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Television Advertising and Children

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TELEVISION ADVERTISING
AND CHILDREN

Honors 499
Vince DeLange
Advisor: Dr. Jay Lindquist
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The Learning Process

Before beginning the issue of advertising to children, it is important to first discuss the learning process of a child. A child is different from an adult in that the mind is not fully developed.

Cognitive Development

Cognitive development is a theory of how humans learn. It is the merger of experiences from the physical environment and the social environment into the thought process. Hereditary factors are also an important part of this process. Much of cognitive development is dependent upon the perceptive ability of the individual.

Children under two years old are in a stage called sensorimotor. During this period the child learns how to begin talking and using the physical abilities of the body.

Children between the ages of two and seven are in the preoperational stage. In this stage the children can't learn, think or even perceive as we do. The preoperational child cannot think inductively or deductively.

In this stage the child uses four different forms of thought: transductive thought, egocentric thought, magical thought, and animistic thought. Transductive thought is a form of prelogical thought that relates one event to another event simply because they occurred adjacent to each other.

Egocentric thought, in this context, means that the child feels everyone else must hold the same beliefs that he does.
The child also feels that what he knows, everyone else must know also.

Magical thought is when the child feels he has some super powers. This usually is a result of the confusion between cause and effect. My younger sister used to blow at a red traffic signal and when it turned green, as usual, she believed she had done it with such magical super powers.

Animistic thought is the thought that assigns human characteristics to inanimate things. An example is the child that talks to his/her teddy bear.

A child in the preoperational stage is also inhibited in other areas of the thought process. The nature of thought in this preoperational stage is different than adults in that the thought process is theorized to flow in only one direction. An adult can come to a conclusion and then think backwards to the starting point, but a child cannot. A young child's reality is based on what he perceives and yet his perceptions are inconsistent. Therefore, reality is only what the young child perceives it to be. Compounded with this fact is the problem that in many instances the young child confuses fantasy and reality. If the child perceives fantasy as reality, then it is reality for him.

Cause and effect are also very unclear to the young child because of the inconsistent perceptions. A classic example is one child's belief that the wind blows because the trees move.

After the age of seven the child enters the formal operations stage. In this stage the child begins to use both
inductive and deductive thought, but not consistently. However, all humans have their inconsistencies and preoperational thought often extends into the adult stage.

Application to Advertising

Advertisers sometimes use this illogical thought to help sell a product. This is most often employed when advertising to children. The advertisers try to sell to minds that do not think as adults do. However, they communicate the advertisement in a manner that best sells to the child, even if it seems ridiculous to adults. This is based on the theory that even though the children seldom have the money for a purchase, they almost always know who does.

Many people feel that this is one of the major problems with advertising to children. They oppose the use of their children as nagging experts because it causes domestic problems.

Another complaint is that television advertising is an unfair match between a child and a professional group. Robert Choate, President of the Council on Children, Media and Merchandising, put it this way: "The fact remains that any communication that has a $1,060 per-commercial scriptwriter, actors, lighting, technicians, sound effects, specialists, electronic editors, psychological analysts, focus groups and motivational researchers with a $50,000 budget on one hand and the eight year old mind (curious, spongelike, eager, gullible) with 50 cents on the other, inherently represents an unfair contest."
The Changing Advertising Environment for Children

Advertisers have realized that there are some problems and have been submitting themselves to self-regulation and the advertising environment has been slowly changing for the better.

In the past television advertising to children was not considered a problem at all. Few regulations were placed on the advertisers and many took advantage of the situation. This only gave advertisers a poor image that persists even today. In the past the advertisers would use loaded words, testimonial host selling, unproved assertions, and visual and audio exaggerations without worry. Today there is much closer surveillance and much of the above has ceased.

Advertising to Children: Traditional Concerns

There are many traditional concerns regarding advertising directed at children. The major ones will now be examined separately.

Host Selling

Host selling is a technique where the host of a children's television show endorses a product or service. A similar method is to use a famous personality to do the same thing. The problem is that many feel it is unfair to take people who are children's idols and pay them to support a product. Many children are too young to realize the intent of advertising, let alone the fact that the person is getting paid to endorse the product or service. There are a few simple tests to apply to any testimonial. First,

*Loaded words: These are words which are loaded with emotion. Examples are: best, biggest, gigantic, fastest, glorious, and futuristic.
ask if the speaker is an expert in the field, and second, if
the speaker is unbiased. Sounds fairly simple..................

