USES AND GRATIFICATIONS OF VIOLENCE IN THE MEDIA: what we know about the causes of exposure and its effects on the audience

USOS E GRATIFICAÇÕES DA VIOLÊNCIA NA MÍDIA: o que sabemos sobre os motivos para a exposição e seus efeitos no receptor

USOS Y GRATIFICACIONES DE LA VIOLENCIA EN LOS MEDIOS: lo que sabemos sobre las razones de la exposición y sus efectos en el receptor

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ABSTRACT:
Studies show the quantitative and "qualitative" growth of violence in the media, as what points out that 80% of the content is violent. Violent messages make your audience also violent? This question has been the object of investigation of traditions that privilege the "effects" on the individual's behavior. For the possible effect, however, the motivations of the recipient, as well as their particular characteristics when selecting violent content should be examined. In this sense, we conducted a literature review of the Uses and Gratifications studies that explore the development of violent behavior. In addition to the fundamental characteristics to develop such behaviors, we categorize the factors for exposure to violence: 1. Habit; 2. Humor Management; 3. Personal Integration and 4. Social Interaction. Although the motives and exposure to media violence are consistent with the development of aggressive behaviors, these are not the most significant predecessors associated with such behavior.

KEYWORDS: Media violence; Audience and reception; Uses and Gratifications; Literature review; Effect of the Media.

1. Studies of media violence effects and studies of violent content selection

Studies on violence in the media have developed predominantly from the perspective of the effect of violent content on the behavior of its receivers. The violence presented in television, movies, games, or other platforms, is studied as being the cause of aggressive behavior because the content would work [1] as a disinhibitor of violence present in the individual, [2] would lead to a certain trivialization of the violent act, acceptance or "cultivation", [3] would lead to the physiological activation of aggression by the violent content, [4] would lead to catharsis, that is, the relief or satisfaction of the aggressive impulse through the vicarious experience of violence, thus reducing the likelihood of the aggressive behavior, [5] would lead to aggressive behavior based on

behavioral imitation through "observational learning" in the media (Baran & Davis, 2006; Mcquail, 2003).

Within psychosocial and cultural perspectives, it is known that important contextual elements are critical in shaping aggressive behavior. Conventions, cultural stereotypes, particular motivations, beliefs and opinions about justice and injustice, understandings about real and fictional violence, emotions, and previous experiences with acts of violence are all preponderant variables for the consequences operated by the consumption of mediatized violence.

The reward of the violent act is understood as a stimulus with disinhibitory effects, in that an unpunished robber can aspire to similar illicit acts, while the representation of the punishment of the violent act is understood as having inhibitory effects on identical behavior; motivated exposure to violent content produces a greater likelihood of aggressive behavior manifesting itself, although unwarranted or gratuitous media violence leads to a lower likelihood of aggression adopted by the audience. The perception of the reality of the violent act predisposes the audience to reduce inhibitions to aggressive behavior, since such behavior would apply to real-life situations, at least more so than unrealistic acts, such as those that can be seen in cartoons. Likewise, the feeling of involvement with the violent characters has a disinhibitory effect, because it would awaken a certain "identification" with the violent characters (Mcquail, 2003).

As a matter of fact, violent behavior seems to pervade not only the learning of media violence but also seems to be conditioned by the particular characteristics of the audience when selecting and consuming the violent content. One of these features relevant to the learning of aggressive behavior is the motives, uses and gratifications[1] that people exhibit when selecting violent content. Studies focused on the issues of media selection and exposure from the perspective of its audience have been conducted under the "Uses and gratifications theory" (U&G).

Although consolidated, this tradition has not yet had its portrayal established by a review that demonstrates its main contributions to the understanding of the process of development of aggressive acts by the audience. Accordingly, we conducted a narrative literature review of U&G motivational studies that explore such relationships. Here the "motives" have our analysis emphasis, however, other variables understood in the analyzed studies as relevant to the "effects", will be secondarily explored. The literature review work is of real importance since it recognizes and credits existing intellectual

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[1] Concepts used in the text as synonyms.

work, systematizes its contributions, highlights relevant concepts, procedures, discussions, and results.

2. Uses and gratifications of violence in the media and study procedures adopted

The approach examines what are the reasons for the evident appeal of media and various types of content by asking the audience what they think and appreciate based on their personal media use (Mcquail, 1993, p. 133).

