

Mood Management through music and TV consumption

When misery loves company
(Zillmann, 2000)

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Abstract

This systematic review lays out the basics of mood management theory and describes related research. The use of music and TV is motivated by mood management purposes. Mood management theory assumes that individuals with a bad mood are motivated to enhance their mood by means of listening to energetic-joyful music or watching comedy. In contrast, individuals with a good mood prefer to maintain this mood. Results support the mood management theory; individuals are indeed motivated to enhance their moods by means of media stimuli. TV viewing as well as listening to music is used as an effective way to regulate one's own mood. In addition, this review also addresses some gaps and inconsistencies in the existing evidence in order to inspire future research. Some challenges (e.g., the enjoyment of negative media content and gender differences) and advancements (e.g., mood adjustment approach) must be taken into consideration. The results need to be interpreted with caution because of the small number of studies on which these conclusions are based.

Keywords: mood management; self-selected exposure; music consumption; film consumption; challenges; systematic review .

INTRODUCTION

Although we cannot change the world the way we would like, we can influence our affective perspective by mood management (Knobloch, 2003). Analysis of self-regulation and adjustment of mood seems to be getting more attention within the past decades (Thayer, Newman & McClain, 1994), possibly because mood has been recognized as a central element of our human behaviour (Thayer, Newman & McClain, 1994). In addition, mood management is used often in our common daily activities (Thayer, Newman & McClain, 1994). Rippere (1977) found that the most frequently mentioned categories of mood management are social (e.g., see people), cognitive (e.g., think about it), exercise (e.g., go for a walk), direct action, distraction and listen to music. Due to the great offer of media, access to efficient stimuli – which can be used to regulate one's mood – is convenient in modern civilization (Knobloch, 2003). Media have been known to influence moods (Westermann, Spies, Stahl & Hesse, 1996). In fact, it has been thought of to be a vital force in improving mood and subjective well-being (Zillmann, 2000).

The use of music and TV or other media content is motivated by mood management purposes (Zillmann, 1988a). Zillmann (1988a) provided the dominant approach to the study of regulation and management of one's own affective state. This mood-management theory is based on the premise “that people, in their efforts at improving affective and emotional experience, follow a hedonistic impulsion toward pleasure maximization” (Zillmann, 1988a, 1988b). The theory was originally referred to as the theory of ‘affect-dependent stimulus arrangement’ (Zillmann & Bryant, 1985), although it became better known as ‘mood management theory’ (Zillmann, 1988). According to the hedonistic premise individuals (a) “strive to rid themselves of bad moods or seek to diminish the intensity of such moods” and (b) “strive to continue good moods and seek to maintain the intensity of these moods” (Zillmann, 1988a). As a consequence, individuals arrange internal and external stimuli in order to minimize bad moods and maximize good moods (Zillmann, 1988a).

Probably the most important challenge to this theory is the question of why one would ever expose oneself to sadness and down-bringing entertainment content. In addition, another question rises: why would individuals prefer media that intensify an adverse mood state (Mills, 1993; Oliver, 1993)? The aim of the current review is to

evaluate research on (a) mood management through music and TV consumption and (b) challenges to mood management assumptions including (I) the paradox of enjoyment of negative emotions in music and TV consumption, (II) mood adjustment and (III) gender differences in mood management.

There has been research on mood management through TV consumption and – although to a less extent – to the role of music in mood management. The paradoxical appeal of sad music and tragedy in films, in particular, has been largely neglected (Knobloch, Weisbach & Zillmann, 2004). Motives for inhibiting good moods and maintaining bad ones have also received little attention (Parrott, 1993). Why should people voluntarily expose themselves to despair and bitterness in music or films? Prior to provide possible answers, a review of the existing literature will be presented. A review of the results of studies on mood management through music consumption may challenge scientists to carry out more research on this interesting topic.

METHOD

A systematic, computerised search of the literature was conducted. The used literature was found by means of Google Scholar, Pubmed and PsychInfo, from 1979 to 2007. The following key words were used: “mood management”, “mood adjustment”, “mood management and music”, “mood adjustment and music”, “mood management and TV”, mood adjustment and TV, “mood management and gender differences”, “enjoyment and negative music” and “enjoyment and negative TV”. The reference lists of all selected publications were checked to retrieve relevant publications which had not been found with the computerised search. Authors were contacted with the request for an electronic copy if relevant studies could not be found by other means.

The included studies had to focus on mood management through mass media, in particular music and TV. The most outstanding feature of this search is the published dates of the data: little research was done before 1980 on this particular subject.

Because of the small amount of reports, studies of poor methodological quality were admitted. However, the results of these studies were interpreted with caution.

MOOD MANAGEMENT THROUGH MUSIC AND TV CONSUMPTION

Mood-influencing characteristics of media-stimuli

Mood management theory has been developed to explain and predict media choices (Knobloch, 2006). Different types of messages affect different moods in different ways (Zillmann, 1988). It is important to identify characteristics of media stimuli in order to connect mood states and media content choices (Knobloch, 2006). For that reason Zillmann (1988) proposed four dimensions of media content in the light of mood management theory; the excitatory potential, the absorption potential, semantic affinity and hedonic valence. These characteristics will be further explored in this section.

First, the “*excitatory potential*” of a message modifies the experienced intensity of moods” (Zillmann, 1988). For example, fast music is likely to increase arousal, while slow music usually calms people down (Knobloch, 2006). Content also relates to the excitatory potential of a message (Knobloch, 2006). For example, a violent movie tends to be more exciting than a nature documentary (Zillmann, 1988). Following mood management theory individuals who suffer from boredom would be advised to expose themselves to exciting media content. The aroused person, in contrast, would be advised to consume non-exciting material (Zillmann, 1988).

The second dimension is the “*absorption potential*” (Zillmann, 1988). Media consumption can interfere with or change an existing mood. The degree of interferences or change depends on the absorption potential of media content (Knobloch, 2006). Mood change will be more likely when the absorption potential is high. Thus, persons who want to inhibit or terminate a mood should expose themselves to highly absorbing messages, for example energetic-joyful music. In contrast, persons who want to maintain their mood should minimize distractions (e.g., avoiding music) (Zillmann, 1988).