..now try to explain it to a child.

Cartoons

Animation is an important visual method for advertisers.
Children are often more interested in commercials that are in
a cartoon format. Children over seven years old are not as
easily convinced by cartoons, however, the problem arises with
younger children. These children often have a hard time
determining when a program ends and an advertisement begins.
Many times they think that it is one continuous program.

Cartoon characters can do things on T.V. that would be
impossible for a human. At present this is not thought to be
deceptive because a child can supposedly determine the difference
between humans and cartoons or reality and fantasy. Cognitive
development has showed us that the young child cannot tell the
difference between reality and fantasy all of the time.

Suppose for example a child is watching Fred Flintstone
on television and a commercial comes on. The commercial is
for Fred Flintstone cereals and Fred is host selling the product.
If Fred is his or her favorite cartoon the child is likely to
want to imitate Fred and eat Flintstones cereals. This consumer
buying motive is unrelated to the nutritional value of the
product or even the taste. It is based solely on the illogical
mind of children who want to copy their idols.

A technique used a lot recently is where a commercial
using real people, also has cartoon characters in it. This only helps to distort the child's perception of reality and fantasy, combining them into utter confusion.

Premiums

Many consumer groups are opposed to the use of premiums in advertising. This is the practice of including a prize with a product. Many times the promotion of the prize lasts longer than the time allowed for product information in a television commercial. This sells the prize to the illogical child and thus the product is desired just to receive the inexpensive prize. Except in cases of a truly valuable toy, this practice promotes irrational consumerism. The child ignores the true value of the product and concentrates on the prize included. This infuriates many parents who buy a product for their child only to discover the purchase was a waste except for the short lived satisfaction that the child received from the prize.

The practice of premium offers is used by most of the cereal companies and this poses a special problem. Should advertisers be allowed to persuade children to purchase products based on this weak form of bribery, irregardless of the nutritional value of the product?

In 1974 the Federal Trade Commission requested that the advertising industry voluntarily discontinue the use of premium offers to children on television. The FTC feels that the purpose of premiums is to focus the child's attention on a
factor that is almost always completely irrelevant to the merits of the principle product and this adds to the child's confusion. However, not much voluntary action has been taken. A study conducted in 1975 found that out of 100 breakfast cereal advertisements on a weekend in April, 47 still used premiums as a selling device.

Audio-Visual Exaggerations

Many advertisers use the camera and sound production to make their products seem "larger than life." This practice is most common with advertisers of toys. The most popular effect by far is the extreme close-up. With this technique, the camera is focused on the product very close, thereby distorting the true size. With toys that move such as bikes and toy cars, this effect makes the toys appear to be moving at fantastic speeds.

Another technique is to amplify the sounds of the product or dub in real sounds. An example is the crashing of a plastic car into a wall and hearing the sound of metal being crushed.

Another concern is when advertisers use trick photography to make a toy appear to be doing things without the needed assistance from a child.

Number of Commercial Messages

A frequent complaint among concerned consumer groups is the number of commercial minutes allowed on children's television. The original limits placed on the amount of advertising during children's programs were left up to the judgment of each individual station. Soon it was realized that there had to be guidelines. The National Association of Broadcasters felt that
there was a difference between viewers on weekend and weekday mornings. The amount of nonprogram time per hour they originally suggested was 16 minutes for weekends. This was eventually reduced to 12, then to 10, and finally to 9.5 minutes on January 1, 1976. The limit of nonprogram time on weekdays is 12 minutes. These time limits set by the NAB are only for the member stations and have no effect on the independent stations. In 1974 the Association of Independent Television Stations agreed to the same guidelines on time limits that were prepared by the National Association of Broadcasters. Congratulations are due to these two organizations for showing that business is capable of self-regulation. However, many stations still exceed the proposed limits, but usually it is only by a couple of minutes.

Multiple Sales Per Advertisement

In over half of all toy advertisements, more than one product is offered for sale or are for sale separately. This can be very confusing to the young child who doesn't remember this significant fact. Children are often disappointed when they receive a toy only to discover it is incomplete. That is, the myriad of accessories shown in the advertisement are not included. Many times the words -- items sold separately -- is printed on the screen and the younger viewers cannot read it. Often the original toy advertised is inexpensive but when you add all of the accessories the price gets quite high. For instance, in December, I viewed 22 toy car advertisements and
the price for the basic car averaged around $4.50. The car plus all available accessories averaged out at about $23.00.