It is important to emphasize that U&G is not a theoretical conception, but a multi-theory scheme that illustrates various strategies of theoretical integration, and that occupies a space between micro and macro theory (Palmgreen, Wenner, Rosengren, 1985, p. 15). Its basic premise is that [1] the social and psychological origins of [2] needs, generate [3] expectations of satisfaction (motivation) from [4] media or other sources, which lead to [5] different patterns of exposure, resulting in [6] gratifications of needs and [7] other consequences (Blumer & Katz, 1974).

In summary, the central conception of the approach is that the structure and circumstances of the receiver's social and personal context in conjunction with media availability provide an environment for establishing general media use habits. Exposure patterns are established according to the audience experience of the media and the evidence of obtaining the gratifications sought, or if the media does not demonstrate the capacity for this operation, the search for other sources of satisfaction is established (Ferreira, 2015).

Viewers' motives for watching televised violence, and the possible subsequent effects, have not been the predominant focus in past research and are not well understood (Haridakis & Rubin, 2003). Research conducted over the past 50 years has shown that the viewer's motivation and other characteristics can maximize or minimize effects on audience behavior (Rubin, 2002).

Thus, the studies selected in review (B-0n, Periódicos Capes and Google Scholar) were those that were shown to explore the "motivation for selective exposure to media violence and its subsequent effects," such as the development of aggressive behavior. This was the main criteria for the selection and inclusion of materials to compose the corpus of analysis. The keywords "Uses and Gratifications" "Media Violence" and "selective exposure"[2] were the descriptors of the contents that were to compose our selection. The emphasis in our review focused on how the motivation to watch violence

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[2] In English, Portuguese, and Spanish. The selection took place between July and August 2020.

helped explain aggressive bystander behavior, which is an outcome of interest to policymakers and researchers.

The result of the analysis of developed researches, after thorough verification engendered in our scope of interest, involved fourteen investigations (articles), dated from 1997 to 2012[3], one of them being a meta-analytical review study[4] and thirteen other studies[5] that emphasized statistical approaches: Hierarchical Regression, Path Analysis, Factor Analysis, Canonical Correlations, Pearson Correlations, Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA). Such techniques were employed to understand the direct and indirect influence of the studied antecedents on the "effects" of violent content, such as motives.

Such "effects" in investigations are understood as aggressive or violent behavior, triggered at first after the exposure of the violence in the media. Violence, on the other hand, is generally recognized in studies (both of the media and the audience) by scales of physical aggression, verbal aggression, anger, and hostility, a multidimensional construct that determines not only how aggressive a person is, but how it manifests itself overall. According to Buss and Perry apud Haridakis (2002), physical and verbal aggression involves "hurting or harming others," anger involves "physiological excitement and preparation for an aggressive episode," and hostility is "comprised by thoughts or feelings of animosity and unfairness".

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[3] No time restriction was applied to the selection of the material.

[4] Weaver AJ. A Meta-Analytical Review of Selective Exposure to and the Enjoyment of Media Violence, Journal of Broadcasting & Electronic Media. 2011;55(2):232-250.

[5] Mustonen A. Media Violence and Its Audience [dissertation]. Jyväskylä studies in Education, Psychology and Social Research. Jyväskylä; 1997; Krcmar M, Greene K. Predicting exposure to and uses of television violence Journal of Communication. 1999;49(3);24–45; Haridakis PM. Viewer Characteristics, Exposure to Television Violence, and Aggression, Media Psychology. 2002;4(4):323-352; Haridakis PM, Rubin AM. Motivation for watching television violence and viewer aggression. Mass Communication & Society. 2003;6(1):29-56; Greene K, Krcmar M. Predicting exposure to and liking of media violence: a uses and gratifications approach, Communication Studies. 2005;56(1):71-93; Krcmar M, Kean LG. Uses and Gratifications of Media Violence: Personality Correlates of Viewing and Liking Violent Genres. Media Psychology. 2005;7(4):399-420; Slater MD. Alienation, aggression and sensation seeking as predictors of adolescent use of violent film, computer and website content. Journal of Communication, 2006;53(1):105-121; Rosaen SF, Boison AR, Smith SL. Aggression-Related Characteristics and the Selection of Media Violence Zeitschrift für Medienpsychologie. Hogrefe Verlag. 2006;(18):119-130; Jansz J, Tanis M. Appeal of playing online First Person Shooter Games. Cyberpsychol Behav. 2007 Feb;10(1):133-6; Przybylski AK, Ryan RM, Rigby CS. The motivating role of violence in video games. Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin. 2009;(35): 243-259; Cheever N. The Uses and Gratifications of Viewing Mixed Martial Arts.Journal of Sports Media. 2009;(4):25-53; Chory RM, Goodboy AK. Is Basic Personality Related to Violent and Non-Violent Video Game Play and Preferences?. Cyber psychology Behavior and Social Networking. 2011;14(4):191-198; Brown D, Lauricella S, Douai A, Zaidi A. Consuming Television Crime Drama: A Uses and Gratifications Approach. American Communication Journal. 2012;14(1):47-60.

