implications 3), we determined 5 categories of sexual contexts related to violence:

A. Actions:

1. "Fooling around," sexual arousal;

2. Cornering, female victimization/undermining, female sexually-submissive behavior, male sexually-dominant behavior; objectifying women; sexualizing children or teens; prostitution; implicit intercourse;

3. Sexual harassment, explicit intercourse; rape; trafficking or enslaving; murder/crimes

B. Messages:

1. Misconceptions about sexual behavior or gender roles, teasing;

2. Jokes, undermining females/minorities such as homosexuals, etc.;

3. Pranks/bullying, insulting.

C. Framing: angle of scene/camera towards body parts

1. Central focus of the camera on a sexual object—often a woman, or body parts;

2. Central focus of the camera on body parts that are being displayed as sensual (covered or exposed) such as mouth, legs, cleavage, chest, etc.;

3. Central focus of the camera on genitals (covered or exposed).

D. Body movement:

1. Insinuation, teasing;

2. Moving "forward," touching a partner for seduction or teasing;

3. Expressing sexual "moves" that resembles intercourse/domination/submission by touching, engaging in sexual arousal that lead to intimacy.

E. Clothing:

1. Inappropriate garment (e.g., use of revealing clothes in places that are not expected, or individuals whose roles require more formal clothes)

2. Exposure of parts of the body (e.g., belly, parts of the breast, hips and initial curves/shapes of genital areas—often in inappropriate locations)

3. Bare/naked body or showing underwear (e.g., showing panties under a skirt, or transparent blouse showing shape of breast or bra)

4) Demography

This class of variables includes the apparent age (in years), race, and gender of perpetrators and victims.

Statistical treatment

The resulting data from the content analysis were subjected to descriptive, parametric, and non-parametric data analyses. Frequencies (representing incidence of violent behavior in individual episodes) were used to describe the quantity of violent content and were submitted to a non-parametric analysis. The total sum of such events ($n = 30$) was submitted to statistical analysis. Differences in types of violence were analyzed using the Wilcoxon signed ranks test (Donnelly, 2013). In the case of Likert scale, we also included mean value resultant in each category/subcategory of violence.

The duration parameter (sum of duration in seconds from all scenes in each episode; $n = 30$) was submitted to several sets of ANOVAs with repeated measures in order to identify whether or not significant effects existed among the factors representing the content analysis variables.

If significant effect was found, a Bonferroni *pos hoc* test for a paired-sample was employed for all possible paired comparisons. The level of significance was .05.

Results

The current study served as a starting point for examining the effects of Brazilian television violence. We examined the prevalence, or salience, of television violence on a television program for teenagers, "Malhação" (Workout, in English) relative to types of violence, categories and demographic tendencies. The purpose of this investigation, therefore, was to identify if and how violent content occurs in a Brazilian television program designed for young viewers, the telenovela, "Malhação." Furthermore, due to the nature of violence associated with sex, we performed a separate content analysis in an attempt to identify the incidence and duration of scenes that contained messages that may directly or indirectly reinforce stereotypes, that sexualized teenagers, and that resulted in overt sexual violence. The airing of issues about sexuality in this telenovela was investigated with regard to negative implications on moral values from modeling theory and priming perspectives, and using common sense. From insidious, comical, naïve, or overt trend, sex-related violence was assessed in its intensity for a variety of categories.

Part 1— General violence

Descriptive data

Table 4 displays frequency of scenes and percentage values of variables relative to general violence coded for 30 episodes of Malhação. Additionally, it includes values of duration of scenes (in minutes) with respective relative duration to the total number of scenes in which violence was detected for the respective parameter.

Table 4. Descriptive data for frequency of scenes, mean and standard deviations of variables relative to general violence coded for 30 episodes of Malhação.

Parameter	Absolute frequency	Relative parameter (%)	Duration (min)	Relative duration (%)
Total	247	-	703	13.3*
PRI	105	42.5	72	10.2
VIO	142	57.5	104.8	25.1
Likert (score 1) PRI	46	43.8	27	41.7
Likert (score 2) PRI	32	30.5	24.8	38.3
Likert (score 3) PRI	22	20.9	8.5	13.2

Likert (score 4) PRI	9	8.6	3.05	4.7
Likert (score 5) PRI	2	1.9	1.3	2.06
Likert (score 1) VIO	48	33.8	24.1	37.3
Likert (score 2) VIO	32	22.5	15.4	23.8
Likert (score 3) VIO	40	28.2	20.2	31.3
Likert (score 4) VIO	22	15.5	8.9	13.8
Likert (score 5) VIO	0	0	0	0
Category 1 PRI	0	0	0	0
Category 2 PRI	104	99.1	70.7	98.2
Category 3 PRI	1	0.9	1.32	1.84
Category 1 VIO	26	18.3	18.4	17.6
Category 2 VIO	116	81.7	86.4	82.4
Category 3 VIO	0	0	0	0
Subcategory A PRI	8	7.6	5.47	7.6
Subcategory B PRI	95	90.5	65.02	90.3
Subcategory C PRI	2	1.9	1.55	2.1
Subcategory A VIO	37	26.1	23.7	22.6
Subcategory B VIO	102	71.8	79.5	75.9
Subcategory C VIO	3	2.1	1.5	1.5

* Relative to the entire duration of the 2014 1ˢᵗ semester from which the sample was drawn.

Types, degrees of intensity on the 5-point Likert scale, categories and subcategories of general violence

Figure 1 illustrates results for *general* types of violence, for both *priming* (PRI) and *overt violence* (VIO), in terms of frequency, and includes their categories and subcategories of violence. Category 3 was not included, as we found only one incidence throughout the 30 episodes.

With regard to absolute frequency, a statistical analysis using the Wilcoxon signed ranks test showed a significant difference between PRI and VIO ($z = -2.23$, $p = .025$). The incidence of VIO was 27% higher than PRI (i.e., 143 scenes vs. 104 scenes, respectively) (see Figure 1).
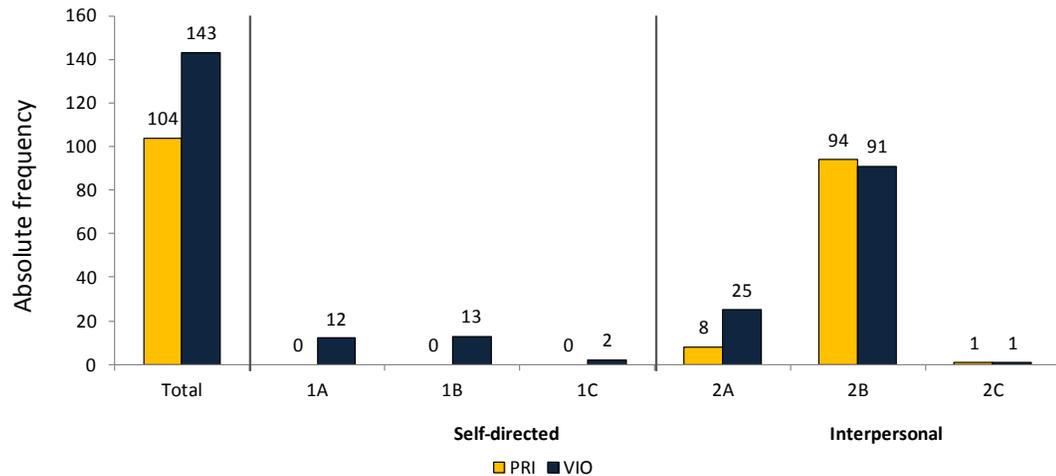
Figure 1. Frequency in absolute values for scenes in which violence—types PRI and VIO—was detected, for categories/subcategories 2A (*interpersonal/overt)*, 2B (*interpersonal/psychological)*, and 2C (*interpersonal/isolation)*, within the 30 episodes.

There was a high rate of incidence of the *interpersonal* form of *psychological* violence (i.e., 2B)—much higher than for any other subcategory, *interpersonal/overt* and *interpersonal/isolation* (i.e., 2A (interpersonal/overt) and 2C (interpersonal/isolation))—for both types of violence: *priming* (PRI) and *overt* violence (VIO). During the coding for category 1 (*intra-personal*), we found, 12, 13, and 2 scenes that, respectively, reflected sub-categories A (*overt*), B (*psychological*), and C (*isolation*) in VIO. The PRI type of violence was not found in the *intra-personal* category, because, logically, an observer is not likely to detect the intention of someone to be violent against oneself.

The comparison between PRI and VIO in each category shows a significant difference between PRI and VIO, only for 2A (*interpersonal/overt*) ($z = -2.09$, $p = .037$). Although infrequent, for 2A (*interpersonal/overt*), VIO was 61% higher than PRI (i.e., 8 and 25 scenes, respectively, for PRI and VIO). In category/subcategory 2C (*interpersonal/isolation*), there was only one incidence. Category 3, *collective* (subcategories A (*overt*), B (*psychological*), and C (*isolation*)) did not contain PRI or VIO scenes, except for one incidence.

The total duration of VIO was 25 minutes longer than PRI (Figure 2). Relative to the total duration of scenes in 30 episodes, PRI represented 10.2%, and VIO represented 24.1% (a total of 35.3% for PRI and VIO combined). Results using a two-way ANOVA [2 types of violence (PRI *vs*. VIO) *vs*. 2 categories (2A (*interpersonal/overt*) *vs*. 2B (*interpersonal/psychological*))] with

repeated measures, for duration of the scenes, showed a significant effect only for categories of violence ($F_{1, 29} = 58.09$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .67$). When, however, each category of violence (i.e., 1, *self-directed* and 2, *interpersonal*; category 3, *collective*, had no incidence and, therefore, was not reported) was submitted to statistical analysis, no significant effect was found for any of the comparisons (PRI 2A (*interpersonal/overt*) *vs*. VIO 2A (*interpersonal/overt*), $p = .90$; and PRI 2B *vs*. VIO 2B (interpersonal/psychological), $p = .78$). Figure 3 summarizes duration in minutes for category 2 (*interpersonal)* in both subcategories, A *(overt)* and B *(psychological)*.
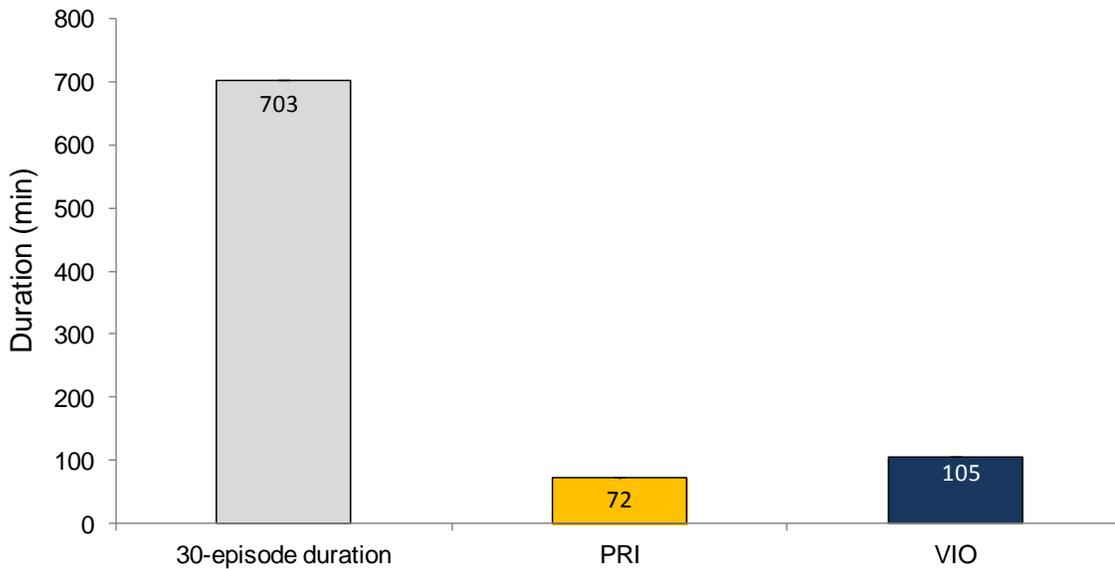

Figure 2. Total duration (min.) of scenes for the 30 episodes containing violence in types: *priming* (PRI) and *overt violence* (VIO).
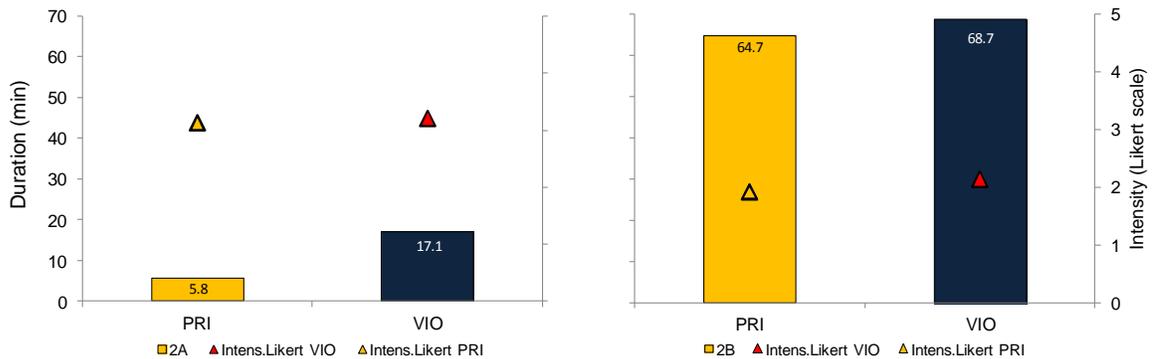

Figure 3. Total duration (min.) of scenes for the 30 episodes containing violence in types: *priming* (PRI) and *overt violence* (VIO), separately for category/subcategory 2A (*interpersonal/overt*) (left) and 2B (*interpersonal/psychological*) (right). Mean intensities, on a 5-point Likert scale, are depicted on a secondary, y-axis.