Lack of Specific Information

Product Usage

The goal of advertisers is to sell as many as possible of a given product. Because of this they are often reluctant to give information about the product that may limit its market. A product may be meant for children within a specific age, range, but they don’t specify it in the advertisement.

Some toys may be dangerous if not used properly. This is rarely ever seen or heard on advertisements even though it may be the most important factor in the buying decision.

Product Construction

The Materials

When a toy is advertised on television, it is difficult to ascertain what material it is made out of. Modern science has made it possible to make paper and plastic look just like wood or steel. The latter two materials are the most preferable and they are also used the least. The materials used help the consumer determine the durability of the product.

Assembly Required

To save money and make shipping more feasible, many manufacturers sell their products unassembled. Advertisers used to feel that this made no difference to the purchaser but as it turned out, the parent was often the one who did the assembly job. This used to be a bigger problem than it is now because
most advertisers now specify if the product needs assembly. However, this should be presented both orally and visually in the advertisement for the children who are too young to read.

Price

Pricing information is rarely given in the advertisement directed at children. This causes trouble when the child asks for a toy that is too expensive for the parents to buy. Disappointment in the child is the result of this situation and it places stress on the parent-child relationship. The absence of pricing information also adds to the confusion in the child when he attempts to evaluate the toys. Obviously, some of the critical information is absent.

Nutritional Caloric Values

Many groups are concerned that as knowledge about the importance of nutrition has been increasing, the overall balanced diet has become a vanishing phenomenon. The force behind this is felt to be the heavy promotion to children of food that is not nutritional. Many feel that such advertising has distorted the meaning of nutrition to the younger generations. The biggest problem has been the addition and promotion of sugar in food products. Heavily sugared food products are the largest group of products now being advertised to children on television. The per-capita consumption of sugar in the U.S. is 128 pounds per year. That is an immense amount of more than 1/3 pound of sugar each day for each person. Americans now receive around 24% of their calories from sugar and refined sugar has absolutely
no vitamins or minerals.

Sugar is a main part of many dry breakfast cereals. Advertisers promote these cereals as part of a nutritious breakfast. In reality some cereals are composed of an extremely large percentage of sugar. For instance, Kellogg's Apple Jacks are 57% sugar and Kellogg's Sugar Frosted Flakes are 39% sugar by weight.¹⁰

The role of sugar in health problems are at present unknown except in the case of cavities. At any given moment, there are an estimated 1 billion unfilled cavities in the teeth of Americans.¹¹

The Commissioner of Food and Drugs, Dr. Donald Kennedy, said that, "I strongly support action by the FTC to regulate the advertising of these products (sugared) directed to children." The American Medical Association and American Dental Association are both opposed to advertising of these products also.¹²

Much of the advertising for sugary candies promote the stickiness, chewiness, sweetness and length of time the candy stays in the mouth. The length of time sugar stays in the mouth is directly related to the occurrence of cavities. Cavities can only form when the sugar in the mouth breaks down the natural defences of the mouth.

Another problem is the promoting of sugared products as appropriate between meal snacks. This could be one of the reasons why 1/3 of the adult population is overweight.¹³
Obesity is usually bad for a person's health and it increases the possibility that heart disease, diabetes, or high blood pressure might develop.

OTC Drug Advertisements

Over the counter (OTC) drug advertisements on children's television is another traditional concern. Many feel that the U.S. is developing into a pill-popping, drug oriented society. Another concern is the amount of drug overdoses by young children. Every year about 25% of all poison accidents for children under five years old are due to aspirin overdoses. In 1976 the FCC refused to restrict OTC advertisements to late night viewing. They stated lack of evidence as to the results of daytime advertising with OTC ads and the First Amendment as the reasons. However, the Proprietary Association (a trade group of OTC drug marketers) set up an advertising code that banned all advertisements that lead children to use OTC drugs without parental assistance and forbid placing OTC commercials on programs directed specifically to young children. The FTC ruled that OTC advertisements must be the same as the claims and warnings on the labels that were approved by the Food and Drug Administration. This indicates that both private and federal agencies see this as an important issue and much has been done already to alleviate the problem.