Third, it has been demonstrated that the absorption potential of a message is increased by high degrees of “*semantic affinity*” between mood and message (Zillmann, 1988). Semantic affinity refers to the connection of media content to a personal situation. When a particular media content is relevant for a particular person, this media stimulus will be more likely to change an existing mood. When a mood is positive, this high affinity may be wanted, but it would not be pleasurable to reinforce a negative mood (Knobloch,

2006). For example, persons who just broke up may avoid watching romantic tragedy because they do not want to reinforce their negative mood (Knobloch, 2006).

A final important factor is the “*hedonic valence*” of a message (Zillmann, 1988). Pleasant messages intervene more effectively in bad moods than unpleasant ones (Day, 1980). In addition, good moods are better maintained by exposure to pleasant rather than to unpleasant media content (Zillmann, 1988). Complications arise with interpretations of what presents a positively or negatively valenced messages. Oftentimes a message that is ‘good news’ to someone means ‘bad news’ to others (Zillmann & Knobloch, 2001). To summarize, it has to be noted that the four characteristics of media content are not entirely distinct and independent; for example, an exciting message could also be absorbing (Knobloch, 2006).

In the majority of the reviewed studies the hedonic valence, excitatory potential and absorption potential were not clearly differentiated in pretests (Knobloch, 2006). This is a complex problem; categorization of media messages is often challenging. Moreover, no study rigorously tested the content of semantic affinity and produced unambiguous findings (Knobloch, 2006). More research is requested on these specific dimensions.

Awareness of mood management

Individuals who conduct mood management do not need to be aware of this mood optimization (Knobloch, 2006). Individuals in a mood may simply “feel like doing this or that”. They may feel like watching drama or comedy or listen to a particular music genre, without knowing why they do so (Zillmann, 1988). On the other hand, learning processes create mood management processes (Zillmann & Bryant, 1985). It has further been assumed that unconscious choices made during bad moods that reduce or inhibit a negative state, leave a “memory trace” that increases the likelihood for making similar choices under similar circumstances (Zillmann, 1988a). In the same way, a “memory trace” is formed during good moods (Zillmann, 1988a).

The assumptions on level of awareness have great impact for the methodological design of empirical research (Knobloch, 2006). Self-report measures appear to be the only way to study this theory empirically. With this limitation in mind, two experimental studies on mood management through music will be evaluated. In addition, another five articles concerning mood management through TV consumption are

discussed in the next section. The characteristics of the most important articles are presented in Table 1 (Appendix).

Empirical evidence of mood management through music consumption

Enhancing negative mood

Empirical investigation of mood regulation or management referring to the hedonic valence of material is difficult to conduct (Knobloch, 2006). Valence of media content depends on individual interpretation. What one person likes, another dislikes. Furthermore, hedonic valence can be confounded with other “mood-impacting” content characteristics (Knobloch, 2006). For instance, fast music might elicit a positive spirit but it also has high levels of arousal. The following studies, concerning mood management through music, will reflect these complexities on the valence dimension of mood management.

Knobloch and Zillmann (2002) let respondents (116 undergraduate students) participate in a computerized research session. Participants were free to choose from pop music after mood was induced by means of feedback on a social skills test. Results indicated that respondents in a bad mood preferred exposure to highly energetic-joyful music over low energetic-joyful music to a higher degree than did respondents in a good mood. Similar, participants in a neutral mood also preferred exposure to highly energetic-joyful music over music low in these qualities to a higher degree than did respondents in a good mood. In addition, results revealed that persons in a good mood condition tended to switch more frequently between the offered songs. An explanation of this unexpected difference is that persons in a bad mood seem to understand what they need to enhance their state, in contrast to persons in a good mood who do not feel the necessity to regulate their own mood and just try out the different musical offerings. Thus, persons in a bad mood focus more in their choices than persons in a good mood (Knobloch & Zillmann, 2002). These findings support the mood management hypothesis; participants were motivated to consume media stimuli in a way that minimizes bad moods and maximizes good ones (Zillmann, 1988a). Not entirely in accord with the mood management hypothesis is the choice behaviour in the neutral mood condition. Selective exposure in this condition appeared closer to that of negative than to that of positive mood. A possible

explanation could be that people were dissatisfied with their average performance on the mood manipulation task, the social skills test; they expected to be better than others and were therefore brought into a negative mood state. In addition, it might be that the manipulation of the negative mood condition was not effective (Knobloch & Zillmann, 2002). Due to the association between “energy” (absorption potential) and “joyfulness” (hedonistic valence) it is not clear whether subjects were focused on disrupting or improving the negative mood by their preference for energetic-joyful music (Knobloch, 2006). This provides an example for the indicated complexities of the valence dimension of mood management. Results are plausible due to excellent methodological quality of this study, as a consequence of the use of a control group and a large sample (Table 1).

Konecni (1982) supported the above findings on mood management through music. The author conducted a series of experiments in which pre-choice mood was manipulated. State of annoyance was predicted to influence the selection of music, which differed in cognitive and emotional quality. Consistent with mood management predictions, results indicated that annoyed respondents preferred music of high melodic complexity, in contrast to respondents in a neutral affective state. Unconsciously, respondents in an annoyed affective state were drawn to complex stimulation, which formed a distraction from their aversive experience. Unfortunately, the ecological validity of this study is limited because the tones of the musical stimuli were artificially generated by a computer (Knobloch, 2006). As a consequence these findings have to be interpreted carefully.

In conclusion, these studies both support the assumptions of mood management through music. Accordingly, individuals are motivated to improve their negative state by means of listening to highly energetic, melodic and joyful music. However some difficulties arise when referring to hedonic valence of media stimuli.

Empirical evidence of mood management through TV consumption

Boredom and stress

According to Knobloch (2006) a large part of mood management research has been conducted experimentally. According to Zillmann’s assumption (1985) selective exposure patterns do not acquire much cognitive attention. Therefore, methodological

examinations frequently relied on unobtrusive measures. The next study, concerning mood management through TV consumption, provides an excellent example.

Bryant and Zillmann (1984) were the first to conduct an investigation in which boredom and stress was induced and the effect of this state on the preference for TV program was examined. During a waiting period participants were required to make a selection out of 6 programs. The observed patterns revealed that bored respondents avoided exposure to relaxing programs and showed a strong preference for exciting material. This supports the hypothesis of mood management. In contrast, stressed participants conformed less closely to the expectations. They elected to expose themselves as much to exciting as to relaxing material. An explanation for this unexpected result might be that young people – who participated in this study – avoid non-exciting, “dull” programs in general (Bryant & Zillmann, 1984). However altogether, stressed respondents exposed themselves significantly more to relaxing programs than did bored participants and bored respondents exposed themselves significantly more to exciting programs than stressed participants did (Bryant & Zillmann, 1984). Overall, this confirms the mood management hypothesis on arousal regulation via media consumption. A limitation of this study is the absence of a control group (Table 1), which must be taken under consideration.