Figure 4 shows that the incidence of scenes (2A (*interpersonal/overt*) and 2B (*interpersonal/psychological*) combined), coded as intensity 1 on the Likert scale (i.e., more than or equal to 45 scenes), was the highest, followed by a frequency of scenes for PRI and VIO, that were more than or equal to 30. Degrees 3 and 4 from the Likert scale were indicated for 39 and 22 scenes, respectively, for VIO. Only 9 scenes in PRI were considered to be degree 4 intensity. Because there was a discrepancy in the number of scenes in which the intensities 4 and 5 of the Likert scale appeared, we did not run a statistical test (see Table 1).
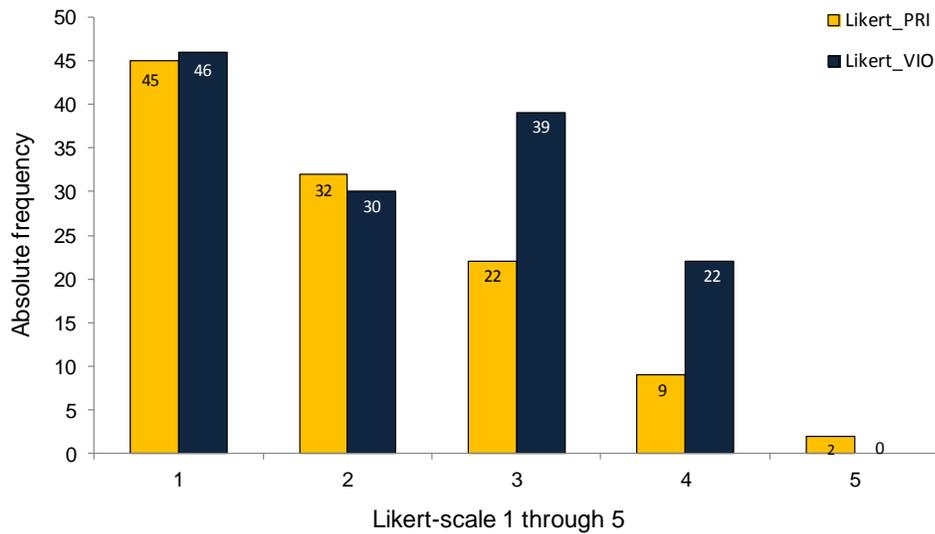

Figure 4. Frequency of scenes for each degree of the 5-point Likert scale for *priming* (PRI) and *overt violence* (VIO), in categories 2A (*interpersonal/overt*) and 2B (*interpersonal/psychological*) combined.

An ANOVA two-way (2 types of violence x 5 Likert scale degrees) with repeated measures showed that duration of type of violence (PRI and VIO), when separated by category/subcategory (i.e., 2A (*interpersonal/overt*)), did not show a significant effect. Also, across the Likert scale degrees (1 through 5), no significant effect was found. Although in VIO, while scale degree 4 showed a longer duration than the remaining intervals, the number of zero incidences in the episodes likely affected the results (Figure 5, left side).

An ANOVA two-way (2 types of violence x 5 Likert scale degrees) with repeated measures showed that duration of type of violence (PRI and VIO), when separated by category/subcategory (i.e., 2B (*interpersonal/psychological*)), did not show a significant effect. Across the Likert scale degrees (1 through 5), duration of scenes showed a significant effect (F_4,

$_{116}$ = 8.37, $p \leq .001$, η^2 = .22). No significant interaction was detected. Bonferroni pairwise comparisons of duration of 2B (*interpersonal/psychological*) in PRI showed differences for pairs of Likert scale degrees 1 and 3, 1 and 4, and 1 and 5 (all at a level of $p \leq .001$); and pair 2 and 3 ($p = .023$), pairs 2 and 4, and 2 and 5 (all at a level of $p \leq .001$); and 3 and 5 ($p = .037$). As for the VIO type, differences were detected only for all pairs that were compared to scale degree 5 ($p \leq .001$)—with degree 5 being zero (Figure 5, right side). In general, the large variability of the duration variable, in all conditions, caused the size effect to be quite small ($\eta^2 < .25$).
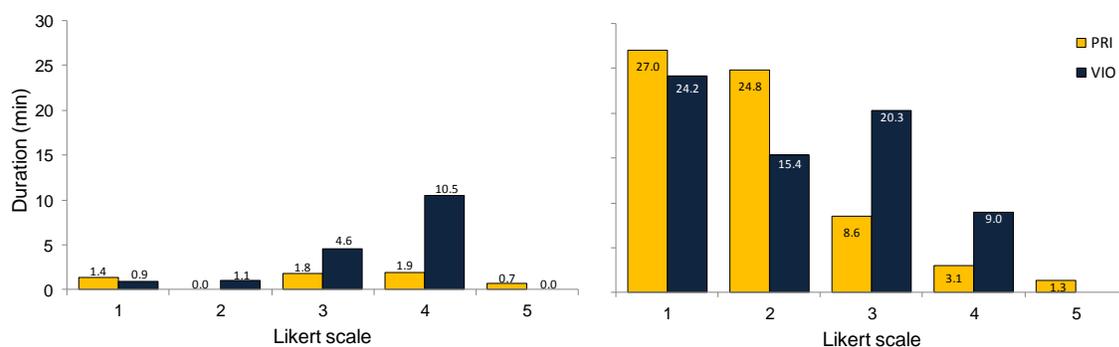

Figure 5. Total duration (min) of scenes for each degree of the 5-point Likert scale for *priming* (PRI) and *overt violence* (VIO), for 2A (*interpersonal/overt*) (left side) and 2B (*interpersonal/psychological*) (right side).

Demographics

There was a high frequency of actors who were apparently Caucasian. Therefore, almost all of the scenes that included general violent content also included white actors. Although actors of other apparent races appeared (e.g., Latinos, mulatos, and blacks), only two scenes included a person of color in a violent context. Therefore, we did not perform any statistics for these race parameters.

Age groups

The absolute frequencies of teens and adults who acted as perpetrators or as victims of violence were statistically analyzed using Wilcoxon signed ranks test (Figure 6). The paired comparisons show that teens acted more as perpetrators than as victims ($z = -3.66$, $p \leq .001$); so did adults ($z = -2.33$, $p = .020$). More teens than adults acted as perpetrators ($z = -3.09$, $p = .002$).

Teens also acted as victims more than did adults ($z = -2.77$, $p = .006$). The number of adults acting as perpetrators are statistically equal to the number of teens acting as victims ($z = -1.51$, $p = .13$). The frequencies of other age demographics (e.g., children and older people) were not taken into consideration due to low incidence (i.e., not greater than 7).
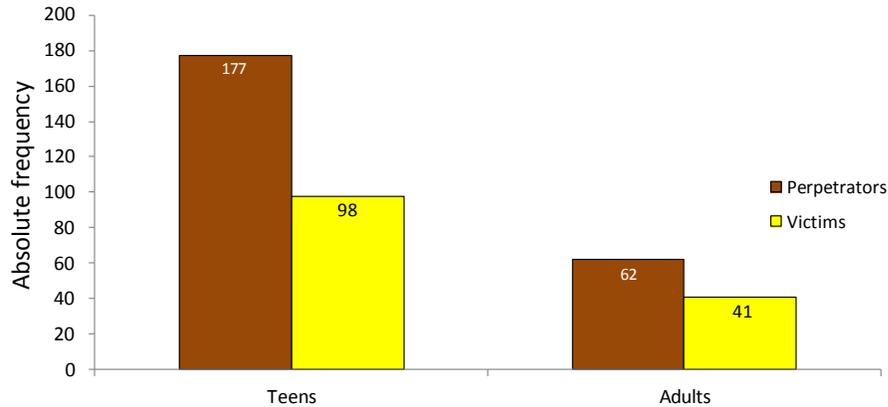

Figure 6. Absolute frequency of scenes in which teens and adults appeared to be acting as perpetrators or as victims.

For category/subcategory 2A (*interpersonal/overt*), adults did not appear as perpetrators or victims; only teens appeared in such scenes. The ANOVA two-way [2 types (PRI *vs*. VIO) x 2 roles (perpetrators *vs*. victim) with repeated measures for the duration of scenes revealed no effect for any of the factors. The low number of incidences (as low as 2 scenes) likely affected this result (Figure 7).

Data for total duration (minutes) of scenes that reflect PRI and VIO, separated by category/subcategory 2B (*interpersonal/psychological*), and for two age group categories (Teens B and Adults D), and relative to their roles as perpetrators and victims, are represented in Figure 8. Additionally, we depicted mean values for the Likert scale in each case (represented in the secondary, y-axis).
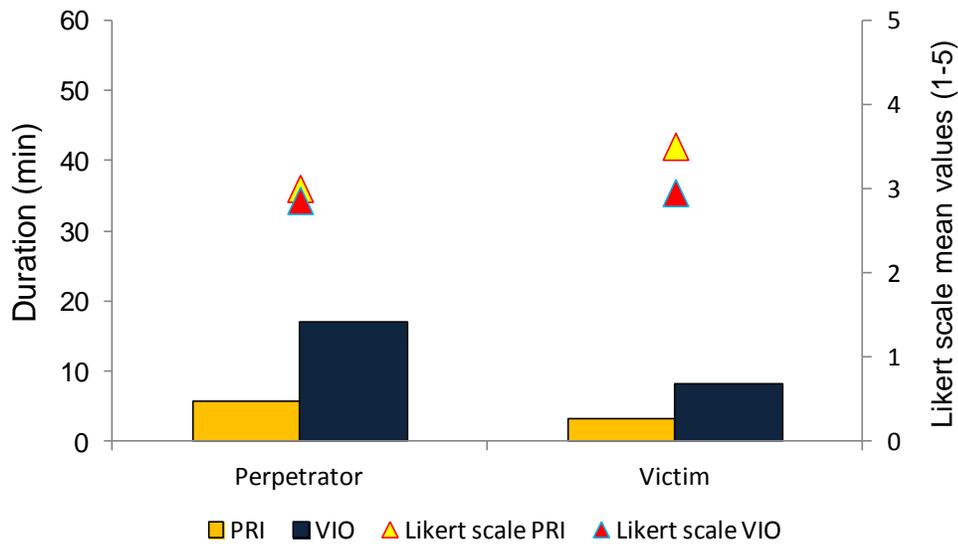
Figure 7. Total duration (min) of scenes of PRI and VIO in category/subcategory 2A (*interpersonal/overt*), for the Teens age group, with regard to their roles as perpetrators and victims. Mean values for the Likert scale are represented in the secondary, y-axis. (Obs. No adults were depicted in this category/subcategory)