Social Implications

Advertising has the potential to indirectly foster the modeling of socially desirable attitudes and behaviors. They
could also have the opposite effect and foster the modeling of socially undesirable attitudes and behaviors. Many children have learned to suspect advertisements as deceiving and bad. This same belief often transfers into a belief that all businesses and social institutions are likewise deceiving. The child may accept the ways of the world by becoming cynical and this may make him defensive and distrustful of society as a whole. It is possible that this may distort a child's views about morality, society and business.

Another complaint by concerned groups are the voices, characters and roles portrayed in television advertising to children. Minorities are often absent in commercials and this may lead to prejudice. Women are usually not portrayed in any roles other than that of a mother. This may lead children to have a negative attitude toward working mothers. In most advertisements aimed at children, an authoritative male voice comes over the soundtrack. This may make the advertisement to a child seem more like a fatherly order instead of a suggestion.

One study found that the characters and authoritative voices were male in 90% of the commercials investigated. These characters were also white in more than 90% of the ads. This is obviously not representative of our society as a whole.

Advertisers know that only rarely does a child have the money to buy their product. These advertisers rely on the ability of the child to be a very successful nagger. In one
study it was found that the mothers questioned admitted to giving in to their children as much as 88% of the time. This creates problems in the home and often leads to resentment in the parent-child relationship.

Involved Organization

Action for Children's Television (ACT)

This organization is very active in their attempts to change the television environment towards children. Hardly a month will go by when they don't petition a private or federal organization about television advertising and programming. This group is composed mainly of concerned parents. They ask for dues and donations to help fund private studies and to help publish results and books about this controversial subject. ACT has been instrumental in many of the changes that have already been made in advertising to children.

ACT favors a total ban on all television advertising to children. They feel that the networks and independent stations should pay for children's programming. They feel that this should also be supplemented by the federal government.

National Association of Broadcasters (NAB)

This organization is a voluntary, self-regulatory association whose members include about 60% of the stations in the country. They set guidelines for the member stations to follow and have thus far been very helpful in changing the children's television environment.

According to the NAB code, advertising of vitamins and
fireworks, and the use of host-selling should no longer be used on children's programs. Advertising time has also been voluntarily reduced by 40% on children's programs. This group is proving that business can use self-regulation successfully. This is helpful in eliminating many of the adverse feelings the public has towards advertisers.

Federal Trade Commission (FTC)

This organization is charged specifically with the job of policing deceptive promotions, as authorized in the Federal Trade Commission Act. These promotions include advertisements, sales practices and packaging.

The FTC has been very active in checking on advertisers to make sure that they abide by the rules. However, the FTC has not been very active in the question of children's advertising. The FTC believes that the best solution is self-regulation and will only intervene when it becomes evident that self-regulation will not work.

The FTC is at present holding hearings on the problems involved with children's advertising. Unfortunately, as with most government agencies, it will be about two years before the FTC will make any major announcements about appropriate action to be taken in relation to these hearings.

Federal Communications Commission (FCC)

This federal organization licenses individual stations and sets up the rules and regulations for broadcasting. The FCC has control over the amount of time allowed for advertising
on television and if warranted, they have the power to prohibit advertising on television altogether.

In 1970 ACT petitioned the FCC to eliminate advertising on children's television. In the next 4 3/4 years the FCC held extensive hearings and received over 100,000 letters (over 95% were in favor of the petition). This was the largest response ever received by the FCC for any rule making prior to that time. The FCC also accumulated 63 volumes of evidence in this time period. They finally decided that the best solution at this time was to rely on the involved industries to adopt self-regulation.

**Research Findings**

**Hypothetical**

Researchers have hypothesized about many things concerning television advertising to children. Many of these beliefs are held to be truths at this time. However, I am certain that future research will change many if not all of these beliefs.

It is believed that children can't always tell the difference between the program and the advertisements. This is based on the research that has been done in the field of cognitive development. But it is not known if this research can be applied to advertising.

Many believe that children do not have the ability to critically evaluate advertising. It is felt that children accept such advertising as an order instead of a suggestion and that children view advertising as a source of information.
Young children accept advertising as entertaining and part of the program. Because of this they are not aware of the selling intent of the commercials.

It is believed that the child soon learns that advertising is not always to be trusted and because of this becomes cynical towards all advertising. This leads the child to become skeptical towards all business and then towards all institutions. The children then become angry because of their inability to deal with false advertising and this in turn leads to tension. To reduce this tension, children remember what they believe in the advertisement and disregard the rest completely.