Disrupting negative moods

Zillmann, Hezel and Medoff (1980) described an experiment which employed a mood induction procedure, after which participants (N=72) were asked to selectively view sitcom, action drama, or game show programs. Major strengths of this study are the inclusion of a control group and the high ecological validity (Table 1). Selective exposure patterns were measured. Results revealed that these patterns were not in line with mood management predictions. Low exposure to comedy in the condition of negative affect was indicated; participants in this condition tended to avoid comedy. In addition, in the condition of negative affect, selective exposure to games was significantly higher to that in the positive-affect condition; which is in support of the mood management theory. In contrast, participants in a positive affective state showed a preference for action drama. In summary, the findings on exposure to game shows support the mood management theory, but the findings on exposure to comedy contradict it. The investigators interpreted this as

a role of the semantic affinity to the origins of a negative mood. Humour in comedy can be hostile (Zillmann, 2000). Prime time comedy is laden with “put-down” humour (Stocking, Sapolsky & Zillmann, 1997; Zillmann, 1977). People who experience negative affect can link this hostile comedy to a negative experience they just had (Knobloch, 2006). Thus, exposure to this type of comedy would decrease their mood and should be avoided according to mood management theory. The investigation shows that the seeming contradictory findings are actually consistent with the predictions of mood management theory (Zillmann et al., 1980), since people select exposure to those materials that lessen states of negative affect. This study is of good methodological quality (Table 1).

In addition to this hostile and aggressive tendency, fear and its influence on media choices have also been investigated by Wakshlag, Vial and Tamborini (1983). Fear was induced on half of the research participants by showing a crime documentary. A control group was shown an inoffensive film. Following this mood manipulation, participants were required to choose seven out of fourteen film descriptions. The results showed that participants with increased fear levels preferred films with low victimization- and with high justice levels. Wahkslag et al. (1983) considered these results as support for mood management theory. Media users aim to minimize stimuli which are associated with the source of a negative mood. The findings can be interpreted in two ways: in terms of hedonic valence or semantic affinity (Knobloch, 2006). With hedonic valence, participants preferred positive content with less violence and more justice (Knobloch, 2006). This positive content intervenes effectively in bad mood. On the other hand, in terms of semantic affinity, one could argue that the participants avoided media content similar to the source of their fear (Knobloch, 2006). These findings support the interpretation of Zillmann et al. (1980); hostile comedy could be linked to a negative affect that individuals just experienced. In terms of mood management, avoiding this kind of comedy enhances their mood. In sum, the contradicting empirical finding that people avoid hostile comedy is in accord with mood management considerations.

Field studies of mood management through TV consumption

In contrast to the experimental studies above, field studies on mood management examine selective exposure (Knobloch, 2006). Occasionally, field studies on mood management did not relate to the mood management theory. Some studies focused, in particular, on the time spent watching television, instead of the favoured content (Knobloch, 2006). For example, research of Schmitz, Alsdorf, Sang and Tasche (1993) associated mood states with the amount of TV exposure and then did not test the mood management claims. However, a study of Anderson, Collins, Schmitt and Jacobvitz (1996) did aim at media content instead of just exploring the amount of time spent watching television. Participants (N = 329 families) were required to report their mood and TV consumption in diaries at specific times of the day for an extended period. This longitudinal study revealed an association between stress and increased comedy and decreased news viewing. In addition, some gender differences were found. Stressed women not only watch more overall TV, their interest is mainly in game programming. Stressed men watched more action and violent programming. Thus, mood management theory was confirmed; stressful life events indeed influence viewing behaviour. Because a field study was conducted and respondents ranging from age 18-88 were used, the ecological validity is enhanced. Brosius, Rossmann and Elnain (1999) conducted a similar study on a German sample. Their findings support the results of Anderson et al. (1996). Overall, in addition to empirical evidence, evidence from this field study also supports the mood management theory; stressed individuals are motivated to enhance their mood by means of consumption of positive media content. Though gender differences are presented which must be taken under consideration.

Survey of mood management through TV consumption

The use of surveys to investigate mood management is often problematic. For example, social desirability of respondents may influence answers and thereby will bias self-reports (Zillmann, 1985). However, the transparency of the procedure determines the extent of this problem (Knobloch, 2006). A survey of Meadowcroft and Zillmann (1987) connects mood management assumptions to unobtrusive measures. These investigators were interested in the influence of the menstrual cycle on preferences for TV genres. In

this longitudinal study, females (N=135) in different phases of their menstrual cycle, were required to indicate which program they would prefer to watch that same evening. Women were given the opportunity to select comedy, drama or game-show programs. The results showed that premenstrual and menstrual women expressed a greater interest in comedy than did women midway through the cycle. This is exactly as predicted by mood management theory. In contrast to the selection of comedy, neither drama nor game-shows selection produced a significant effect. Taken together, these findings indicate that women are inclined to choose entertainment programs to enhance their negative mood. Helregel and Weaver (1989) conducted a follow up of this study for mood states during pregnancy and found similar results.

Conclusion

Despite poor methodological quality of some studies (Table 1); the reviewed empirical-, field studies and surveys all provide consistent evidence for mood management hypothesis. Individuals are indeed motivated to enhance their moods by means of media stimuli. TV viewing as well as listening to music is used as an effective way to regulate one's own mood. Though, some gaps exist in this theory. For example, persons in a negative mood state do not expose themselves to comedy with a hostile content. However, in line with mood management theory, hostile comedy elicits a negative response which should be avoided. Still, another gap exists concerning mood management assumptions; the reported gender differences. Anderson et al. (1996) found that stressed women watched more game programs, while men watched more action and violent programming. This gap will be discussed in the next section, which also explores other challenges to mood management theory.

CHALLENGES TO MOOD MANAGEMENT THEORY

It is generally assumed that also negative emotion in music and films can be enjoying (Levinson, 1990). Apparently, under certain circumstances a non-pleasurable experience is even preferred over a pleasurable one. Preference for tragedy, horror and sad love stories are all not explained with mood management arguments, because this media content does not provide a positive ending (Metzger, 2000). The paradox of the

enjoyment of negative emotions in music and film poses a strong challenge to mood management theories and will be discussed (Zillmann & Gan, 1997).