Although people may learn such aggression or be encouraged to behave violently after being exposed to violence (Bandura, 1994). Furthermore, the interpretative process of the data privileged the synthesis (generalization) of the motivational concepts observed as well as of other variables relevant to the study of the consumption of violence in the media. With the constant comparison technique, used widely in the content analysis method, we verified the consistency of the presence of the investigated concepts through the frequency of their appearance, as well as the conceptual characteristics of the relevant categories that should describe the phenomenon.

3. Motives: uses and gratifications of violent content consumption

3.1. Habit - Pass Time

The habitual, repetitive or routine consumption of media content inadvertently leads the viewer to consume violent content since it is widely disseminated in the media.

Habit is a behavior understood as automatic, absent of full consciousness and that occurs through procedural memory, considered primitive. Based on stimulus-response memories, habit is related to the customs or practices of a social or individual group to respond in a predictable and seemingly automatic way to an external or internalized stimulus (Reading, 1994). In this way, its major characteristic is precisely to lead to almost zero selective behavior, a poorly motivated audience, as well as not subjected to elaborate argumentation (Brubaker, 2000, p. 327).

Because the receiver becomes accustomed to watching a certain broadcaster, for example, he subjects himself to an assiduous and generalized exposure to the programming, non-selective of its contents and with low levels of affinity with them (Ferreira, 2015). What occurs here is a high regard for the medium, such as print media or television, or a particular broadcaster, and not necessarily regard for the content watched. This means that the exposure to violence is almost fortuitous, exclusively a function of the choice of the medium and channel that distributes it. The audience is, in short, an activity that has no purpose other than its own practice, which ultimately shows us that unintentional exposure triggers a great deal of the violence conveyed in the media. This would be the best explanation as to why some studies find habit to be one of the predictors of exposure to violence (Mustonen, 1997; Haridakis, 2002; Haridakis & Rubin, 2003; Weaver, 2011; Brown; Lauricella, Zaidi & Douai, 2012).

In studies that purport to look at the frequency of motivations, it is not uncommon for habit to be held as the strongest justification for exposure to violence (Haridakis & Rubin, 2003; Haridakis, 2002; Brown; Lauricella, Zaidi & Douai, 2012).

3.2. Mood Management/Unwinding

Several terms under review can be summarized in the category of mood management: entertainment, self-excitement, fun, escape, avoidance of problems, thrill-seeking, vicarious experience, physiological arousal, relaxation, escape from boredom, fantasy. However, they are all conceptually related to the idea of Mood Management, first proposed by Zillmann (1985), and which is for us the key concept of the reason for the exposure to violent content.

All related terms designate the desire of the receiver of violent content to maximize or minimize his or her state of tension, disposition of temper, state of mind, or mood. It is with exposure to violent content that the receiver obtains affective and cognitive reactions that modify his state of arousal, signifying this change as a desirable experience. In this regard, it should be pointed out that receivers present themselves to violent content in a diverse mood state (little/very bored; little/very stressed), and such states can be regulated to a greater or lesser degree of success with the content chosen. On account of this reason for the selection and consumption of violent content are two evident variables, the characteristics of the violent content that appear to the receiver to be "exciting" or "calming" and the receiver's own mood that needs to be regulated.