An ANOVA three-way [2 types (PRI *vs*. VIO) x 2 roles (perpetrators *vs*. victim) x 2 age groups (Teens *vs*. Adults)] with repeated measures, which was calculated for the total duration of scenes, revealed no significant effect for type of violence. A significant effect was identified for role as perpetrator or victim ($F_{1, 29} = 16.45$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .36$), and for age group ($F_{2, 58} = 10.30$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .26$). No significant interaction was found for any comparison. Teens, when compared to their adult peers (see Figure 8 below), appeared as perpetrators in scenes of longer duration than those that depicted them as victims. The Bonferroni *post hoc* test shows that pairwise comparisons of age groups who acted as perpetrators during PRI and VIO are significantly different from one another ($p \leq .05$). When acting as victims, the Teen group differed from the Adults only in PRI ($p = .043$).
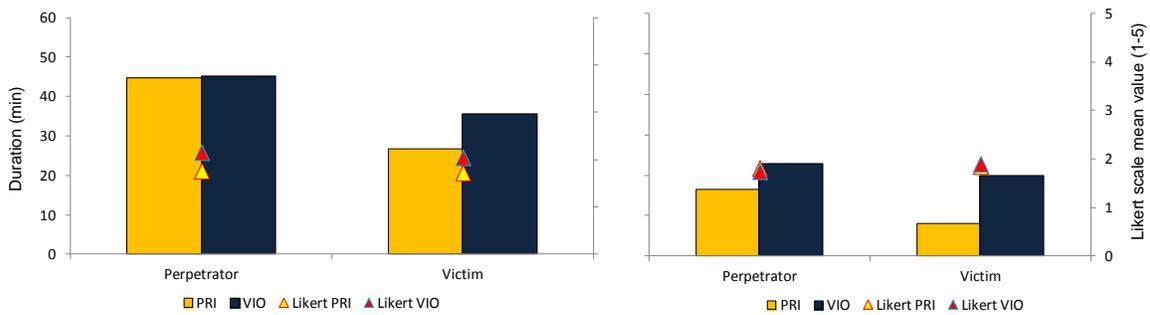
Figure 8. Total duration (min) of scenes of PRI and VIO in category/subcategory 2B (*interpersonal/psychological*), for two age group categories, Teens B (left side) and Adults D (right side), with regard to their roles as perpetrators and victims. Mean values for the Likert scale are represented in the secondary, y-axis.

The results from the Likert scale mean values were also submitted to an ANOVA three-way [2 types (PRI *vs*. VIO) x 2 roles (perpetrator *vs*. victim) x 2 age groups (Teens *vs*. Adults)] with repeated measures. Results revealed no significant effect for any of the variables. Role as victim showed a stable Likert value in all cases.

Gender effects

The next analysis identified the association between gender and PRI and VIO. The demographics of general violence were statistically analyzed using the Wilcoxon signed ranks test. Figure 9 illustrates the absolute frequencies of males, females, and groups (i.e., female and/or male individuals, collectively acting as perpetrators or victims of violence). The paired comparisons show that there are more males acting as perpetrators than as victims ($z = -2.14$, $p = .032$); there were an equal number of scenes in which females acted as both perpetrators and victims ($z = -1.67$, $p = .095$); groups collectively suffered more as victims than acted as perpetrators ($z = -2.54$, $p = .011$); males and females appeared in the same number of scenes in which they acted as victims ($z = -0.31$, $p = .075$, and $z = -0.47$, $p = .063$ (see Figure 9).
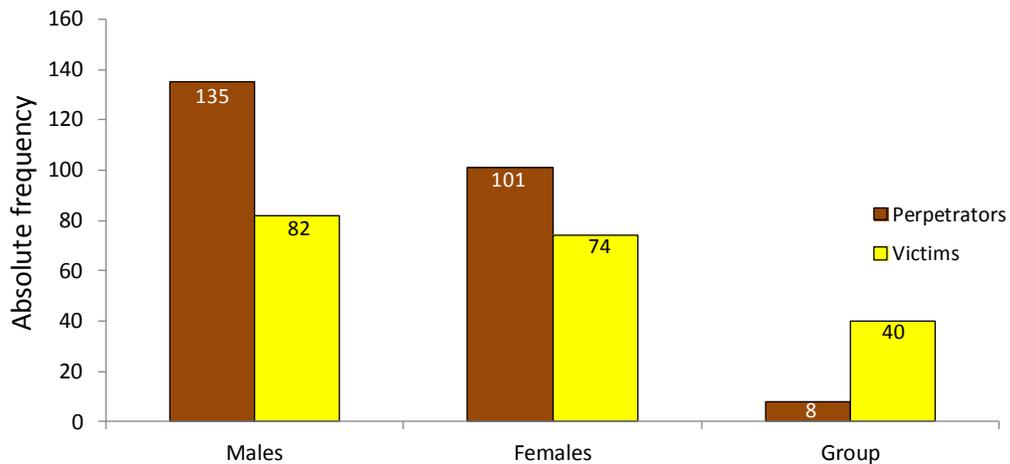
Figure 9. Absolute frequency of scenes in which male, female, and groups of individuals appeared to be acting as perpetrators or victims.

Figure 10 displays data for the total duration (min) of scenes that reflect PRI and VIO, and which are separated for males and females (males M, females F; Group is not included here due to its limited number of scenes), and relative to their roles as perpetrators and victims. Additionally, we depict mean values for the Likert scale for intensity in each case (represented in the secondary, y-axis).

An ANOVA three-way [2 types (PRI *vs*. VIO) x 2 roles (perpetrators *vs*. victim) x 2 gender groups (males *vs*. females)] with repeated measures calculated for the total duration of scenes revealed significant effect for type of violence ($F_{1, 29} = 5.28$, $p = .029$, $\eta^2 = .15$). A significant effect was also identified for role as perpetrator or victim ($F_{1, 29} = 23.01$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .44$), but not for the gender categories. No significant interaction was revealed for any of the comparisons. In PRI and VIO, males appeared as perpetrators in scenes that were longer in duration than were those that portrayed them as victims when compared to females. Females were equally represented as perpetrators and as victims in PRI. In VIO, females appeared in scenes that were of longer duration when they acted as perpetrators, but are statistically similar to those when they acted as victims (see Figure 10, right side).
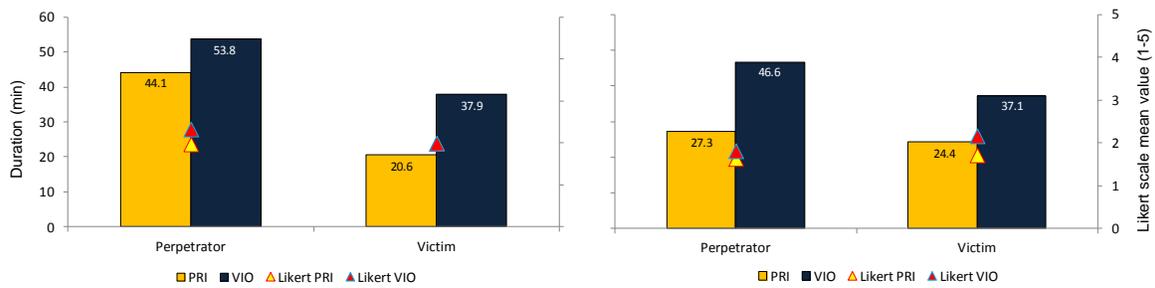
Figure 10. Total duration (min) of scenes for PRI and VIO, males M, (left side) and females F (right side), with regard to their roles as perpetrators and victims. Mean values for the Likert scale are represented in the secondary, *y*-axis.

The secondary, y-scale of Figure 10 also shows the magnitude of intensity for males and females when they acted as perpetrators and victims. Likert scale mean values of scenes representing the gender categories were submitted to an ANOVA three-way [2 types (PRI *vs*. VIO) x 2 roles (perpetrators *vs*. victim) x 2 gender categories (males *vs*. females)] with repeated measures. Results revealed no significant effect for any of the factors. Role as victim shows similar intensity (i.e., Likert values) between genders.

Part 2 - Sex-related violent content in the novella, Malhação

Descriptive data

Table 5 displays frequency of scenes and percentage values of variables relative to sex-related violence coded for 30 episodes of Malhação. Additionally, it includes values of duration of scenes (in minutes) with respective relative duration, in the total scenes in which sex-related violence was detected, for the respective parameters.

Table 5. Descriptive data of frequency of scenes, mean and standard deviations of variables relative to sex-related violence coded for 30 episodes of Malhação.

Parameter	Absolute frequency	Relative parameter (%)	Duration (min)	Relative duration (%)
Total	175	-	131	3.3*
PRI	146	83.4	110.2	84.1
VIO	29	16.6	20.8	15.9
Category A PRI	158	58.3	74.8	67.9
Category B PRI	72	26.6	19.6	17.8
Category C PRI	41	15.1	15.7	14.3
Category A VIO	23	45.1	8.7	40.9
Category B VIO	13	25.5	7.0	32.9
Category C VIO	15	29.4	5.6	26.2
Likert (score 1) PRI	174	64.2	133.7	59.9
Likert (score 2) PRI	90	33.2	81.1	36.4
Likert (score 3) PRI	7	2.6	8.2	3.7
Likert (score 1) VIO	19	34.5	15.6	32.2
Likert (score 2) VIO	31	56.4	28.4	58.5
Likert (score 3) VIO	5	9.1	4.5	9.3
Subcategory A PRI	47	17.3	38.2	17.1
Subcategory B PRI	75	27.6	64	28.7
Subcategory C PRI	21	7.7	16.8	7.5
Subcategory D PRI	55	20.2	40.5	18.2
Subcategory E PRI	74	27.2	63.6	28.5
Subcategory A VIO	19	36.5	15.8	32.6
Subcategory B VIO	16	30.8	10	20.6
Subcategory C VIO	2	3.8	4	8.2
Subcategory D VIO	8	15.4	10	20.5
Subcategory E VIO	7	13.5	8.7	18

Relative to the entire duration of the 2014 1st semester from which the sample was drawn.

A total of 175 scenes contained sex-related violent content. General violence appeared in 247 scenes. Figure 11 displays the absolute frequency of scenes in which sex-related violence and general violence appeared.
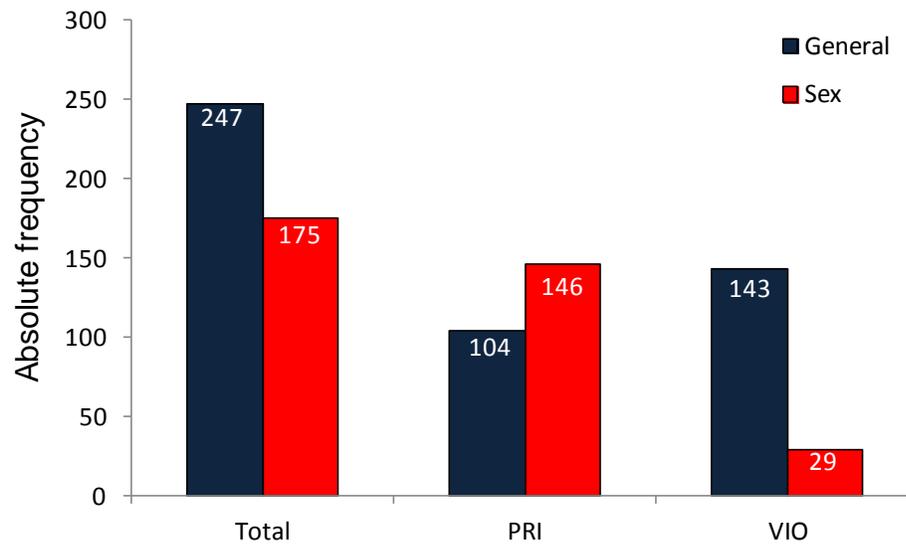
Figure 11. Absolute frequency of scenes that reflect PRI and VIO, and total scenes found for general violence and sex-related violent content (sex).