A second challenge to mood management theory is an approach developed by Knobloch (2003): the mood adjustment approach. This theory describes circumstances where disagreeable or negative moods appear functional. Individuals are driven to maintain an unpleasant mood instead of improving it. Within mood adjustment theory, individuals may find a task or situation easier when in an unpleasant mood.

Finally, gender differences will be explored. Generally speaking, women comply with the expectations of mood management theory, whereas men do not. Mood adjustment approach (Knobloch, 2003) and response style theory (Noelen-Hoeksema, 1987) have been applied to address this challenge. In addition, explanations for these gender differences will be discussed.

I. The paradox of the enjoyment of negative emotions

Self-selected exposure to tragedy, sadness and in general negative emotions, can not be explained with mood management considerations, because they do not provide positive endings (Metzger, 2000). This negative media content thus does not correspond to hedonistic principles. According to mood management theory (Zillmann, 2000), exposure to negative media content can be unintentional, because the media consumer is not aware of the tragic or horrifying ending. In this particular case, exposure to down-bringing content would not contradict mood management theory, because its assumptions are based on motivation instead of actual effects of media use. These effects may not be what the individual had expected and anticipated (Knobloch, 2006). Though, some individuals who consume these down bringing media stimuli, are aware of a tragic ending and do prefer to watch it.

A variety of explanations have been brought up in literature. Aristotle is the first to answer the question of the appeal of tragedy. He proposed that tragedy arouses pity and fear to accomplish the “catharsis” (an intense emotional experience which helps to resolve a psychological conflict) of such emotions. Later, Hume (1757-1965) suggested that feelings of sadness in reaction to tragedy serve to intensify feelings of enjoyment and pleasure. Explanations for this paradoxical appeal will be considered in the following and

can be grouped into different domains: (1) downward comparison principle; (2) exposure to the negative to feel good; and finally (3) an associative network explanation. The characteristics of the most important articles are presented in Table 2 (Appendix).

Downward comparison principle.

One of the first explanations for exposure to negative media content was explored by Wills (1981), who developed a new line of research in psychology. According to this author, negative news is pleasurable because it offers an opportunity for downward comparison. The theory of downward comparison contains a basic principle; “individuals who experience negative emotions or affect can improve their subjective well-being through comparison with a less fortunate other”. This is an extension of Festinger’s (1954) concept of social comparison. Downward comparison can occur on a passive or active basis. One can increase the psychological distance between the self and the other (passive) or downward comparison can be achieved by (actively) causing harm to another person. This theory also includes three sub principles: (1) persons who are low in self-esteem are more likely to engage in downward comparison, (2) Downward comparison is often directed at lower status individuals and (3) people are ambivalent about downward comparison. Wills (1981) suggest that social comparison represents the motivational process for phenomena such as enjoying negative media content. Although, this explanation may sound logical, little empirical evidence on this content is available (Knobloch, 2006).

The findings by Mares and Cantor (1992) provide empirical support to the downward comparison principle. This quasi-experiment examined the effect of negative and positive valenced images on the affective response of elderly viewers (N= 94). Lonely and non-lonely participants were given a series of descriptions of television programs and indicated their preference for seeing each program. Results indicated that lonely individuals preferred negative to positive images, and non-lonely persons preferred positive to negative ones, which is in support of the social comparison hypothesis. According to social comparisons theory, the lonely elderly may have been motivated to expose themselves to negative images in order to improve their own subjective well-being through comparison with less privileged others. In addition, lonely individuals felt better after viewing the negative images than after the positive, whereas

non-lonely persons felt better after viewing the positive one. Results also indicated that individuals preferred viewing programs about people of their own age. This is, again, in line with social comparison theory. Making comparisons is most relevant about similar people, for example people with the same age category. A limitation of this study is the use of self report measures; elderly have much difficulty completing questionnaires. This decreases the methodological quality of the study.

Knobloch, Weisbach and Zillmann (2004) explored the downward comparison process in music exposure. The quasi-experimental design focused on the hypothesis that romantically disappointed men and women are attracted to love-lamenting music. Participants (N=52) were, according to a questionnaire, assigned to three different groups; (1) individuals in a steady relationship (Happy Steadies), (2) individuals who are single, but try to find new dates (Discontent Searchers) and (3) singles, who would like to date a specific person (Unhappy Longers). For a restricted period, respondents were given the opportunity to freely listen to the available songs. Exposure to sad love music was unobtrusively assessed. Results indicated that Unhappy Longers spent more time to love-lamenting songs than the less dissatisfied participants. In addition, male discontent searches preferred love-lamenting to love-celebrating music to a degree greater than male Happy Steadies. Not content women similarly favoured such music more than more hopeful women did. Nevertheless, women in happy relationships exhibited an unexpectedly preference for love-lamenting music instead of love-celebrating music. Thus, for men, results completely replicate earlier findings; regarding women, the replication was only partial. It seems that young adults who are romantically dissatisfied seek understanding, comfort and consolation in the musical expression of others' similar misery. This is in line with the downward comparison theory, though some limitations should be considered. Music preference should, for example, also be observed in a setting that provides music without a romantic theme. Some listeners would avoid love music in general. In addition, the effects were demonstrated with non-native English speakers. Therefore, it is not certain how the lyrics of the English songs were interpreted.

In contrast to the preceding study, Gibson, Aust and Zillmann (2000) suggested that loneliness proved unimportant for the enjoyment of love lamenting music-videos. The findings provide no support to the hypothesis that lonely adolescents especially enjoy love lamenting-music. However, results indicated that love-celebrating songs were

significantly less enjoyed by highly lonely males than by less lonely males. Lonely young men apparently find it difficult to enjoy others success, which supports the downward comparison principle. In contrast, highly lonely females enjoyed love-celebrating songs more than less lonely females. This tendency accords with mood management considerations; positive music is consumed for mood repair. The investigators suggest that male competitiveness and a tendency to respond with envy, prevents men from enjoying love celebrating music. In addition, ethnicity was explored too; blacks enjoyed negative love music more than whites did. Different results were found when music choices had to be indicated in a hypothetical situation of romantic success or failure. The students were asked to imagine themselves in two situations: being abandoned by their lover vs. reciprocation of love from the target of their romantic affection. Most respondents reported that they would match the music's mood to their own. To summarize, this study does support mood management theory for women and also confirms the downward comparison process in men. However, men and women are also motivated to make mood congruent choices.