Zillmann (1985) in his study of the "experimental exploration of gratifications from media entertainment" says that media products enable considerable excitement through stimuli such as suspense, mystery, and adventure, producing mostly affective (emotional) reactions. On the violent content side, it is important to notice the variety of elements presented, the dynamics of its development; the charisma of the characters; the intensity of the stimuli presented; on the other side, we must observe the initial disposition of the receiver when exposed to violence, the logic or scheme presented by the author being unique on how receivers manage humor through the initiation of desirable reactions (cognitive and affective).

In his studies, Zillmann proves that receivers select television programs by basing their choices on their evaluations of the stimuli that would bring them to an internal balance. The attractiveness of violent content is connected to the chances of it helping the receivers to escape emotionally from their respective states of undesirable arousal. Those who are upset and bored, for example, end up more exposed to content that changes their initial moods to a more intense state, with the pursuit of action, and why not, violent content, that subjectively provides the receiver with an escape from their initial mood.

Thus, stressed people generally seek programs whose stimuli are perceived to neutralize their stress states, according to the logic that certain content can cause a

subjectively calming effect such as romantic, fantasy, musical content, or any other content that subjectively provides a reduction of their level of disturbance (Zillmann, 1985, p. 230). Because the presentation of the receiver's state of arousal is varied, the receiver may even perceive violent content as an opportunity for relaxation, a cooling of their mood. Such potentiality is related to the so-called "law of initial value", which predicts that the receptor excitation reactions with a recreational activity are expected to depend on the initial state of the receptor (Zillmann, 1991, p. 106-107).

In the evaluation of the consequences of selective exposure in Zillmann's study, it is pointed out that the characteristic choices of the dull and bored receivers were to consume exciting content in order to correct their mood deficiency, however, what emerged as a result of the consequences of exposure (the receivers had their heart rate telemetrically monitored) is that they did not always get the planned effective stimulation. Exposure to "exciting content turned out to be just as calming as exposure of these receptors to stimuli thought to be equally calming," Zillmann points to one of his findings.

This occurred because the viewers whose arousal states were expected to be high could only get a higher level of arousal from the level they already experienced, and thus only programs that could stimulate the audience with even higher levels than they already experienced would provide the expected results, i.e. changes in the initial mood/humor state. This explains a lot about the use of violence with the purpose of excitement, of raising the mood, although some use it to calm down.

In summary, such indications mean knowing that violent products have the ability to engage their receptors to different degrees of excitement, according always to the initial state of the receptor at the moment of exposure. In this way, violent programs have the ability to provide a physiological re-balancing of their audience, which ultimately explains the demand for violence in the media. Several studies support such logic (Mustonen, 2006; Conway & Rubin, 1991; Haridakis, 2002; Slater, 2006; Rosaen, Rosaen, Boison & Smith, 2006; Jansz & Tanis, 2007; Greene & Krcmar, 2005; Krcmar & Kean, 2005; Przybylski; Ryan & Rigby, 2009; Chory & Goodboy, 2009; Brown; Lauricella, Zaidi & Douai, 2012).

Greenberg found that children and adolescents preferred to watch violent programs when they sought to be "aroused" by viewing television, to "forget personal problems," and "as a means of self-arousal" (Haridakis, 2002). In Cheever (2009), we saw martial arts, a sport considered violent, selected for consumption because it was "exciting" through vicarious experience.

Such an experience provides the receiver with the ability to live with or through the character, the experiences related in the scene. Therefore, violent sports represent a portion of content justified by managing the mood of its consumer, for example, as with violent video games, which according to Chory and Goodboy (2011), its user seeks to mentally assume identities different from his own, to "imaginatively play" thus experiencing alternative realities.

Finally, in the study by Haridakis and Rubin (2003), the authors talk about relaxing, unwinding, resting, forgetting about school, work or other tasks, and entertainment, as it is fun and enjoyable. Not that violence in itself is entertaining, but it has the potential to divert viewers' attention from their personal problems, and in the period that comprises the activity of watching violent content, they can escape from the psychological origin of undesirable moods. Such potentiality is eminently enjoyable.

3.3 Personal integration

Motive is not as often related to violent content as Mood Management and Habit, but it has still been explored and associated with exposure to violent content (Haridakis, 2002). In the study by Haridakis and Rubin (2003) this motive is held as the third strongest found for exposure to violent content, with the intention "to learn about myself and others, what could happen to me, and things I have not done before". Such a concept appears in our review with terms like counseling, curiosity, learning, information seeking, and vigilance.