The statistical analysis using the Wilcoxon signed ranks test for the absolute frequency of general violence compared to sex-related violent content showed no significant difference in incidence ($z = -1.19$, $p = .232$). The incidence of scenes containing PRI were similar between general violence and sex-related violent content ($z = -1.50$, $p = .132$), but were significantly different for VIO ($z = -4.38$, $p \leq .001$). When we compared frequencies for PRI and VIO scenes in the sex-related violence content analysis, the results showed a significant difference ($z = -4.18$, $p \leq .001$), as we previously found for general violence, except in the opposite direction. The amount of VIO scenes in sex-related violent content was lesser than for PRI (see Figure 13). In the general violence scenes, 143 scenes were coded as VIO *vs.* 104 scenes for PRI.

Duration of sex-related violent scenes

The duration of sex-related violent content scenes was 703 minutes for the 30-episode sample. Sex-related violent content lasted an average of 4.4 minutes per episode. Sex-related violence and general violence combined represent 308 minutes, or 44%, of the total duration in this sample (see Figure 12). Types PRI and VIO also are illustrated in minutes and in proportion, relative to the total duration of the sample.
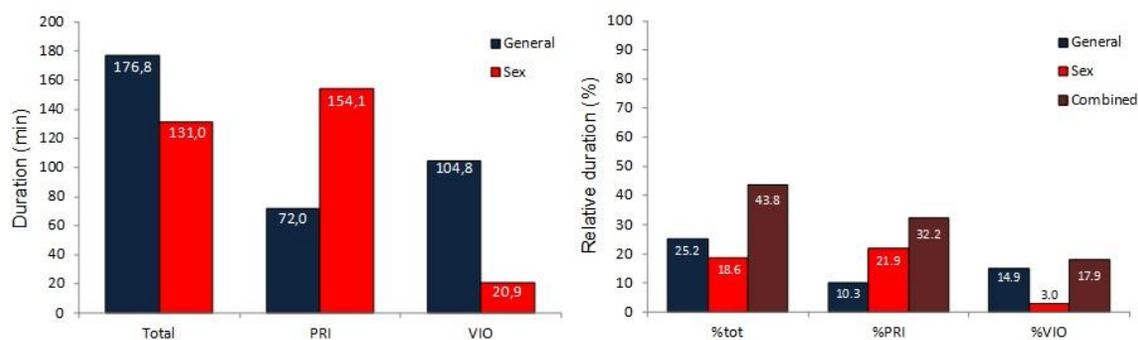
Figure 12. Duration (min) of scenes that include general violence and sex-related violent content (left side) and relative duration (%) of general violence, sex-related violent content relative to PRI and VIO, and combined general violence and sex-related violent content for total scenes, PRI and VIO types.

An Anova two-way calculated for the duration of scenes containing the 3 classes of sex-related violent content (A, *seduction vs.* B, *seduction/romance vs.* C, *misogyny*) versus type of violence (PRI *vs.* VIO) showed significant effect for type of violence ($F_{1, 29} = 32.29$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .53$), and class of sex-related violent content ($F_{2, 58} = 9.52$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .25$). A significant interaction between type of violence and class of sex-related violent content ($F_{2, 58} = 11.09$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .28$) reflects the longer duration of scenes found in PRI as opposed to those short and infrequent scenes found in the VIO type. Bonferroni *pos hoc* tests show that, for PRI, class A (*seduction*) has a longer mean duration than class B (*seduction/romance*) ($p = 0.001$) and C (*misogyny*) ($p = .001$), while classes B (*seduction/romance*) and C (*misogyny*) are similar to each other. No significant differences were detected for any of the comparisons in VIO.

Indeed, considering the total duration for the 30 selected episodes, class A (*seduction*) had longer duration scenes than class B (*seduction/romance*) (35% difference) and class C (*misogyny*) (26.6% difference) (Figure 13, below). However, the unequal number of scenes that were coded in these classes (i.e., class A, *seduction* = 26; class B, *seduction/romance* = 13, and class C, *misogyny* = 9) resulted in large variability in each class, sometimes with standard deviations three times larger than the mean value (i.e., Class_A, *seduction*_PRI = 149.5 ± 149; Class_ *seduction/romance*_B_PRI = 39.3 ± 72.1; Class_C_*misogyny*_PRI = 31.5 ± 68.1; Class_A_

seduction _VIO = 17.4 ± 39.5; Class_B_ *seduction/romance*_VIO = 14 ± 33.5;

Class_C_*misogyny*_VIO = 11.1 ± 38.6).
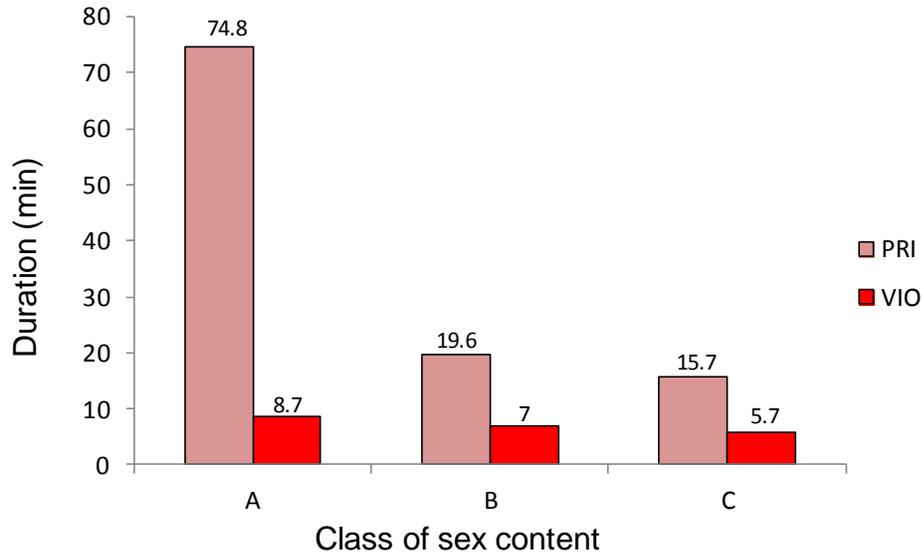
Figure 13. Duration (min) of scenes that include three classes of sex-related violent content for VIO and PRI types. Categories of sex-related violent content refers to class A (*seduction*), class B (*romance/seduction*), and class C (*misogyny*).

Categories of sex-related violent content refer to actions or behavior that express sexual activities, from simple seductive courting to intercourse (A), to messages or discourse related to sexual issues (B), to the framing of the image captured by the lens of the camera that reflect sexual content (C), to body movements that imply or reflect sexual desire towards someone (D), to sexy or revealing clothing, especially in inappropriate locations (E). The set of figures below summarizes each of these categories for the three classes of sex-related violent content in both PRI and VIO. Additionally, depicted are three levels of intensity for these categories (i.e., low, medium, and high levels).

A

B

C
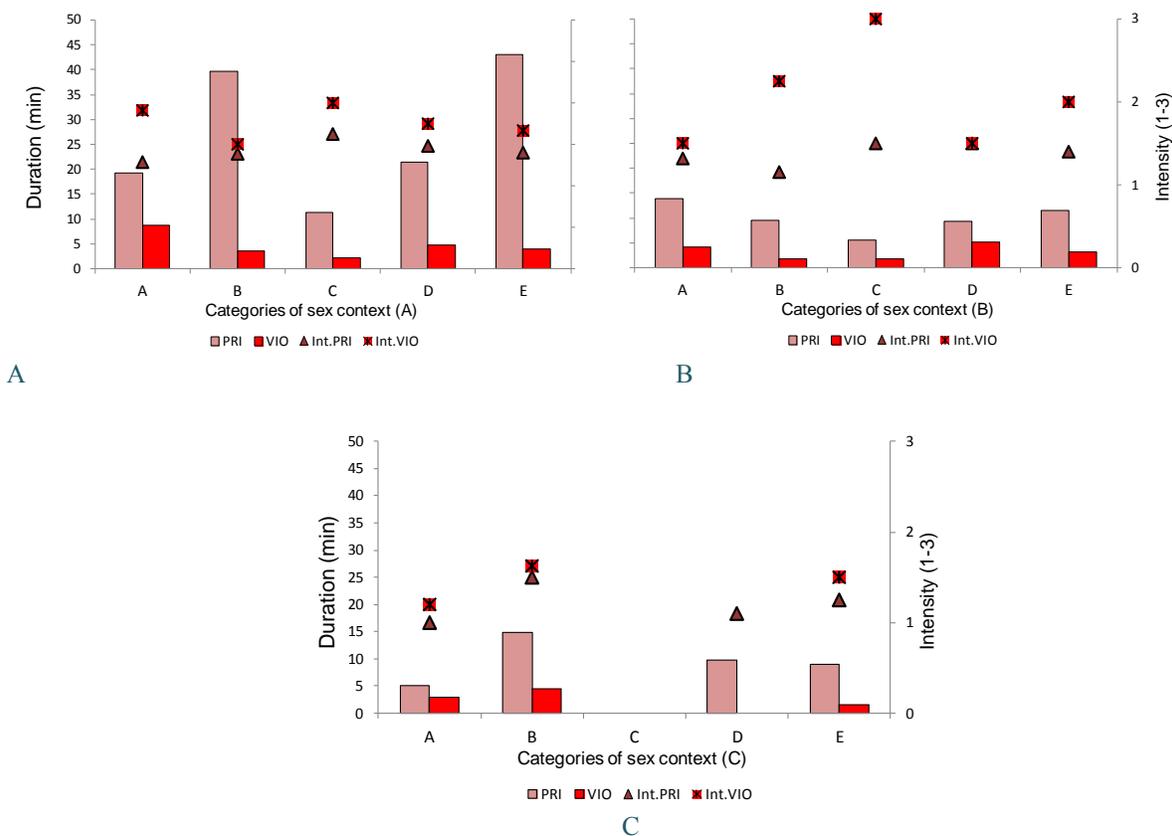
Figure 14. Duration (min) of scenes that include the three classes of sex-related violent content for VIO and PRI types [i.e., class A (A), class B (B) and class C (C)]. The sets of the five categories of sex-related violent content appear for each of the three classes. Intensity (i.e., 1, 2, and 3) appears in the secondary, *y*-axis.

Due to the extensive variation in duration within the scenes for these categories, we combined them and submitted them to an ANOVA one-way, calculated for the duration of scenes containing the 5 categories of sex-related violent content. We found a significant effect for category of sex-related violent content ($F_{4, 116} = 9.39$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .25$). A significant interaction between type of violence and class of sex-related violent content ($F_{2, 58} = 11.09$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .24$). Bonferroni *pos hoc* tests show that only category B (*messages*) differs from C (*framing*) ($p = .001$), and C (*framing*) differs from E (*clothing*) ($p = .001$) (Figure 15).
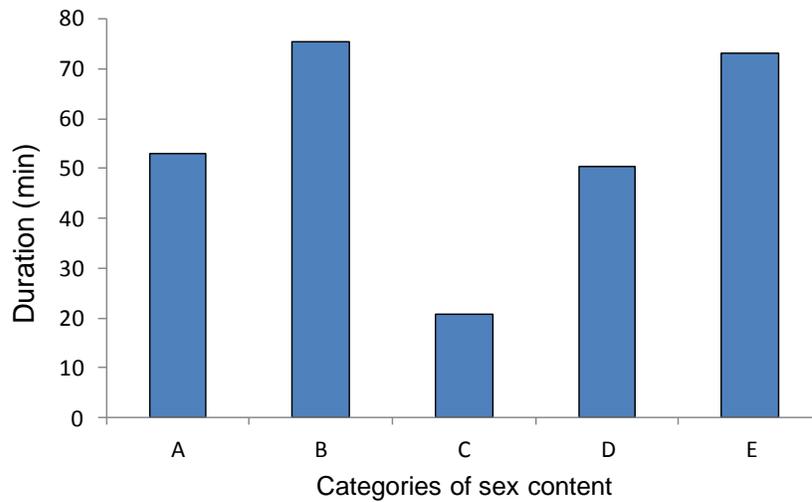
Figure 15. Duration (min) of scenes that include the five categories of sex-related violent content.