Overall, the principle of downward comparison is supported by the quasi-experimental studies. Especially men tend to expose themselves to negative images or music in order to improve their own subjective wellbeing. However, women contradict this theory and confirm mood management predictions. This particular gender difference will be discussed later on. First some other explanations for the exposure and enjoyment of negative media content will be further explored.

Consumption of negative media stimuli to feel good

Another explanation for self-selected exposure to negative emotions was provided by Oliver (1993). This author emphasizes the importance of meta-emotions (appraisals of emotional reactions) in a study exploring the enjoyment of sad films. Students (N = 227) were required to indicate their ratings of sad responses and ratings of enjoyment in reaction to a sad film. The study showed that sad reactions in response to sad films were positively associated to enjoyment. Especially women reported a stronger reaction both in terms of enjoyment and of sad responses than men. According to Oliver (1993) an experience of sadness may be valuable and gratifying by some individuals. A tendency for enjoying sadness appears likely for those – especially women – who have been

rewarded for showing sadness and empathic distress. On one hand this study relied exclusively on self-report measures, as a result social desirability may bias the outcomes. Unobtrusive measures can be used in addition. On the other hand, the design used was longitudinal which assess a more stable mood state than a cross-sectional design. Besides, a control group was present and a large sample of subjects participated in this study, which enhances the validity and reliability (Table 2).

In addition, research of Mills (1993) suggested that feeling sad due to watching negative media content might serve to confirm that the self features empathy as a favourable trait. Two versions of a film were shown; both concerned an accident of a girl. In the less tragic version the girl was able to leave the hospital healthy. However, in the high tragic version she was told that she would be paralyzed. Results indicated that empathy was positively correlated with the appeal of the film for the highly tragic version and not correlated for the less tragic version. Thus, as expected, participants (N= 292 female students) who empathized with the victim enjoyed the high tragic version more than the less tragic version. Results revealed that people hold the attitude that it is good to empathize with suffering (Mills, 1993). In this case, individuals exposed themselves to media in order to work on their self. This study assesses an “attitude interpretation” of the appeal of tragedy. In an attitude interpretation people find tragedy pleasurable because they think it is good to feel bad when someone is suffering (Mills, 1993). An important limitation is the use of only female participants (Table 2). Female respondents could be more likely to hold the attitude that it is good to empathize with suffering (Mills, 1993). Therefore, results are not representative for a general population.

A quasi-experimental study by Wied, Zillmann and Ordman (1994) supported the findings of Mills (1993) for a general population. The study explored the enjoyment of cinematic tragedy. It examined the paradoxical relationship between the intensity of empathic distress during exposure to the film and the extent of enjoyment following exposure on the other hand. Respondents (N= 99) were shown a movie and rated their emotional reaction to three different scenes and the entire film. The findings show that high empathizers, who experienced significantly more empathic distress during the film, also enjoyed the entire film significantly more than low empathizers. This again supports the notion that people enjoy an empathic reaction during a movie because they believe it is good to feel bad when someone is suffering (Mills, 1993).

The results of Oliver (1993), Mills (1993) and Wied et al. (1994) are inconsistent with the assumption of downward comparison. Downward comparison assumes that people find tragedy appealing because they compare their lives with others suffering and feel better about their own lives. If people find tragedy appealing because it makes them feel better about their lives, they should feel good at the end of the tragedy. Nevertheless, in these studies the individuals felt worse at the end of the tragedy. Participants, however, enjoyed these negative emotions because they hold the attitude that it is good to feel bad when someone is suffering. This attitude has especially been found in women. Future research on this specific topic should focus on the attitude of men.

An associative network explanation of music consumption

Finally an explanation for the enjoyment of negative media content is presented by Schubert (1996). This author developed an associative network model in order to provide a mechanistic explanation of the enjoyment of negative emotions in music. “Associative network is a broad term which describes models based on interconnections (links) between simple units (nodes)”. The enjoyment and preference of negative emotions can be explained by the principle of habituation. Listeners become bored when music with the same kind of emotion is heard over and over again. As a result, they search for something more stimulating. Different nodes need to be activated at different times to maximize arousal and pleasure. Composers can encode contrasting moods in their music, which stimulates the nodes and maximizes the pleasure. In addition, more emotional content is preferred to less emotional content. However, it is not clear whether this model explains all aspects of the paradox in question.

Overall, three different explanations have been developed to clarify to enjoyment of negative media content: (1) downward comparison principle, (2) seeking out the negative to feel good and (3) an associative network explanation. The downward comparison principle has been consistently supported in men by the three quasi-experiments. However, three other studies demonstrated that women tend to support the notion that it is good to feel bad when someone is suffering. Due to poor methodological quality the associative network model can only be seen as a suggested explanation; however no definite conclusions can be drawn.

II. Mood Adjustment

Mood adjustment approach (Knobloch, 2003) poses the second challenge to mood management theory. This approach suggests that “individuals aim to regulate their mood in order to meet the requirements of anticipated situations”. In other words, individuals consume media that helps to set the desired mood. This approach describes circumstances where disagreeable or negative moods appear functional. In certain situations persons may be driven to maintain an unpleasant mood instead of improving it. Depending on the adjustment goal, individuals may prefer media content that impairs the hedonic quality of their mood. This impairment, for example, may help them to focus on a non-pleasurable task. Individuals may conduct tasks which are more easily met in unpleasant moods, such as completing a difficult exam. In this situation, quiet concentration promises better outcome than pleasant distraction (Knobloch, 2006). Thus, one should not optimize their mood but maintain an unpleasant one to enhance future outcomes. Often, not mood optimization but mood adjustment is likely during media consumption. Knobloch (2003) tested the mood adjustment approach. Participants (64 students) were led to believe that they would have to anticipate different activities after a waiting period. The upcoming activities were either pleasurable (e.g., a funny game) or non-pleasurable (e.g., a serious task). During the waiting period participants were offered the opportunity to listen to their favourite music. The selective exposure to energetic-joyful music was unobtrusively recorded.