It has been hypothesized that advertising on television gives the child a distorted view of the world in general. This is based on the fantasy used in the advertising and also on the characters and roles that they play in the commercials.

Another important hypothesis is that all the drug ads on T.V. are making the children into a society of drug users. The children see so many different medications and all promise to give relief, so whenever they feel ill they want to take some sort of OTC drug. Many feel that these drug advertisements lead to many accidental poisonings every year. There is growing concern that the types of foods advertised on television are promoting bad eating habits. Rarely is there advertising promoting the nutritional diet. But, the child is constantly bombarded with the values of junk food.

Many have hypothesized that the television advertising is
socializing the children in a negative way. By advertising all kinds of products and their values to children, it is felt that the child is socialized into a materialistic animal. Children are promoted that it is important to "be the first one on your block" and try to obtain products that they don't really need. They are conditioned to believe that name brands are always the best products and that it is important to have the biggest, the fastest and the most expensive products.

Empirical

James Culley conducted some research to find out how consumers, industry and government felt towards the subject of children's advertising on television. He asked the respondents if they felt that there should be regulation of advertising directed towards children. The members of ACT voted 100% in favor of such regulation. Government workers indicated that 90% of them believed that there should be regulations. Over 65% of the students and townspeople questioned felt that there should be regulation. Only 34% of the respondents in advertising agencies felt that regulation was needed and 15% of the advertisers themselves felt the same. This information gives us some indication as to the feelings about such advertising in the U.S. today.

Tom Bever, a Columbia University Professor of Psychology and Linguistics, conducted depth interviews with 48 children between the ages of five and twelve. He found the children that were 5 and 6 years old regarded advertisements as
entertaining and were not fully aware of their intent to sell. The seven to ten year olds knew what ads should or shouldn't do, but couldn't evaluate them. He found that his resulted in tension and anger over not being able to cope with the bad advertisements. They became mad that they had to accept immoral practices and then generalized that all advertisements were misleading in some way.

By age eleven and twelve the children could tell a good and bad ad apart but had become defensive and distrustful of all ads.

Thomas Donahue conducted a study to determine the effect of commercials on black children. Many of the children surveyed indicated that they felt the characters portrayed in the commercials represented products even when it was a public service message.

He also found that 49% of the males wanted breakfast cereals just for the premium and 56% of the females wanted cereals for the same reason. Many of the children also felt that whenever they were sick a pill could cure them. These facts help substantiate some of the hypotheses previously stated about children's advertising.

Another study was conducted in New Jersey with children between the ages of three and twelve. The researchers interviewed a total of 48 children.

They found that by age eight, the children had decided
that ads were either all true or all false. If they felt that the ads were all untruthful, then they felt the same way about business and social institutions.

They found that most of the younger children were naive as to the purpose of advertisements.

Children between the ages of seven and ten felt that all advertisements were misleading. The researchers found that the false ads lead to tension, anger and hostility. The advertisements were accepted as an unavoidable hypocrisy and this was then generalized for the whole world.

The children between the ages of eleven and twelve were much more aware of the selling intent of advertising. Three fourths of these kids felt that advertisements were designed to trick them. The respondents felt that the only way to find out if an ad was truthful was to actually test the product.

The respondents in this age group had less frustration and hostility about the advertisements because they would retain what parts they believed were true and forget all of the rest. They had learned to accept the ways of the world by becoming cynical. This made them defensive and distrustful of society.

Scott Ward is a researcher who has done a lot of work in this field. He found that young children were not aware of the concept of commercials and felt that they were just part of the program.

Mr. Ward also found that children between the ages of eight and twelve had a fairly good understanding of the commercials
intent to sell. They gave a negative overall evaluation of advertisements due to their disappointments with products. Sixty-five percent of the children surveyed in the third grade felt that products they had bought were not what the commercials portrayed them to be. By sixth grade, 75% felt the same way.

Mr. Ward has found that the age of the child was not the determining factor but rather their stage in cognitive development. He also found that older children use television advertising more as a source of product information.