An ANOVA two-way, calculated for the duration of scenes containing the 3 groups representative of Teens, Adults, and Groups of individuals (regardless age), and order of initiative (initiator *vs.* recipients) with repeated measures showed significant effect for age group ($F_{2, 58} = 14.33$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .33$), and order of initiative ($F_{1, 29} = 9.00$, $p = .006$, $\eta^2 = .24$). A significant interaction between age group and order of initiative ($F_{2, 58} = 12.27$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .30$) reflect the longer duration of scenes found with teens as initiators, as opposed to recipients, as compared to shorter scenes for adults who appeared equally as initiators and recipients. Furthermore, groups of individuals appeared for longer durations as recipients of sex-related violence than as initiators (Figure 16). Bonferroni *pos hoc* tests show that teens were significantly more present as initiators of issues related to sexual violence than recipients ($p \leq .001$). Groups of individuals appeared more as recipients than initiators of sex-related violence ($p = .011$).
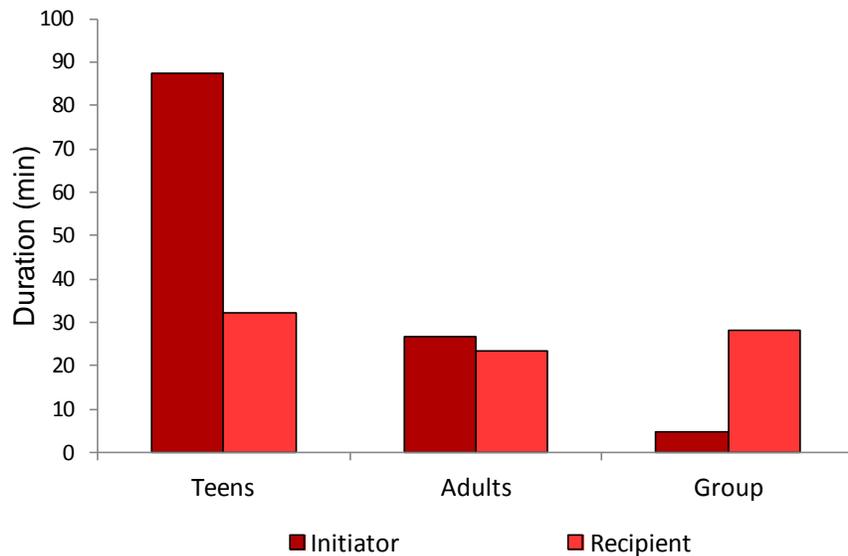
Figure 16. Duration (min) of scenes in which females (F), males (M), and groups of individuals (X) appear in sex-related violent contexts.

An ANOVA two-way, calculated for the duration of scenes containing the 3 groups representative of gender, females (F), males (M), and groups (X) of individuals (regardless of gender) (F vs. M vs. X), and order of initiative (initiator vs. recipients) with repeated measures showed significant effect for group ($F_{2,\,58} = 6.42$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .18$) and order of initiative ($F_{1,\,29} = 16.73$, $p \leq .001$, $\eta^2 = .37$). A significant interaction between group and order of initiative ($F_{2,\,58} = 4.35$, $p = .017$, $\eta^2 = .13$) reflects the longer duration of scenes when females were initiators as opposed to recipients, as compared to shorter scenes for males who appeared equally as initiators and recipients. Furthermore, groups of individuals appeared as recipients of sex-related violence than as initiators (Figure 17). Bonferroni *pos hoc* tests show that females are significantly more present as initiators than as recipients of sex-related violence ($p = .003$).
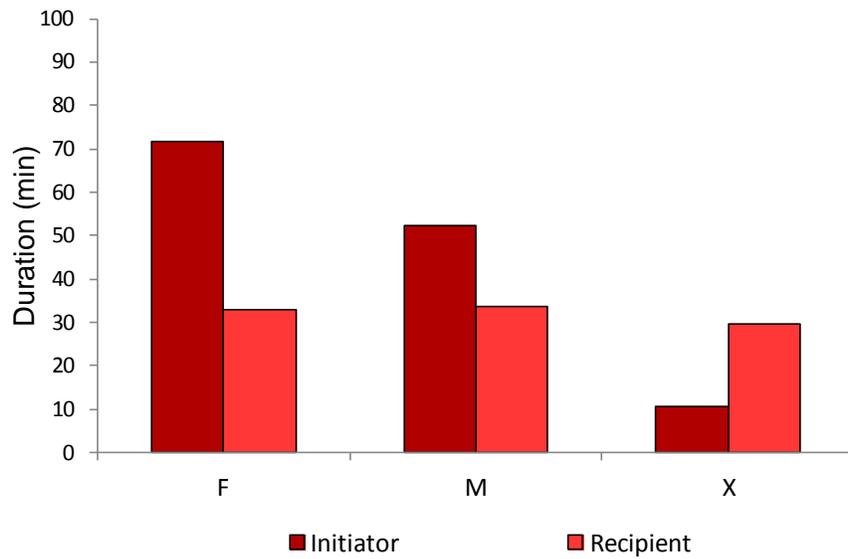
Figure 17. Duration (min) of scenes in which females (F), males (M), and groups of individuals (X) appear in sex-related violent contexts.

As with general violence, only Caucasians were coded in sex-related violent contexts; other races did not appear in any of the sex-related violence categories. It should be noted that a white who played a Latino was present in several sex-related violence scenes, but he was coded as white.

Discussion

In 2006, Brazilian Band Network vice-president, Marcelo Parada, lamented publicly that TVGlobo (like its Western counterparts) had begun to use sex and violence in its television (novella) programming in order to gain viewership (Muniz, 2006). Violence had historically been used, he said, only "to problematize" certain social issues. However, today, viewers are increasingly exposed to nonsensical, exaggerated, or banal dramatic plots that include violence. The delivery of violence in programming designed for young viewers often is tied to family and peer conflicts, and is especially related to romantic affairs or disputes. A variety of formats of violence (e.g., physical, psychological, segregation) is embedded in subtle forms, sometimes in comical contexts. Today, with the ubiquitousness and severity of violence, it seems to have lost its potential for "problematizing" social issues. For instance, the producers of Malhação, in two instances, place little importance on issues that normally would be considered serious violence (e.g., kidnapping, bomb threats), with the actors appearing to express only superficial emotions. Therefore, the "problematization" of social issues using violent content in today's telenovela contexts seems to have lost its relevance. The nature of drama, suffering, and fear associated with violence appear to be present in the plot only to gain viewership. In the case of Malhação, violence seems to be extensive and prevalent; yet, ratings and viewership have been declining (Entretenimento.r7.com, 2011). Therefore, we were interested not only in determining the extent to which violence appears in this popular novela for young people, but, also, in measuring the intensity and types of violence that appear.

Additionally, we were interested in gauging the extent of sex-related violence in its various forms: from subtle misogyny to overt violent expressions. The study was, then, divided into two parts: Part 1, which investigated *general violence*; and Part 2, which investigated *sex-related violence*.

Part 1- General violence

RQ₁ – To what extent (i.e., duration) does violent content—and its types (i.e., priming, PRI and overt violence, VIO)—appear in Malhação's programming?

Our findings revealed that 35.3% of the duration of the sampled episodes contained violent content. Slightly more than ten percent (10.2%) of this content consisted of priming (PRI), and 24.1 % was manifest violence (VIO). Because priming (PRI) involves situations that eventually will lead to or prompt violence (e.g., conspiracy, provocation, derogatory, or inflammatory remarks/gossip against someone or some social condition/minority; isolation via non-touch/non-contact policies), its quantification often reflects the rehearsal of main plots—frequently appearing at the peak of the novella season. In real life, a perpetrator's use of negative comments or aggressive-appearing body expressions (i.e., priming) can be forgotten by the target victim once the conflict ceases; or, priming can act as a preliminary event for a subsequent overtly violent act. Also, in real life situations, violence itself is not always preceded by priming. Absurd, tragic, unexpected acts of violence can happen anytime, anywhere. Within the context of this telenovela, priming also does not necessarily lead to immediate violent actions, but it can create an anticipatory negative/aversive feeling in an individual (e.g., the viewer). Of course, the meaning of violence and its impact on the viewer is a matter of speculation.

The content of scenes that have a prolonged development and build up, sometimes toward a tragic ending, may (or may not) be perceived as tragic by viewers. Instead, the prolonged buildup might cause the viewer to perceive the plot as anticlimactic. As mentioned earlier, in real life, violence is not typically rehearsed. It often appears surprisingly, unexpectedly. Its effects might last for years. TV stories seldom have time to reveal the long-term damaging effects of violence—how it affects the victim, for example. Therefore, TV violence is often represented without consequences.

The World Health Organization conceptualization of violence (Krug, Dahlberg, and Mercy, 2002), in which intentional use of physical force or power results in various forms of damage to individuals (whether a single person or an entire community), was constructed within a real life perspective. However, the meaning of violence in a virtual community (i.e., television) often conflicts with real-life moral values and ethics. For example, in Malhação, a 17-year-old student went to jail after detonating a bomb in a plaza full of children and was released, two weeks later, after attending a half-hour psychological assessment. This representation appears almost as an inconsequential parody, unrealistic in almost any context to the point of absurdity. However, young viewers are likely to be impressed by such anti-heroes, although we know

relatively little about by teens' critical understanding of such incongruence. Escobar-Chaves and Anderson (2008) argued that such events have important consequences for young people who view them. They claimed that:

> ...much risk behavior involves a reaction to favorable social circumstances rather than a preplanned event. Second, because these circumstances are social and public, they are associated (in the minds of youths) with clear images of what the behavior is, what the risks and benefits are, and what kinds of people engage in the behavior. Third, these images have a huge impact on the spur-of-the-moment decision to engage (or to refuse to engage) in the risk behavior (p. 174).

The types of violence we found were not like the overt, gruesome violence typically found in Western-, North American-produced film and television programming. Instead, we found only two themes that approximated this type of violence: a bomb explosion and a bank robbery.

Producers of Malhação seemed to use a hybrid form of violence, which appears to be the result of their attempts to copy certain North American violent themes—the bombing incidence, for example (aired on January 15, 2014). But the efforts were not accurate copies. The context and peoples' behaviors and responses during such scenes made the effect seem absurd, sometimes almost comical. For example, when a bomber publicly announced that he planned to blow up the plaza, his friends and colleagues although initially aroused, ended up chatting and ignoring the impending danger, while still fully aware of his intentions. These representations were so far-fetched that it barely seems plausible that they would appear on a popular soap opera.

In other cases the violence was so subtle—sometimes almost imperceptible—that it was difficult for the coders to detect. For example, the two coders in the pilot study initially found it difficult to distinguish between psychological violence and priming.

Measuring the duration of the scenes, whether for PRI or VIO, did not necessarily reveal much about the seriousness of the violent content. The measurements, however, revealed the chronic appearance of PRI and VIO throughout all episodes. In Malhação, these scenes predominantly involved simple tensions between lovers, friends, or family members, with the purpose of damaging the ego, of defiance, or of making accusations against the integrity of a fictional character. Those that included overt violent content—potential death, grave suffering— appeared much less frequently. Therefore, the intensity of priming and overt violence in its

various forms of expression (e.g., self-directed, interpersonal, and collective) led us to our second question.

RQ₂ — What are the predominant forms (or categories/subcategories) of violent content that appear in Malhação's programming? How do they range in intensity levels?

This study sought to determine what forms (or categories) of violence and their intensity appeared in Malhação 2014. In the U.S. and worldwide, violence that might be commonly considered to be brutal—that which is characterized in movies such as the "The Terminator," "Rambo," and "Gladiator," and in TV shows such as "Hannibal," "The Following," and "Game of Thrones," is increasingly common. Unlike violence that was used to "problematize" social issues, this type of violence has become part of a formula used by television and film producers simply to shock viewers in the hopes of gaining viewership. Therefore, our second question was: *What are the predominant forms (or categories) of violent content that appear in Malhação's programming? How do they range in intensity levels?*

Our results showed a high rate of incidence of the interpersonal form of psychological violence in both types: priming (PRI) and overt violence (VIO). The events that were coded within the category of psychological violence included scenes of provocation, sarcasm, and cynicism. Often, these events occurred in contexts that were related to the characters' competition for a lover, or acting out of revenge.

Although high frequencies and long durations of both priming and violence were especially related to the psychological subcategory, the intensity of priming never surpassed a 3 on the Likert scale. Episodes containing PRI scenes had durations about 42% and 38% of the episode, with intensity levels of 1 and 2, respectively. For VIO, scenes lasted about 37%, 24%, and 31% of the episodes' duration, and were coded as intensities 1, 2, and 3, respectively.