Results revealed that mood management processes occurred in the beginning of the waiting period; bored individuals listened to energetic-joyful, distracting music. However, mood adjustment set in toward the anticipated activity. Respondents anticipating work on the serious task sought to adjust their mood as this activity approached; they decreased their listening to distracting music and listened to more peaceful music. The unpleasant mood was maintained in order to successfully complete the boring task. This supports mood adjustment considerations. However, participants anticipating the enjoyable game, showed only a slight increase in listening to high energetic music. This suggests that they do not feel the necessity to regulate their mood. Both conceptualizations of mood regulation – mood management and mood adjustment – have been operating. Mood management can thus be supplemented by the mood adjustment approach. Despite of the

use of a control group and randomisation, the nature of the sample (undergraduates) and the predominance of females are limitations to ecological validity (Table 2). Future investigations should study other parts of the general population.

III. Gender differences in mood management research

The final challenge to the assumptions of classic mood management theory concerns the reported gender differences. Repeatedly, mood management studies revealed different selective exposure patterns for men and women. Generally spoken, women comply with the assumptions of mood management theory, whereas men do not (Knobloch, 2006). Work by Biswass, Riffe and Zillmann (1994) provides a good example of gender differences in media selection. News preference of individuals, depending on their mood state, was examined. The authors found that women in a bad mood preferred positive news, whereas women in a good mood selected less positive news. The findings of this study are in line with mood management predictions. However this pattern was not found for men.

Medoff (1979) demonstrated strong gender differences in the consumption of comedy, manipulated in states of frustration and annoyance. In accord with mood management considerations, frustrated and annoyed women exposed themselves more to mild comedy than to serious drama, thereby enhancing their moods. Men, in contrast, clearly avoided comedy, challenging theoretical expectations.

As presented earlier, Anderson et al. (1996) found in a field study that men and women make different TV choices when under stress. Stressed women watch more game shows. However, when under stress, men preferred violent, action programs.

Finally, Master, Ford and Arend (1983) found that bad moods induced different needs for stimulation in 4- to 5-year-old boys and girls. The investigators placed these children into a nurturing, neutral or hostile social environment and then provided each child with the opportunity to watch television (children programs). The findings showed that boys who had suffered from hostile social conditions exposed themselves for significantly longer periods to the nurturing program. However, the effect was not observed for girls. A possible explanation for this unobserved effect could be that the mood manipulation for girls failed. They were not effectively placed in a nurturing,

neutral or hostile environment. The difference between boys and girls does not go along with the above statement that women comply with the assumption of mood management theory, whereas men do not. A clarification can be that this gender difference will develop in adolescence and adulthood. However, this study has low methodological quality, thus findings have to be interpreted carefully.

Knobloch (2007) addresses these gender differences while applying the mood adjustment approach (Knobloch, 2006) and response style theory (Nolen-Hoeksema, 1987) to media selection phenomena. Finally an explanation for this difference will be discussed.

Mood adjustment approach

The adjustment approach suggests that oftentimes media users do not only aim to optimize their mood (classic mood management theory). Instead, media users frequently anticipate upcoming situations and activities which may call for specific moods (Knobloch, 2003). Due to lack of research on gender differences in mood adjustment through TV or music consumption, research on gender differences in mood adjustment to social situations (Knobloch, 2006) has been explored to illustrate this possibility. The author hypothesized that men and women ($N = 68$) would make different news choices while waiting on a social meeting. Frustrated and provoked men and women adjusted their moods during media use. Their adjustment depended on the knowledge that they got a chance to get revenge against the provoker. Adjustment occurred right before the anticipated activity and not throughout the whole media use period. Women who anticipated revenge looked more at good news to get rid of their anger. They tried to enhance their mood by exposing themselves to positive stimuli. However, men who thought they got a chance of revenge, favored bad news, to sustain their anger in order to get back to the provoker. The general findings of women support the assumption of mood management theory, whereas the findings of men do not. The findings of studies by Biswas et al. (1999), Medoff (1979) and Anderson et al. (1996) support this adjustment approach. Some limitations of Knobloch's (2006) study concerns the number of respondents and the non-clear insight into effects of experimental manipulation. Research has demonstrated the effect of gender differences in mood adjustment to social

situations. Therefore, future research should focus on gender differences in mood adjustment through TV and music consumption.

Response Style Theory

Nolen-Hoeksema (1987) postulated in her response style theory, that men have the tendency to seek distraction when enhancing or overcoming a bad mood, whereas women tend to ruminate and reflect upon a bad mood. Rumination has been shown to be an ineffective mood-repair strategy, since it prolongs the negative feeling state. In contrast, distraction is an effective mood-enhancement strategy for both men and women. The response style theory does not address the general finding that women comply with mood management theory, whereas men do not. Instead men tend to comply with mood management assumptions, while women do not.

A study by Knobloch (2007) confirms the hypothesis of Noelen-Hoeksema (1987). An emotion recognition test served as a mood induction procedure that placed participants in a bad, neutral or good mood. Next, participants ($N = 79$) could expose themselves to pop songs. They were led to form an expectation about the upcoming activities. Women preferred to ponder the results of the mood induction before they turned to distraction. In contrast, men preferred distraction to improve their mood (Knobloch, 2007). The study by Knobloch (2007) provides evidence for the hypothesis that males prefer media content with high absorption potential (high energetic-joyful music) as the activity approaches, whereas females favour media content with low absorption potential (calming music). For men, music listening was a possible way to seek distraction. It is possible that they thought that distraction would help them to obtain a relaxed attitude, this could be functional for the performance in following tests. As men probably tried to distract themselves more from the upcoming task than women did, it is logical that they favoured highly absorbing music more than females. In contrast, women have the tendency to ruminate and reflect their thoughts. This could be an explanation why they preferred subtle music with low levels of absorption potential.

To summarize, two theories – mood adjustment and response style theory – have been postulated to address gender differences. Both are convincing due to good methodological quality of these studies (Table 2). Therefore, more research is necessary to determine the dominant approach.

Explanations why men and women differ in affect-regulation strategies.

First, research on emotion socialization of gender provides a clarification of this particular phenomenon of gender differences. Garside and Klimes-Dougan (2002) showed that boys and girls are brought up differently regarding emotional feedback and expression. Expressing anger is socially acceptable for males, but not for women, while expression of sadness and fear is more acceptable for women. Expression of emotions, such as sadness, is encouraged in women and they therefore respond to an affective experience with rumination as an affect-intensifying strategy (Knobloch, 2007). Emotionality in males, however, is discouraged. This may be why men distract themselves from affective experiences. Yet for anger, which is a typical male emotion, that is encouraged in the childhood of a boy, men might do the opposite and sustain their affect via rumination (Knobloch, 2007). A study of Medoff (1982) provides evidence for this particular phenomenon. The author found that especially frustrated men favoured hostile comedy and avoided media consumption altogether. They ruminated their anger. In contrast, frustrated and provoked women tried to get rid of their anger by watching positively-valenced comedy (Medoff, 1982). This supports the adjustment approach.