Learning new behavior, making decisions, solving problems, reinforcing positions, styles and attitudes, are all possible practices if violent content proves adequate for these purposes. The acquisition of knowledge is related to the subjective contact of the receiver with the representation of the social meanings of violence, in a process of cognitive reaction to information flows. The stimuli "processed, subjectively evaluated and selectively stored" (Ferreira, 2015) have as a consequence, the possibility of being taken into practice, such as with a violent act.

Rosaen, Boison & Smith (2006) believe that violence can be employed as a tool to solve social problems. The media would provide scripts of violent behavior that could be the selection motive for acquiring knowledge about aggressive methods to solve conflicts, deal with frustrations, or even protect oneself from them: - violent content offers a safe environment to face life-threatening conditions and learn to control fears and anxieties (Bryant & Zillmann, 1984; Zillmann & Bryant, 1986; Krcmar & Greene, 1999). This strategy would be oriented to the reflection, refutation or reinforcement of aggressive attitudes, to monitoring and learning against an alleged violent act, as well

as on the consequences of the violent acts operated, as seen, above all, in fiction and in the news through accusation, imprisonment and punishment (Krcmar & Kean, 2005).

This kind of voyeurism, surveillance or curiosity is found in many studies such as that of Brown; Lauricella, Zaidi, & Douai, (2012) investigating television crime dramas and their instrumental potential. Coupled with the point of interest, whether of the bad guy, the hero, the victim or witness, the consumption of violence is much more than a morbid curiosity about violated social rights, it is here the glimpse of a topic of social interest that can be observed, reflected upon and referenced without guilt or fear of subsequent reprisals (Mustonen, 1997).

Individuals who play violent video games, for example, do so generally to master their own skills, not the aggressive behavior itself, but the techniques and skills required to overcome their opponents. Here, therefore, the fundamental motivation is still learning, but not of social behaviors related to violence, but of situations of competence and autonomy related to the performance of the game (Przybylski, Ryan & Rigby 2009). These contexts of demonstrating or exceeding competence mean "beating other players" by learning or perfecting game techniques such as memorizing shortcuts, gaining advantages, developing strategies, and quickly moving your fingers over the controls (Jansz & Tanis, 2007). Even though this exposed idea reveals the desire for self-improvement with violent content, it is not violence itself that is the object purpose of the user of the games.

In any case, this variant of "personal integration" still aims at learning, and the violent content is the source of satisfaction of this need. Along with these specificities, there are in fact numerous records of association between the selection of violent content and the intention of deliberate learning, whether for the operationalization of the aggressive act or for its justification.

3.4 Social interaction

The last reason usually given in investigations about violent media consumption (Haridakis, 2002; Haridakis & Rubin, 2003; Jansz & Tanis, 2007; Cheever, 2009; Chory & Goodboy, 2009; Brown, Brown; Lauricella, Zaidi & Douai, 2012). Social interaction, a less frequent reason in association with violence in the media found in our review, is conceived by the receivers' search for socializing with others at the moment of its emission, as well as in moments after the exhibition, being the intrinsic subjects of the content the link for exchanging impressions and experiences among peers.

The sense of socialization and belonging with others, or the subject for conducting conversations as a motive for exposure to media content is not new (Johnstone, 1974),

For example, in the 1940s there was already talk about the uses of the audience to maintain social contact, as Lull (1980) had also described in a study, viewers that "adopt each other's television habits (...) to model social behaviors". The use of media content for the purpose of social interaction demonstrated, for example, how family-oriented parents were heavy receivers of children's content for "improving social relation at home".

On this aspect, Stephenson (1988, p. 88-89), clarifies that the chances of social interaction are maximized when the subject mediating the relationships is widely shared. In this sense, situations mediated by what is most popular in society, or alternatively, situations of common danger, would be the conditions that would support key interests for socialization, "making it easy for everyone, of any status, age, intelligence, class, to talk to each other inside and outside the home."