With regard to collective violence, it was almost non-existent in our sample. In the two instances of Western-, North American style violence, a bank robbery and a bombing, the secondary characters did not react realistically. Instead, it appeared that they were used as props, simply to provide ambiance to the scene. If either of these situations were real, the surrounding people would be traumatized and acting accordingly. The producers, instead, framed the scene as

if nothing unusual was happening. They did not allow the characters to become casualties of the story, with any real consequence to whatever happened around them. Such contextualization of violent acts often seems to reveal a lack of connection to reality. These overtly violent events took place within contexts that can be characterized as blasé, as if none of the characters in the surrounding scene even cared.

Authors Anderson and Bushman (2009), in their article, "Comfortably numb: Desensitizing effects of violent media on helping others," claim that violent media have caused us to become oblivious to other peoples' needs. In this case, it's as if, indeed, the characters in the novella have become numb to those around them, and even to their own needs and their own safety.

Throughout the season, representations of overt violence, while not common, were used, presumably, to help create a climax to the story. The actors portrayed certain cultural behaviors that young Brazilian viewers likely will identify with, and they will imitate, or—as Bandura (1983) claimed—will "model" them.

Intra-personal violence in our sample was rare. This is likely because this would require a focus on single characters, who would have to perform monologues, and this would require well-developed acting skills. Malhação has no clear main character and customarily rotates its actors from season to season. The series is well-known for launching the careers of numerous young Brazilian actors.

Malhação contains a subtle type of violence, particularly associated with a psychological form. A low intensity tension common throughout the episodes represents a subtle type of violence that often becomes normalized (Hlavka, 2014) to the viewer. For example, the viewer seems to become acclimated to seeing scenes that contain sarcasm, bullying, defiance, and offensive dialogue as contexts for the story-telling, and, after several exposures, viewers don't recognize the representation as inappropriate or violent. Malhação, although depicting stories of teens and their social dynamics, potentially attracts viewers of all ages, including children.

RQ₃ – Who and how old are the perpetrators and victims in the storyline?

With regard to age and gender, male teens appeared significantly more often as perpetrators of violence than as victims. As for age and race, we expected that scenes of Malhação would include

more teens than adults in any kind of plot, violent or not. And, because Brazilians are a mixed race with multi-cultural influences, we expected a balance between white and other races, particularly blacks and mixed races. All of the coded scenes, except for on two occasions when a black actor appeared, included white actors. Many were blonde, with blue or green eyes. Therefore, the demographics of Brazilian teens in this telenovela, with regard to race, was skewed.

Males are the perpetrators of violence worldwide, including in Brazil. Therefore, our results in this instance correspond with the literature. Females appeared equally as perpetrators and as victims. However, when males appeared as perpetrators, they appeared in categories of overt violence (i.e., action). Females appeared more often in categories of psychological violence. The intensity on the Likert scale was higher for males than for females, but no significant effect was found.

The telenovela, as with many other types of programming, reflects stereotypes about age, gender, race, and social classes. Malhação directly and indirectly follows this trend. Today's stories model dominance, power, consumerism, the anti-hero, and pro- and anti-social behaviors, as noted by Wilson (2008). However, she observed, little attention has been given "to the moral lessons children learn from the media that may be underlying these behaviors."

The real question, then, is how do we use the enormous potential of electronic media to affect positive change, to create a better world?

Even Albert Bandura himself saw the potential in using media not purely as entertainment—often with deleterious effects, but to create positive change. The very mechanisms that help to create aggression and fear in children (and adults) can be used to spread knowledge as well as for other pro-social reasons. According to an American Psychological Association *Monitor* article, "Changing Behavior through TV Heroes (Dittmann 2004), Albert Bandura, recipient of APA's 2004 Lifetime Achievement Award, explained how communication professionals, educators, and media producers in countries around the world are using his social learning theory to help create positive social and behavioral changes, including improving healthcare and teaching literacy. To achieve this kind of change, said Bandura, required the application of four guiding principles:

- Contrasting role models with positive and negative models exhibiting beneficial or detrimental lifestyles and transitional models changing from detrimental to beneficial styles of behavior.

- Vicarious motivators that serve as incentives to change by showing the benefits of the positive lifestyles and the costs of the detrimental ones.

- Attentional and emotional involvement within the programs to sustain viewers' attention.

- Environmental supports with each program that contain an epilogue providing contact information for relevant community services and support groups (Dittmann 2004).

If we do, indeed, learn by observing and imitating one another, what, then, are we learning from our "teachers" in the surrounding electronic media ecosystem? What characteristics of human behavior are young Brazilians learning to imitate from watching shows such as Malhação? These shows are telling the stories to Brazilian youngsters that were once told by their parents, their grandparents, churches, and schools (Gerbner & Gross, 1976).

Part 2 - Sex-related violence

The analysis of sex-related violence relied, also, on three questions:

1. *To what extent (i.e., duration) does sex-related violent content—and its types (i.e., priming, PRI and overt violence, VIO)—appear in Malhação's programming?*

2. *What are the predominant forms (or categories/subcategories) of sex-related violent content that appear in Malhação's programming? How do they range in intensity levels?*

3. *Who and how old are the role players (i.e., initiators and recipients) in the storyline relative to sex-related violent content?*

RQ$_1$ – To what extent (i.e., duration) does sex-related violent content—and its types (i.e., priming, PRI and overt violence, VIO)—appear in Malhação's programming?

Sex was a dominant theme in the story line of Malhação 2013-2014. Sex-related violence, both PRI and VIO, represented 25% of the total duration of the sampled episodes. Combined with

general violence, they represented 44% of total duration in this sample. Therefore, both violence and sex were dominant themes in the telling of stories about these teens and their social dynamics. Overt violence (i.e., VIO) rarely appeared in conjunction with sex-related violence; priming (PRI) was dominant. Priming, in this context, was far removed from triggering overtly violent acts, because here it reflects stereotypes that are subtly embedded in social behavior, with distinct roles for genders. Culturally reinforced between males and females, media representations of gender stereotypes eventually become embedded in messages, body movements, body culture, personality styles, and social status.

Indeed, scenes in Malhação typically objectify young, privileged, white, contemporarily beautiful, thin-looking females. The girls in these scenes typically dress in clothes that could be considered both elegant and "sleazy," with an emphasis on sexy, revealing clothes. Even the teacher (at a Catholic school, the setting for Malhação) typically wears revealing clothes. We will discuss these aspects in the next section.

The producers of the current season of Malhação, at least, seem to have been desensitized to the meaning and effects of violence, especially what constitutes violence and violence against women.

An investigation of television content in the early 1990s exemplifies how subtleties in the framing of stories can serve to perpetuate stereotypes. In his study on how *modern racism* was woven throughout the Chicago newscasts of the early 1990s, Robert Entman (1992) talked about what he called "elite discourse" (p. 360). He noted how *traditional* racism had become unacceptable in the "elite rhetoric" (p. 360) of that time, but that the rhetoric of the news reflected, instead, a type of *modern* racism. He claimed that this rhetoric, or elite discourse, was important to the maintenance of racist values and culture by, essentially, priming viewers with certain themes that perpetuated modern racism. He indicated that a change in the elite discourse on racism, then, was logically necessary in order to change attitudes about blacks in general.

In a similar vein, it seems that today a change in the elite discourse about media violence is needed. An interesting parallel can be drawn between the priming of racist attitudes about blacks in the Chicago news in the early 1990s and the priming of misogynistic attitudes about young females in Malhação presently. The word, *misogyny*, it seems, could be substituted for the term *racism* in Entman's study in the early 1990s.

RQ₂ – What are the predominant forms (or categories/subcategories) of sex-related violent content that appear in Malhação's programming? How do they range in intensity levels?

The archetype of the young, hypersexual "sex kitten" that the producers of Malhação have created by requiring their actresses to imitate older sexual stereotypes not only serves to provide seemingly inappropriate role models for young viewers, it also exploits these young actresses as sexual objects. Their appearance and behaviors (e.g., category/subcategory: actions, body movements, and clothing) are packaged to make them look innocent, like waifs, or ingenues, but the subtle message is insidious. The representations objectified the girls: Their value seems to be tied into whether or not they look and act "sexy." There was a high incidence of priming in scenes with sexual behaviors, and few included overt sexual violence. Subtle forms of misogyny appeared in scenes that brimmed with seduction; these scenes, in particular, featured young-looking girls, with fit, thin bodies in revealing clothes. The girls, pretending to be musicians, seemed to direct their seduction and romantic flirtations, via suggestive clothing and seductive movements and postures, to everyone present in the scenes.

These romantic expressions were permeated with sexual innuendo, demonstrations of arousal, and dialog that indicated that having under-aged, unmarried sexual relations would be acceptable. These themes appeared frequently, and seemed to be condoned and supported by family members, friends, community members, and faculty from the students' school.

Micaela (or Mika), as well as her other young counterparts, often were characterized provocatively and as participating in pre-marital sex. A girl in another family, who was not married, ran a beauty salon with her boyfriend. The family was wealthy at first, but eventually lost their money. Within the storyline, the girl was planning to have sex for the first time with her boyfriend. Her family and friends went to their hotel ahead of time, even older people, and sent candy and flowers to the motel—as if they are planning a debutante party. Everyone knew about, and celebrated, the fact that the young couple was planning to have sexual intercourse for the first time. The character of the girl was framed as if she was an innocent little girl—young, squeaky voice, and silly acting.

The sexual messages, coming from teenage girls in the setting of a Catholic school and its surrounding familial community, seem unrealistically provocative. Additionally, the messages don't match the actors' actions. The young girls often displayed demeanors and behaviors that appeared to be highly provocative—the girls routinely copied suggestive body movements, a la Beyonce and other popular North American female singer-dancers, for example. Yet, in their dialogs they delivered messages to their male counterparts to "back off." These messages, inconsistent and incongruous, are confusing to young children and teen viewers. Escobar-Chaves and Anderson (2008) observed that, "Finding a romantic partner and establishing a romantic relationship are important adolescent developmental tasks. Related to these tasks are adolescents' developing sexuality and their construction of their sexual selves" (p. 128).

The boys, who mostly appeared to be between 13 and 17 years old, often talk about "scoring." They often spoke as if women are objects, to be used for sexual gratification. The message from the females in the storyline was, "Yes, we want to be objectified, but back off."

Too, the girls were often portrayed in their school settings as innocent-looking ingénues. The producers seem to be representing the young females as a reflection of the classic madonna-whore archetype (Feinman, 1994).

It should be expected that a soap opera that targets pre-teens and teenagers would discuss issues of sexuality. What are the characteristics of age-appropriate sexual behaviors for young viewers aged 12 to 16 years? Today, this is a difficult question to answer. Age-appropriate sexual behavior here does not include actress' portrayals of activities that could be compared to actresses in "soft porn" movies. Yet, this is the type of behavior commonly portrayed in Malhação.

- In one case, the nun, or the figure of authority, explained to her young female students how they could improve their musical performance by what was, essentially, "sexing" themselves up with spicy body moves. The lens did not miss this action. Short-shorts and minute tops completed the seductive performance (the episode aired on January 10, 2014).

A scene such as this might last only a half a second, but the image, and the message, stays with the viewer. The research literature does not tell us how long it takes to extinguish innocence in a naïve viewer, but it does tell us that such effects are ubiquitous and last long enough to change the behaviors of entire cultures (Gallagher, 1995; Jhally, 2007, 2010). Escobar-Chaves and Anderson (2008) observed that, with regard to mediated violence and associated aggressive

and violent behaviors, "Experimental studies have shown that even a single exposure increases aggression in the immediate situation" (p. 171).

In the case of the nun, ostensibly a teacher and authority figure, the storyline framed her in what seems to be a caricature of the Whoopi Goldberg character in the film, "Sister Act." She was present, not to provide guidance to these children, but to act as their cheerleader and to make sure that they had a good time while practicing for an upcoming musical event. She encouraged the girls, dressed in extremely short shorts, which revealed the outlines of their intimate body parts, to dance wilder in an apparent attempt to copy a style like that of the Pussycat Dolls or Beyonce. It appears that all of the girls in this Catholic school over the age of 13 wore short shorts, not uniforms, to every event, and to every location, including the classroom, the bank, downtown, while riding a bicycle (in miniskirts that reveal their underpants), or even while visiting a friend in prison.