Second, another possibility is that media users prefer to expose themselves to media content that evokes emotions which are socially expected – depending on gender – and tend to be rewarded by others (Knobloch, 2007). An empirical study by Zillmann, Weaver, Mundorf and Aust (1986) supports this possibility. The investigators demonstrated that males enjoyed horror movies more when they were accompanied by frightened females, while females enjoyed the film more when the accompanied males expressed mastery (Knobloch, 2007). To sum up, the differences between men and women in mood management can at least partly be attributed to gender socialization and gender typed social expectations. The studies are of good methodological quality which makes these explanations plausible.

Conclusion

The gaps of mood management theory have been presented. The paradox of the enjoyment of sad TV/music consumption has been supported by studies with reasonable methodological quality. The studies show a strong association between the downward

comparison hypothesis and the enjoyment of negative emotions. In addition, due to excellent methodological quality of Oliver's study (1993) it is also reasonable to believe that sadness may be valuable and rewarding by some individuals. Due to poor methodological quality the associative network model can only be seen as a suggested explanation; however no definite conclusions can be drawn.

The gender differences discussed are supported in the majority of these studies. In general, it can be concluded that women comply with mood management assumptions, whereas men do not. Mood adjustment approach and response style theory have been explored to address the challenge of gender differences in mood management theory. However, to determine the dominant approach – mood adjustment or response style theory – more research is necessary. Although, it is reasonable to assume that differences between men and women in mood management are attributable to gender socialization and gender typed social expectations.

The study of Knobloch (2003) provides an interesting extension for mood management hypothesis; it supports the mood adjustment approach. Individuals are indeed motivated to maintain unpleasant moods in certain circumstances; this promises better future outcomes. However, little research has been done concerning the hypothesis of mood adjustment. Therefore, future research should make this extension of mood management their priority.

GENERAL CONCLUSION AND IDEAS ON FURTHER DEVELOPMENT

The aim of this literature overview was to evaluate the findings concerning mood management through music and TV consumption and its possible challenges. Some mixed evidence exists for this theory in which media users are motivated to arrange media stimuli in a way that minimizes bad moods and maximizes good ones (Zillmann, 1988). Mood management would predict that individuals are unconsciously driven to enhance their moods by watching comedy or listening to highly energetic-joyful music. Despite some methodological problems, these findings are replicated in numerous studies in different samples and with a variety of measure instruments. Nevertheless, contradictory findings are presented as well, especially concerning hostile comedy, preference for negative media stimuli and gender differences. Individuals are motivated

to avoid hostile comedy. However, this supports the notions of mood management theory; hostile comedy elicits a negative response which should be avoided.

In addition, a huge challenge to mood management theory concerns the enjoyment of negative media stimuli. The evaluated studies support this notion; people do select and enjoy for instance love-lamenting songs and sad movies. Different reasons for this paradoxical preference are suggested. First, people may find tragedy appealing because they compare their lives with others suffering and thereby feel better about themselves (downward comparison) (Mares & Cantor, 1992; Knobloch et al., 2004). Second, people may hold the attitude that it is good to empathize with suffering (Oliver, 1993; Mills, 1993; Wied et al., 1994). Finally an associative network model (Schubert, 1996) has been presented, which should be interpreted with caution due to poor methodological quality of the relevant research.

Mood management studies have frequently revealed different selective exposure patterns for men and women. Generally spoken, women comply with the assumptions of mood management theory, whereas men do not. These results have been found in experiments, as well as field studies. Mood adjustment and response style theory have been explored in order to explain these findings. Both have yielded contradicting findings, which should be further investigated. However we can expect that this particular phenomenon of gender difference could be explained by means of gender socialization and gender-typed social expectations.

Poor methodological quality of certain reviewed studies is especially attributable to the used samples; primary female (undergraduate) students were used as participants. This research emphasizes on moods, which could be differently experienced and interpreted by women than men. In future research, an extensive sample, concerning all age ranging and an equal number of men and women, would be advised to use. Moreover, the use of self-report measures is often problematic; it decreases the reliability and validity of the results. Following the negative aspects, other measurements should be explored and developed next to self-report measures to assess moods; for example non-verbal measurements.

Besides research on gender effects on mood management, effects of personality and cultural factors are also of importance. Especially cultural and ethnical factor are largely ignored in research designs. Culture influences the way people express – and

possibly experience – mood and emotion. The effects of these factors require more research and the possible confounding influences of culture and ethnicity must be taken under consideration.

In addition, some criticism can be raised regarding the design of the experiments (Knobloch, 2006). Most of the utilized designs are cross-sectional. Due to this design, emotions were assessed instead of mood states. It is important to underline the difference between an emotion and a mood state. Emotions are short-lived and object-related, whereas mood states are caused by more ambiguous circumstances (Schwarz & Clore, 1996). While mood management theory was focused on the conceptualization of moods, mood induction procedures of the related empirical studies were, instead, more likely to activate emotions (Knobloch, 2006). As indicated by Knobloch and Zillmann (2002), the use of computerized procedures is preferred in future related studies. This prevents the activation of motivational implications towards the source of mood. In Medoff (1979), frustrated participants were to select media stimuli. However, the object that evoked the negative affective state remained present. Instead of a mood state, an emotional state linked the participants to the object. Participants – especially men – were more likely to be in an angry emotion than in a negative mood (Knobloch, 2006). Thus, this procedure or research design is not ideal for testing mood management considerations.

According to Knobloch (2006) further development of mood management theory will be advised to focus on the differentiation of negative moods. These moods must especially be investigated, because negative moods primarily call for mood repair efforts. It is conceivable that different negative moods will elicit different mood enhancing strategies (Knobloch, 2006). People have different instincts when reacting to negative stimuli. For instance people who experience anxiety will develop a ‘flight’ strategy, in contrast to angry people, who will express a ‘fight’ instinct.

In conclusion, plenty evidence has supported mood management notions, yet various gaps still exist (Knobloch, 2006). These gaps should be filled in by future research. Advancements and extensions of the original theory – such as mood adjustment theory – have been proposed. This extension should be further investigated and discussed. Above all, the strong relation between mood states and media consumption should not be underestimated. Future research can expand and refine our scientific knowledge on this interesting and practical topic.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Characteristics of the most important articles concerning mood management theory.