Another significant fact that Mr. Ward discovered was that the children's buying decision wins over the parent when the product is frequently used by them. Such is the case with breakfast cereals.22

Two more important researchers in this field are Thomas Robertson and John Rossiter.23 They found the children either feel that advertisements have an assistive intent or a persuasive intent. The persuasive intent was dependent upon the ability of the child to tell the difference between a program and an advertisement, to perceive the intended audience and the ability to cite personal experiences and the awareness of symbolic devices used in advertisements. Children who attributed persuasive intent had less trust in advertisements. They disliked the advertisements and this reduced the tendency to want every product.

Children who attributed assistive intent to advertisements liked and trusted the information.
Recognizing the persuasive intent of advertisements is the main factor in the child's attitudes towards television commercials. The researchers also felt that the determination of persuasive intent was dependent upon the age of the child.

When the child had determined the persuasive intent the ads were found to be less effective. Therefore, the researchers felt that the younger children were much more easy to persuade.

Clara Ferguson is a researcher from the University of Texas. She found in her research that at high levels of cognitive development the children had a more negative attitude towards advertising on television than at lower levels of cognitive development. She also found that the children's attitudes towards television advertising were inversely related to levels of socioeconomic status. That is, with higher levels of socioeconomic status there is an increase in negative attitudes towards television advertising.

Miss Ferguson also found that as age went up so did the negative attitudes towards television commercials. She felt that this could be related to their experiences with advertised products that didn't meet their expectations and by a more critical and intelligent analysis of the commercials.

She also discovered that kids liked ads that were entertaining, realistic, and informative as long as they were not shown too frequently.
Conclusions and Recommendations

Guidelines

The only conclusion I felt I could draw from all this information is that there must be much more research. Until then it is important to set guidelines for all advertisers to follow. The problem is who should set up the guidelines and who should enforce them.

I feel that self-regulation is the best solution. This would reinstate confidence in the public as to their attitudes towards advertising and business in general. However, so far self-regulation has been a weak solution only because advertisers fail to take the appropriate action. More research is definitely needed to determine more accurately what effects television advertising has on children. The advertisers must not be so concerned with the short term profits to be made, but should consider the long term result of total regulation or even prohibition.

Advertisers must consider the negative attitudes apparent in young children. These kids represent the future adult market and their attitudes are forming now. The value of commercial television may eventually deteriorate completely.

When television advertising loses its effectiveness there will be a reduction of television advertising and pay T.V. may take the place of commercial television and a valuable advertising medium may completely disappear.
However, good self-regulation would help improve this media for all advertisers. It is foolish for all advertisers to stand by while the few who sell to children destroy it for all.

The marketing concept includes the belief that the consumer is supposed to be satisfied at a profit. It is obvious from this, that profit is not the only motive of a company. Short term profit is definitely not the goal and the company should strive for meeting consumer needs at a long term profit. Therefore, if it means spending money on research in this area or setting up a fund for nutritional and dental information to balance the sugary commercials, it must be done.

If self-regulation is not used effectively the next step will be mandatory regulation. This would impress upon the public that business is not concerned with public welfare and only add to the cynical outlook the public already has towards business. The regulations would probably also be more strict and so it is obvious that self-regulation must be used effectively and it is up to the advertisers to see that it is.

Mandatory regulations might even be bypassed and the next step would be total prohibition of advertising to children. I feel that this would be a disadvantage not only to advertisers but to children as well. Advertising has the potential to be a positive social tool. Advertising can promote socially acceptable attitudes and also teach children social consumerism. Mandatory regulations and prohibition would only show the inability of those few advertisers in control to use the
capitalistic free system correctly.

I feel that there should be self-regulation of all the complaints that consumers have as explained in the traditional concerns section of this paper.

To let prohibition or mandatory regulations become a reality would only show the failure of our socioeconomic system.

I feel that there is enough government regulation already and it is truly depressing that more business people don't take action to secure the freedom of all to advertise, before television becomes a useless medium for business.

In the form of self regulation, I feel that it would be best to halt the use of host-selling, cartoons, premiums, audio-visual exaggerations and OTC drug advertisements to children. Specific information should be given on product usage, construction, price and nutritional caloric values.

This is the only way that the most powerful medium now available can be saved from a despicable few who wish to exploit it with the ultimate cost going to all.
FOOTNOTES


2 Ibid., p. 156.


6 Ibid., p. 22.

7 Ibid., p. 42.


12 Ibid., p. 73.


15 EARLE BARCUS, Children's Television - An Analysis of Programming and Advertising, p. 29.


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