The nun, like all of the other adults in the series, appeared to be a "prop" rather than a real authority figure. All of the adult characters seemed to be present in order to provide ambience, but never to demonstrate real authority. Like the boys in the film, "Lord of the Flies" (written by William Golding, 1954; filmed in 1990 and directed by Harry Hook, produced by the Castle Rock Entertainment) the children in Malhação have all of the authority.

Too, photographically, the scenes generally use a wide-angle rather than close-up approach. This makes it difficult to determine when the camera is focusing on a particular person or particular part of the body. The viewer must decide where in the scene to look. In one particular scene in a bar, where multiple people were present—a group of family and friends talking about the upcoming Carnaval celebration, the camera was focused on everyone, and no one in particular—or so it seemed. However, a girl in the middle of the frame was sitting at the table. Her legs were up, resting on the table, and she was smiling. Her crotch was predominantly visible, although this could be easily missed due to the verbal story, which focused on Carnaval (episode aired on February 24, 2014). It is as if she was present simply as a decoration or prop. Her posture and her clothes were suggestive, revealing. In a real life context, anyone sitting near her would have a close-up view of her legs, hips, and crotch. This 16-year-old, female character, Micaela, was present in almost every scene that involved sex-related violence. She was placed in

this scene, it seems, in such a way that her clothing and her body movements presented a message of seduction, regardless of what was going on around her.

With regard to intensity, the three-level Likert scales registered values that were predominantly 1 and 2, but rarely 3. A value of 3 was usually related to body movements and actions. Clothing was never rated as a 3, as this would have required an extreme condition, such as nudity, which did not appear. In three cases, girls appeared in their underwear, with the shape of intimate body parts visible.

Adults, especially one particular female teacher, sometimes appeared in inappropriate clothing in unexpected contexts. For example, this character often wore short-shorts, even to a parent-teacher meeting. She routinely wore short-shorts, like those the young female students customarily wore. Too, she often appeared without a bra and in a transparent blouse. This occurred within the context of a Catholic school.

Micaela was the only female character who appeared in sexually explicit clothing every time she appeared, often with sexually explicit posturing. When any of the other girls were shown wearing sexually explicit clothing, they were usually framed visually in demeanors that appeared innocent, not sexually suggestive.

In one instance, after coding several episodes, our primary coder observed that it had become difficult for her to detect inappropriate clothing on one of the novella's teachers, and that she had to stay "hyper-aware" in order to detect such subtleties. This incident suggests how insidiously sex-related violence content can act on viewers, who, after repeated exposures, might find it "normal" or no longer even be consciously aware of it. In the case of the psychological and moral development of young children, the implications are potentially problematic.

RQ$_3$ – Who and how old are the role players (i.e., initiators and recipients) regarding sex content in the storyline?

Females were portrayed in much greater incidences than males as making sexual advances. Males appeared in fewer scenes as initiators and recipients of sexual activity. There are a number of scenes in which a female (more often) protagonist performs in scenes that include sexual content and a number of individuals at the same time are recipients of the messages. Indeed, females, who often appear as recipients of sex, are also represented as giving advice to

their girlfriends about how to get or keep a man or boyfriend, teaching them how to move provocatively, for example.

As for race, the same misrepresentations found under general violence are observed in the scenes for sex-related violence. It appears that the aesthetic combinations of attractiveness (e.g., beautiful, young, healthy, thin) are always paired with white. Even when a "Latino" is represented in the scenes, the actor—in reality—is white.

Relative to age, numerous adults appear in the novella. However, the scenes that contain sex-related violence more often included teens than adults. The way in which these young people are framed in the story—without adults present in sex-related violent scenes—brings up an interesting moral question. Since the young people are present in most of these scenes without adult supervision, is it implied that it is the teens themselves are responsible for others' predatory behaviors towards them, for example, harassment, sexual abuse, and objectification?

In Malhação, the adults often are engaged in conversations about sex that were misleading, or they discussed sex using inaccurate details. The adults always engaged in sexual activities with other adults, never with individuals of inappropriate ages. However, one of the adult characters who was unconnected to the school—and apparently had no connection to the students—routinely appeared in locations in which students gathered: to watch the girls practice their dance moves, for example. His character was somewhat of a voyeur and his presence seemed inappropriate, but none of the authority figures appeared to care.

American Academy of Pediatrics (2001) confirmed that it is difficult for children under 8-years-old to discern fantasy from reality. However, the present mediated landscape is the new reality for everyone—adults and children. In a recent interview on CNN (March, 2015), a digital media producer described how 40% to 50% of the images we see in the surrounding media environment have been altered via Photoshop or by other means. He said that, in most cases, he could not discern what was real and what had been retouched. So, in addition to young children not being able to distinguish between what is fantasy and what is "real," even adults as well can no longer make this distinction.

Conclusions

The conclusions of this study are, ultimately, speculative in nature. As in all content analyses, the data result from observation; they do not establish a causal relationship (Entman, 1992; Neuendorf, 2002). However, our findings lead us to make informed conclusions, based on empirical evidence.

The media landscape has changed dramatically since the 1960s, when television emerged and when Bandura and others began to question its effects—both positive and negative—on human behavior (Bandura, 1973, 1977). We can learn from the past 60 years of collective research. We can harness the power of media to change individuals, to change cultures, and, even, to change the world; or, we can ignore this potential.

Malhação is the longest-running soap operas in the history of the Brazilian television, and is produced by giant, TVGlobo. Since 1994, Malhação has delivered social messages and popular culture to its target market, Brazilian teenagers and young people.

With two exceptions, we found that Malhação did not emulate the type of overt, grisly violence that North American television programming and films routinely portray. Malhação contains violence, particularly psychological violence more than overt physical violence.

Yet, our analysis revealed that Malhação features a preponderance of sexual violence, mostly though representations of its young female actresses. Sexual violence includes not only blatant, physical violence such as sexual assault or overt types of violence portrayed through pornography. It also takes on more subtle forms, as described, for example, by the APA task force (APA, 2005):

- a person's value comes only from his or her sexual appeal or behavior, to the exclusion of other characteristics;

- a person is held to a standard that equates physical attractiveness (narrowly defined) with being sexy;

- a person is sexually objectified — that is, made into a thing for others' sexual use, rather than seen as a person with the capacity for independent action and decision making; and/or

- sexuality is inappropriately imposed upon a person (APA, 2005).

Throughout the episodes that we investigated, the young female characters (and one female teacher) appeared as sexualized stereotypes. If, as Bandura claimed via *social learning theory* (Bandura, 1983), children learn though observation and imitation, these stereotypical portrayals act as role models to young viewers of Malhação, just as other forms of popular culture serve as models. For example, young Brazilians model popular culture behaviors such as purchasing and using technological devices (Ericsson, 2014), adopting North American-inspired clothing styles, and imitating new styles of music (Gallahger, 1995; Escobar & Swardson, 1995; Seabrook, Mc Chesney, & Miller, 2001).

The characters and actors in Malhação, it appears, are not positive role models. In addition to the sexualization of the young female *characters* in Malhação, it seems possible that the young actresses (and actors) themselves are victims of sexual violence. They are required to follow scripts whose storylines regularly sexually exploit young people. It can be argued that these actors are willing participants by wanting to act in Malhação. However, many aspiring Brazilian actors have started their careers in this novella. And, put simply—in colloquial terms, it is "the only game in town." If young people in Brazil want to become actors, it is one of the few, and one of the most visible options from which to launch their careers.

Some educators and humanitarians have begun to see the value in using the principles that can cause young people to adopt aggressive and violent behaviors, through the consumption of violent media, to, also, create positive change. They have begun to use these principles to change the elite discourse of media violence.

It appears that this study, perhaps, may have generated more questions than answers. If so, then it has succeeded in one of its goals. In this way, it has provided a starting point for other studies on Brazilian television (and other types of electronic media), and in other populations in Brazil.

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Appendix 1

Content Analysis—Codebook descriptions for "Malhação"

Types

Priming (PRI): Situations (stimuli) that eventually will lead to or prompt violence (e.g., conspiracy, provocation, derogatory, or inflammatory remarks/gossip against someone or some social condition/minority; isolation via non-touch/non-contact policies); use of verbal comments, body expressions, images, sounds, or music. **PRI** does not necessarily lead to immediate violent actions, but it creates an anticipatory negative/aversive feeling in an individual (e.g., the viewer).

Manifest/actual violent event (VIO): An actual violent event (e.g., attacking, preying upon, bullying, exclusion) that causes physical, psychological, or social damage (e.g., change in social, legal, or economic status) to someone or a group of individuals (victimizing them). Actions that are used to protect/defend oneself or society (e.g., police intervention, engaging in a counterattack, with zero tolerance) are also considered manifest violence. VIO requires identifying victim and possibly perpetrator.

Intensity

PRI and **VIO** can be quantified as *very low(1)*, *low(2), medium*(3), *high(4), or* very high(5) intensity.

Categories

The typology proposed here (WHO, 2002) divides violence into three broad categories according to characteristics of those committing the violent act: self-directed, interpersonal and collective. These 3 broad categories are each divided to reflect more specific types of violence.

Categories and sub-categories

1. **Self-directed violence (actions, thoughts/beliefs, withdrawal/self-exclusion)**
   A. <u>Actions</u> that result in self-damage or risk to own health, self-abuse (e.g., pro-anorectic habits; teaming up with bullies; self inflicted punishment), and suicide. (VIO)
   B. <u>Expressing</u> self-hatred (self-handicapping) due to poor self-image to others (e.g., derogatory remarks with own appearance, economic status, level of intelligence, sexual identity, etc.). (PRI or VIO)
   C. Anticipating problems, denying/refusing rewards to oneself, social <u>withdrawal</u> and isolation (due to poor self-image). VIO (PRI or VIO)

2. **Interpersonal (actions, conspiracy, exclusion)**
   A. <u>Actions</u> that physically hurt/harm others (e.g., a partner, friend or family member, a stranger, or a group): deliberate or random acts of violence, rape or sexual assault, kidnap, murder. (VIO)
   B. Plotting <u>conspiracy</u> or expressing hurtful, derogatory/offensive words or concepts against others (e.g., a partner, friend or family member, a stranger, or a group): insulting (e.g., fat, poor, ugly, etc.) by various means (e.g., e-mails, posting notes in public places, in conversations with third parties) causing harm, discomfort, or inconvenience to the targeted victim or forcing or coercing someone to abandon personal beliefs. (PRI or VIO)
   C. Withdrawing support or sympathy, <u>excluding</u> or failing to defend against suffering of a partner, friend, or family member, or a stranger, leading to restrictions of access to goods, primary needs, and freedom. (PRI or VIO)

3. **Collective (actions, conspiracy, exclusion)**
   A. Groups deliberately <u>acting</u> violently, accusing someone of something and punishing them (e.g., prosecuting with fines, imprisonment, or execution), whether unfair or justifiable, which violates/harms human rights such as life, safety, privacy, wellbeing, socio-economic status. (VIO)

B. Groups deliberately planning acts of <u>conspiracy</u> against someone (e.g., individuals, groups or entire communities), which violates/harms human rights such as life, safety, privacy, wellbeing, socio-economic status (e.g., destruction of property or environment). (PRI or VIO)

C. Groups deliberately sympathizing or <u>excluding</u>, biasing based on age, generation, gender, sexual orientation, economic status, intelligence status, religious/cultural status (e.g., Indigenous, Northeasterners, Paganism), race, which violates/harms human rights such as life, safety, privacy, wellbeing, socio-economic status. (PRI or VIO)

Demographics

Apparent age of perpetrators and victims (in years)	**Apparent race of perpetrators and victims**	**Gender (single or combined: M-F etc.)**
A. Child: infant up to 11 years	A. Appears mostly White/European	F. Male
B. Teen: 13 to 19	B. Appears mostly Black or "Mulato"	M. Female
C. Young adult: 20 to 29		X. Mixed
D. Adult: 30 to 59	C. Appears mostly mixed race	
E. Older adult: 60 or over	X. A group of mixed races	
X. Mixed ages		

Appendix 2

Análise de Conteúdo - Descrições do sistema de códigos para a novela "Malhação"

Tipos

Priming (PRI): situações (estímulos) que eventualmente promoverão ou causarão violência (e.g., conspiração, provocação, depreciação, observações inflamatórias fofocas contra alguém ou alguma condição / minoria social; isolamento incentivado em políticas do "não-toque"); usar de comentários verbais, expressões corporais, imagens, sons ou música para provocar ou insultar. PRI não leva necessariamente a ações violentas imediatas, mas cria um sentimento de antecipação negativa / aversiva em um indivíduo (e.g.,, o espectador).