In this sense, we find numerous pieces of evidence of the use of violent media for socialization purposes. Brown; Lauricella, Zaidi & Douai, (2012) in their study of crime dramas linked this variable for exposure to the purpose of "talking to others both after and during the crime dramas". In line with the results of other studies, the sociocultural context of viewing crime content has been shown to be equally relevant.

In the Dutch study that looked at online games with a violent character, Jansz and Tanis (2017), find the same interest in social interaction. Although first-person shooter games like Counter-Strike are often the subject of concern due to hypotheses of their use for modeling equally violent behavior, the motivations for their consumption seemed much more diverse. Most prominently, the players most engaged in gaming were those who considered themselves members of a clan, with the motive of social interaction being the strongest predictor of time spent gaming (Jansz & Tanis, 2017). The same happens with viewers of sports considered to be violent such as mixed martial arts, (MMA) who "may engage in male bonding behavior while viewing the violent sport". During the fights, the men discuss the sport and the way it is played, the technique and skill of the fighters, just as they would watch football or other sports watched with a group (Cheever, 2009).

4. Motives vs. exposure to violence vs. aggressive behavior

Haridakis (2002) linked in a study four motives for violence use, habit, mood management, personal integration, and social interaction. Haridakis and Rubin (2003) in attempting to observe such links concluded that all of the motivations mentioned here except social interaction correlated positively and significantly with exposure to violence. Habit and mood management have been shown to be variables more strongly linked to

exposure to violent content, especially mood management (Mustonen, 1997; Rosaen, Boison & Smith., 2006; Greene & Krcmar, 2005).

Overall, the studies indicate that violent programs show themselves much more like a ritualized experience (Habit, Mood Management), that is, without the intention of instrumentalization of the information consumed, than an instrumental experience (personal integration, information seeking, social interaction). This means knowing that nonviolence-related outcomes (hobby, mood management) are much more often intended than consciously instrumental outcomes, of modeling aggressive or anti-aggressive behavior, for example. However, along with the receiver's instrumentalized disinterest in violent content, most studies that seek to observe the relationships between U&G, Exposure and harmful effects, point to consistent associations between mood management, exposure, and the development of aggressive behavior.

Rubin (1993, p. 100) speculated that "people may be motivated to seek and learn information, but that other perceptual or emotional outcomes [may] not require such a motivated state". This might suggest that the unintentional use of violence might predict aggressive viewer behavior, at least "more so than instrumental use." Such relationships are ratified in the study by Haridakis (2002), Haridakis and Rubin (2003) in which mood management and exposure to media violence directly associated with the development of aggressive behavior.

More surprising than this result, are the claims that in a more complex scenario of studying the possible variables incident to the phenomenon of developing violent behavior, exposure to violence does not figure as the strongest predictor of these established relationships, at least no more so than the personality characteristics of the bystander. Thus, the results are consistent with the assumptions that individual characteristics and expectations mediate the impact of exposure (Haridakis & Rubin, 2003).

This means that individual characteristics predicted aggressive attitudes, "often independent of motivation, contextual factors or attitudes, and exposure. There was no conclusive direct link between exposure and aggression" (Haridakis & Rubin, 2003, p. 29). That is, motivation and exposure to violence, in the studies under review, are indeed associated with violent behavior in society, however, personality antecedents are much more strongly linked to the conditioning of aggressive behavior (Mustonen, 1997; Haridakis, 2002; Rosaen, Boison & Smith., 2006; Greene & Krcmar, 2005).

"This does not mean that exposure does not contribute to negative effects. It simply means that audience characteristics and communication motivation may make

more significant contributions to effects such as aggression" (Haridakis & Rubin, 2003, p. 52).

Accordingly, the aforementioned authors argue that if research can identify audience characteristics and motivation for media use that contribute to potentially harmful effects of violence, their results can help policymakers develop a more effective approach to dealing with these effects, at least more so than the approaches used in research that focused on exposure to content. In this context, U&G proved to be a valuable perspective for examining media violence and viewer aggression, particularly by postulating that individual characteristics and expectations mediated the impact or "effect" of exposure. On the characteristics most strongly operative on the development of aggressive behavior, we obtained from the review, the antecedents that would best explain violent receiver behavior, at least among those already elected for investigation.