Author	Sample	Design	Primary Results
1. Anderson, et al., 1996	<u>N</u> : Study 1: 491 respondents Study 2: 329 families. Study 3: 140 adults. <u>Sex</u> : 45.2% were male. <u>Age</u> : 18-88 years <u>Ethnicity</u> : 88,8% European American, 94% African American & 1,9% Hispanic.	● <u>Correlational</u>. ● Field study. ● Study 1 & 3: cross sectional. ● Study 2: longitudinal.	● Stress was associated with viewing more comedy in men and women. ● Stress was associated with viewing less news and more games/variety programs. ● Stress was also associated with more total viewing time in women and with men viewing more action/violence/horror.
2. Bryant & Zillmann, 1985	-	● <u>Experiment</u>. ● No control group.	● Bored participants avoided exposure to relaxing programs and showed a strong preference for exciting material. ● Stressed respondents elected to expose themselves as much to exciting as to relaxing material.
3. Knobloch & Zillmann, 2002	<u>N</u> : 116 undergraduate students. <u>Sex</u> : 68% women. <u>Mean Age</u> : 19,8% (W), 20, 8% (M).	● <u>Experiment</u>.	● Respondents in a bad mood preferred exposure to highly energetic-joyful music over low energetic-joyful music. ● Persons in a bad mood focus more on their choices than persons in good mood.
4. Konecni, 1982	-	● <u>Experiment</u>.	● Annoyed respondents preferred high melodic complexity, in contrast to respondents in a neutral affective state.
5. Meadowcroft & Zillmann, 1987	<u>N</u> : 105. <u>Sex</u> : 100% female. <u>Age</u> : Undergraduate students.	● <u>Correlational</u>. ● Survey.	● Premenstrual and menstrual women express a greater interest in comedy than did women midway through the cycle.
6. Wahkslag et al., 1983	<u>N</u> : 84. <u>Sex</u> : 39 male and 45 female. <u>Age</u> : Undergraduate students.	● <u>Experiment</u>.	● Participants with increased fear levels prefer films with low victimization and with high justice levels.
7. Zillmann, et al., 1980	<u>N</u> : 72 <u>Sex</u> : 50% female, 50% male. <u>Age</u> : Undergraduate students.	● <u>Correlational</u>. ● Longitudinal.	● Respondents in the condition of negative affect avoided comedy. Instead they preferred watching game shows. ● Participants in the condition of positive affect preferred action drama.

W = Women
M = Men.

Table 2. Characteristics of the most important articles concerning challenges to mood management.

	Author	Sample	Design	Primary Results
1.	Biswass, Riffe & Zillmann, 1994	-	● <u>Quasi-experiment.</u>	● Women in a bad mood preferred positive news, whereas women in a good mood selected less positive news. ● This pattern was not found for males.
2.	Gibson et al., 2000	<u>N</u> : 135 students. <u>Sex</u> : male and female. <u>Age</u> : high school students. <u>Ethnicity</u> : black and white.	● <u>Quasi-Experiment.</u>	● No support that lonely adolescents especially enjoy love-lamenting music. ● Love-celebrating songs were less enjoyed by lonely males than non lonely males. ● Non lonely females enjoyed these songs more than less lonely females. ● Mood-congruent choices.
3.	Knobloch, 2003	<u>N</u> : 64 undergraduate students. <u>Sex</u> : 71,9% female. <u>Mean age</u> : 19.6 years.	● <u>Experiment.</u>	● Participants showed no preference for music high or low in energy-joyfulness after having played the enjoyable game. ● In contrast, respondents who had to perform the serious task showed a preference for energetic-joyful music in the first 3 minutes. ● Mood adjustment set in toward the anticipated activity.
4.	Knobloch, 2006	<u>N</u> : 86 students. <u>Sex</u> : 49 females and 37 males. <u>Mean age</u> : 20,2 years	● <u>Experiment.</u> ● No control group.	● Women who anticipated revenge looked at more good news to get rid of their anger. ● Men who thought they get a chance of revenge, favoured bad news, to sustain their anger.
5.	Knobloch, 2007	<u>N</u> : 79 students. <u>Sex</u> : 54% female. <u>Mean age</u> : 21.2 years.	● <u>Experiment.</u>	● Women preferred to ponder the results of the mood induction before they turned to distraction. ● Men preferred distraction to better their mood.
6.	Knobloch et al., 2004	<u>N</u> : 52 German students. <u>Sex</u> : 30,8% male and 69, 2% female. <u>Mean age</u> : 21.9 years.	● <u>Quasi-experiment.</u>	● Males preferred love-lamenting music more, the more dissatisfied they were with their romantic situation. ● Women selected sad love music to a lesser degree and avoided it when they were dissatisfied with their love situation. ● Downward comparison theory.
7.	Mares & Cantor, 1992	<u>N</u> : 94 subjects. <u>Sex</u> : 40,4% male and 59,6% female.	● <u>Experiment.</u>	● Lonely respondents preferred negative to positive images, and non-lonely subjects preferred

			<u>Mean age:</u> 75,1 years.	
8.	Medoff, 1979	-	● <u>Experiment.</u>	positive to negative ones. ● Downward comparison hypothesis. ● Frustrated and annoyed women exposed themselves more to mild comedy than to serious drama. ● Men avoided comedy.
9.	Mills, 1993	<u>N:</u> Study 1: 292, Study 2: 196 and Study 3: 120. <u>Sex:</u> all female. <u>Age:</u> students.	● <u>Correlational.</u>	● It can be assumed that people find tragedy appealing because they hold the attitude that it is good to empathize with suffering.
10.	Oliver, 1993	<u>N:</u> 227 students. <u>Sex:</u> 45,8% male and 54,2% female <u>Mean age:</u> 20.55 years.	● <u>Correlational</u> ● Longitudinal.	● Feelings of sadness elicited from sad movies can be interpreted as pleasurable emotions among many viewers.
11.	Wied et al., 1994	<u>N:</u> 99 students. <u>Sex:</u> 72,7% female and 27,3% male. <u>Mean age:</u> undergraduate students.	● <u>Quasi-experimental</u>	● High empathizers, who experienced significantly more empathic distress during the film, also enjoyed the entire film significantly more than low empathizers.