Violência manifestada/atual (VIO): um evento real violento (e.g.,, atacar, predar, aliciar/"bullying," excluir) que causa danos físicos, psicológicos ou sociais (e.g., rebaixamento de status social, implicação jurídica ou econômica) a alguém ou um grupo de indivíduos (vitimizá-los). Ações violentas usadas para se proteger / defender ou a sociedade (e.g., a intervenção da polícia, contra-atacar com "tolerância zero") também são consideradas violência manifesta. VIO requer a identificação de vítima e possivelmente do agressor.

Intensidade

PRI e **VIO** podem ser quantificados como intensidade muito baixa(1), baixa(2), média(3), alta(4), ou muito alta(5).

Categorias

Os tipos aqui propostos (WHO, 2002) dividem a violência em três grandes categorias de acordo com as características de quem comete o ato violento: auto-dirigida, interpessoal e coletiva. Estas três categorias são sub-divididas para refletir tipos mais específicos de violência.

Categorias e sub-categorias

1. Violência auto-infligida (ações, pensamentos / crenças, isolamento/auto-exclusão)
   A. Ações que resultam em dano pessoal ou risco para a própria saúde, auto-abuso (e.g., hábitos pró-anoréticos; parceria com valentões, autopunição infligida) e suicídio. (VIO)
   B. Expressando auto-ódio (autoincapacitação), devido à baixa autoimagem frente aos outros (e.g., comentários depreciativos com própria aparência, situação econômica, nível de inteligência, identidade sexual, etc.). (PRI ou VIO)
   C. Antecipando problemas, negando/recusando recompensas para si mesmo, retraimento social e isolamento (devido à baixa autoestima). VIO (PRI ou VIO)

2. Interpessoal (ações, conspiração, exclusão)
   A. Ações que ferem os outros fisicamente / causam danos (e.g., ao parceiro, amigo ou membro da família, a um estranho, ou a um grupo): atos deliberados ou aleatórios de violência, estupro ou agressão sexual, sequestro, assassinato. (VIO)
   B. Traçando conspiração ou expressando palavras depreciativas / ofensivas ou conceitos maldosos contra os outros (e.g., ao parceiro, amigo ou membro da família, a um estranho, ou a um grupo): insultar (e.g., gordo, pobre, feio, etc.) por vários meios (e.g., e-mails, notas em locais públicos, em conversas com terceiros), causando danos, desconforto ou inconveniente para a vítima; orientar, forçar ou coagir alguém a abandonar crenças pessoais. (PRI ou VIO)
   C. Suspender o apoio, excluindo ou deixando de defender contra o sofrimento de um parceiro, amigo ou membro da família, ou um estranho, levando a restrições de acesso a bens, necessidades primárias e liberdade. (PRI ou VIO)

3. Coletiva (ações, conspiração, exclusão)

A. Grupos deliberadamente agindo violentamente, acusando alguém de algo, punindo (e.g., processar com multas, prisão ou execução), desleal ou justificável, que viola / prejudicando os direitos humanos, tais como a vida, a segurança, a privacidade, bem-estar, status socioeconômico. (VIO)

B. Grupos deliberadamente planejando atos de conspiração contra alguém (e.g., indivíduos, grupos ou comunidades inteiras), o que viola / prejudica os direitos humanos, tais como a vida, a segurança, a privacidade, bem-estar, status socioeconômico (por exemplo, destruição de propriedade ou ambiente). (PRI ou VIO)

C. Grupos deliberadamente simpatizar ou excluindo, de polarização com base na idade, geração, gênero, orientação sexual, situação econômica, condição de inteligência, status religioso / cultural (e.g., indígenas, nordestinos, paganismo), raça, e que viola / prejudica os direitos humanos, tais como vida, segurança, privacidade, bem estar, status socioeconômico. (PRI ou VIO)

Demografia

Idade aparente do agressor e vítimas	Raça aparente do agressor e vítimas	Gênero
F. Criança: infante até 11 anos	D. Predominantemente branco/Europeu	M. Homem
G. Adolescente: 13 a 19		F. Mulher
H. Jovem adulto: 20 a 29	E. Parece negro ou "Mulato"	X. Grupos mistos
I. Adulto: 30 a 59	F. Parece ter mistura de raças	
J. Adulto idoso: acima de 60	X. Um grupo de raças misturadas	
X. Grupo de idades variadas		

Appendix 3

Back-translation
Content Analysis - Descriptions of the code system for the novella "Malhação"

<u>**Types**</u>
Priming (PRI): situations (stimuli) that may prompt or cause violence (e.g., conspiracy, provocation, depreciation, inflammatory remarks/ gossip against someone or some condition / social minority; isolation via the "no-touch"/non-contact policies); use of verbal comments, body expressions, images, sounds or music to provoke or insult. **PRI** does not necessarily lead to immediate violent actions, but it creates an anticipatory negative / aversive feeling in an individual (e.g,, the viewer).
Violence manifested / current (VIO): An actual violent event (e.g., attack, prey, "bullying," exclusion) that causes physical, psychological or social harm (e.g., lowering of social status, legal or economic implication) to someone or a group of individuals (victimize them). Aggressive actions that are used to protect / defend oneself or society (e.g., police intervention, counterattack with "zero tolerance") are also considered violence. VIO requires the victim identification and possibly the aggressor.

Intensity
PRI and **VIO** can be quantified as very *low(1)*, *low(2)*, *fair(3)*, *high(4)* or *very high(5)* intensity.

Categories
The proposed types here (WHO, 2002) divide violence into three broad categories according to the characteristics of those committing the violent act: self-directed, interpersonal and collective. These three categories are sub-divided to reflect more specific types of violence.

<u>**Categories and sub-categories**</u>
1. Self-directed violence (actions, thoughts / beliefs, isolation / self-exclusion)
    A. <u>Actions</u> that result in personal injury or risk to their health, self-abuse (e.g., pro-anorectic habits; teaming up with bullies, self inflicted punishment), and suicide. (VIO)
    B. <u>Expressing</u> self-hatred (self-handicapping) due to low self-image before others (e.g., derogatory remarks with own appearance, economic status, level of intelligence, sexual identity, etc.). (PRI or VIO)
    C. Anticipating problems, denying / refusing rewards to oneself, social <u>withdrawal</u> and isolation (due to low self-image). VIO (PRI or VIO)

2. Interpersonal (actions, conspiracy, exclusion)
    A. <u>Actions</u> that physically hurt/damage others (e.g., a partner, friend or family member, a stranger, or a group): deliberate acts or random acts of violence, rape or sexual assault, kidnapping, murder. (VIO)
    B. Plotting <u>conspiracy</u> or expressing derogatory / offensive words or concepts against others (e.g., a partner, friend or family member, a stranger, or a group): insulting (e.g., fat, poor, ugly, etc.) by various means (e.g., e-mails, notes in public places, in conversations with third parties), causing damage, discomfort, or inconvenience to the targeted victim; forcing, or coercing someone to abandon personal beliefs. (PRI or VIO)
    C. Withdrawing support, <u>excluding</u> or failing to defend against suffering of a partner, friend or family member, or a stranger, leading to restrictions of access to goods, basic needs, and freedom. (PRI or VIO)

3. Collective (stocks, conspiracy, exclusion)

A. Groups deliberately <u>acting</u> violently, accusing someone of something, punishing them (e.g., prosecuting with fines, imprisonment, or execution), unfair or justifiable, in violation / undermining human rights, such as life, security, privacy, wellbeing, socio-economic status. (VIO)

B. Groups deliberately planning acts of <u>conspiracy</u> against someone (e.g., individuals, groups or entire communities), which violates / harms human rights, such as life, safety, privacy, wellbeing, socioeconomic status (e.g., destruction of property or environment). (PRI or VIO)

C. Groups deliberately sympathize or <u>excluding,</u> biasing based on age, generation, gender, sexual orientation, economic status, intelligence condition, religious / cultural status (e.g., indigenous, Northeasterners, Paganism), race, violating / harming human rights such as life, safety, privacy, welfare, socio-economic status. (PRI or VIO)

Demographics

Apparent age of perpetrators and victims (in years)	**Apparent race of perpetrators and victims**	**Gender (single or combined: M-F etc.)**
K. Child: infant up to 11 years	G. Appears mostly White/European	F. Male
L. Teen: 13 to 19		M. Female
M. Young adult: 20 to 29	H. Appears mostly Black or "Mulato"	X. Mixed
N. Adult: 30 to 59		
O. Older adult: 60 or over	I. Appears mostly mixed race	
X. Mixed ages	X. A group of mixed races	

Appendix 4

Sex content--Codebook descriptions for "Malhação"

1. Types

Priming (PRI) (or cultivation): Situations (stimuli) that eventually will lead to or prompt **sex-related violence** (e.g., provocation, derogatory, gossip; discrimination); use of verbal comments, body expressions, images, sounds, or music. **PRI** does not necessarily lead to immediate violent actions, but it creates an anticipatory negative/aversive feeling in an individual (e.g., the viewer) that can turn into violence.

Manifest/actual violent event (VIO): An actual violent event (e.g., preying upon, harassing, raping) that causes physical, psychological, or social damage to someone (victimizing them). **VIO** requires identifying individual victim or a group (often women and children) and possibly a perpetrator or situation.

2. Class

A. Seduction – Appropriate or inappropriate (e.g., age, place/context)
B. Romance combined with seduction - Appropriate or inappropriate (e.g., age, place/context)
C. Misogyny or overt sex related violence – It can include even men as victims

3. Categories (3-point Likert scale: from minor, 1, moderate 2, to serious implication, 3)

A. Actions:
1. Fooling around, sexual arousal;
2. Cornering, female victimizing/undermining, female sexually-submissive behavior, male sexually-dominant behavior; objectifying women; sexualizing children or teens; prostitution; implicit intercourse;
3. Sexual harassment, explicit intercourse; rape; traffic or enslaving; murder crimes.

B. Messages:
1. Misconceptions about sexual behavior or gender roles, teasing;
2. Jokes, undermining females/minorities such as homosexuals, etc.;
3. Pranks/bullying, insulting.

C. Framing: angle of scene/camera towards body parts
1. Central focus of the camera on the sexual object—often a woman, or body parts;
2. Central focus of the camera on body parts that are being displayed as sensual (covered or exposed) such as mouth, legs, cleavage, chest, etc.;
3. Central focus of the camera on genitals (covered or exposed).

D. Body movement:
1. Insinuation, teasing;
2. Moving "forward," touching a partner for seduction or teasing;
3. Expressing sexual "moves" that resembles intercourse/domination/submission by touching, engaging in sexual arousal that lead to intimacy.

E. Clothing:
1. Inappropriate garment (e.g., use of revealing clothes in places that are not expected, or individuals whose roles require more formal clothes);
2. Exposure of parts of the body (e.g., belly, parts of the breast, hips and initial curves/shapes of genital areas—often in inappropriate locations);

3. Bare/naked body or showing underwear (e.g., showing panties under a skirt, or transparent blouse showing shape of breast or bra).

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4. Demographics

A. Apparent age of initiators or recipients (in years)	**B. Apparent race of initiators or recipients**	**C. Gender**
P. Child: infant up to 11 years	J. Appears mostly White/European	F. Male
Q. Teen: 13 to 19	K. Appears mostly Black or "Mulato"	M. Female
R. Young adult: 20 to 29		X. Mixed
S. Adult: 30 to 59	L. Appears mostly mixed race	
T. Older adult: 60 or over	X. A group of mixed races	
X. Mixed ages		

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Debra Frances Campbell (aluna)

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Prof. Dr. Afonso Antonio Machado (orientador)