5. Audience characteristics related to the development of aggressive behavior

Attempts to understand the spectator's aggressiveness biased by the audience of violent messages have invariably embraced so many other variables capable of affecting the development of aggressive behavior. Because U&G assumes that psychological and social circumstances affect use. Scholars investigate relevant factors that have cumulatively received considerable attention in other work on the effects of violence (Mustonen, 1997; Haridakis, 2002; Haridakis & Rubin, 2003; Rosaen, Boison & Smith, 2006; Greene & Krcmar, 2005; Przybylski, Ryan & Rigby, 2009; Chory & Goodboy, 2011).

Social scientists, clinicians, and other medical professionals have investigated many circumstances that arguably can affect aggression, such as neighborhood crime, social status, violence in the home, physical abuse, family attitudes, and other personality and social occurrences in one's life (Haridakis & Rubin, 2003).

The variables most often allocated in research are social experiences associated with violence, as well as personality traits, as seen in the NEO-Personality Inventory (Mustonen, 1997), in which five personality factors are measured, such as the 1. Neuroticism, a category characterized by anxiety, tension, emotional instability (bad mood, depression, impulsiveness) low self-esteem, anger, and vulnerability; 2. Extraversion, ease of social interaction, desire for contact with people, participation in group activities; 3. Openness to Experience, an orientation toward experimentation with fantasy, aesthetics, feelings, actions and values, new stimuli; 4. Conscientiousness, level of attention, perception of what is going on around; and 5. Agreeableness; the opposite characteristic of the first trait described here. People with high agreeableness tend to be

less aggressive, have a generally low tolerance for emotional disturbances, and have little or no attraction to violent programs.

Locus of control (LOC) was another factor evaluated in the reviewed studies. It characterizes the belief of how much people feel they can control the events in their lives. In this context there are people who believe in external control forces, such as chance, luck, destiny, while other people believe in internal control, being primarily responsible for the course of their lives. According to Haridakis (2002), viewers who believed that forces outside of their control controlled their lives were the ones who consumed the most violent content and had the most fearful beliefs about society.

Personal experience with crime is another variable that has been studied concerning the development of aggressive behavior in conjunction with media exposure. Studies suggest that people from high crime areas may be affected by media violence differently than people from environments with low crime. Viewers from an urban housing area considered violent were found to show greater physiological arousal to dramatized violence. These findings suggest, as U&G assumes, that the impact of media messages is mediated by social experiences (Haridakis, 2002). Other studies have found that victims of aggression tend to behave more aggressively when exposed to violence in the media.

Like Greenberg, scholars observe the possible relationship between prior aggressive attitudes and their consequences (Haridakis & Rubin, 2003). Aggression or inhibition/disinhibition for the violent act can be measured by numerous instruments, such as the aforementioned composite of physical aggression, verbal aggression, anger, and hostility scales.

In addition to the motivation to watch media violence, exposure and background, i.e., factors that are characteristic of personality and social experience, the way viewers perceive and use violent content are measured in order to ascertain their influence on the effects. The viewer's engagement with the content would potentiate its effects, since the larger the content, the better the capacity for cognitive elaboration, which may lead the individual to more easily learn or imitate violence or its justification.

Perceived realism reflects one's feelings about the media content's ability to represent a real fact of life (Haridakis, 2002; Haridakis & Rubin, 2003), and such portrayals have a greater impact on aggressive attitudes and behavior than fantasies or unrealistic depictions of violence, which would lead to a greater likelihood of modeling behavior. Other socio-demographic factors are also thoroughly evaluated such as age, gender, social class, level of education, religion, etc.

In review, the most explored variables associated with viewer aggression were the male gender, external locus of control, prior experience with crime, entertainment motive, exposure to violent content, and prior aggression, however, according to Haridakis and Rubin's (2003) study, the characteristics of experience with crime, male gender, and external LOC, predicted aggressive attitudes often unrelated to motivation, exposure, realism, and involvement. Such a finding is at odds with research suggesting that exposure to violence leads to aggression. What these findings point to, in summary, is that the psychological and social circumstances that the audience brings to the viewing experience are more predictive of aggression than the exposure itself (Mustonen, 1997; Haridakis, 2002; Haridakis & Rubin, 2003; Greene & Krcmar, 2005; Krcmar & Kean, 2005).

6. Final considerations

Habit and mood management motives are associated with exposure to violence and the development of aggressive behavior in the audience. Given the condition of a large amount of violence distributed in the media, it is a matter of concern within the scope of social violence, but one that during the study proved to be an unnecessary concern, since such associations of exposure to violence and the development of aggressive behavior in the audience, happen only indirectly, manifesting itself only when mediated by additional personality characteristics of the receiver, such as being of the male gender, having previous experience with crime, and believing that the course of life depends on chance or luck.

Even with the establishment of these connections, the phenomenon of exposure to violence and the development of aggressive behavior remains without definitive conclusive positions and still needs further studies. For the time being, we can only point out that this field of study has generally moved beyond looking at personality traits and social experiences while still looking at media exposure and use. There seems to be in the research field, a recognition of the take on the forces operating in the phenomenon of media violence, in a more balanced way between these variables than previously established in the initial studies.

Although several psychosocial factors have been shown to be consistent predictors of aggression, more so than exposure to violence itself, the motives under study are relevant variables, as we see in the study by Haridakis and Rubin (2003, p. 52). Therein we see that exposure explained less of the variation in aggression than audience motives in all regression equations. "In every regression equation except for verbal aggression, at least one motive was a significant predictor of viewer aggression. (...) Across the regression equations, motivation was more influential in predicting aggression than was

exposure". Thus, motivations still play a key role to be highlighted and studied in future research.

As the aforementioned authors argue, this does not mean that exposure does not contribute to negative effects. It simply means that the characteristics of the audience and the motivation for exposure may contribute more significantly to the effects of media violence. Finally, and for an even more detailed perspective of the phenomenon in question, in addition to the movement of expanding the analysis of the variables to be contemplated in research, a more detailed examination is needed of the contexts of the audience activity and its consequences, which include their perceptual relations of the content under analysis, involvement, realism, sense of justice, reward or punishment of violent acts, among others, that may help to clarify, together with those already highlighted, the repercussions of the development of aggressive behavior in society.

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RESUMO:
Estudos constatam o crescimento quantitativo e "qualitativo" da violência nas mídias, como o que aponta que 80% dos conteúdos são violentos[6]. Mas mensagens violentas tornam sua audiência também violenta? Essa indagação tem sido objeto de investigação de tradições que privilegiam os "efeitos" sobre o comportamento do indivíduo. Para o possível efeito, entretanto, as motivações do receptor, bem como suas características particulares ao selecionar conteúdos violentos devem ser examinadas. Nesse sentido, realizamos uma revisão de literatura dos estudos de Usos e Gratificações que exploram o desenvolvimento do comportamento violento. Para além das características fundamentais para desenvolver tais comportamentos, categorizamos os fatores para a exposição à violência: 1. Hábito; 2. Gerenciamento do Humor; 3. Integração Pessoal e 4. Interação Social. Muito embora os motivos e a exposição à violência das mídias sejam consistentes com o desenvolvimento de comportamentos agressivos, esses não são os predecessores mais significativos associados a tal comportamento.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Violência na mídia; Audiência e recepção; Usos e Gratificações; Revisão de literatura; Efeito dos Meios da Comunicação Social.

RESUMEN:
Los estudios muestran el crecimiento cuantitativo y "cualitativo" de la violencia en los medios de comunicación, ya que lo que indica que el 80% del contenido es violento ¿Los mensajes violentos hacen que su audiencia también sea violenta? Esta pregunta ha sido objeto de investigación de tradiciones que privilegian los "efectos" en el comportamiento del individuo. Sin embargo, para el posible efecto, deben examinarse las motivaciones del receptor, así como sus características particulares al seleccionar contenido violento. En este sentido, realizamos una revisión de la literatura de los estudios de Usos y gratificaciones que exploran el desarrollo del comportamiento violento. Además de las características fundamentales para desarrollar tales comportamientos, clasificamos los factores de exposición a la violencia: 1. Hábito; 2. Gestión del humor; 3. Integración personal y 4. Interacción social. Aunque los motivos y la exposición a la violencia en los medios son consistentes con el desarrollo de comportamientos agresivos, estos no son los predecesores más importantes asociados con dicho comportamiento.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Violencia en los médios; Audiencia y recepción; Usos y Gratificaciones; Revisión de literatura; Efecto de los medios de comunicación.

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[6] Ver WEAVER (2011).