

WOMEN AND MINORITIES ON TELEVISION  
A study in casting and fate

A report to the Screen Actors Guild and The American Federation of Radio  
and Television Artists, June, 1993

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A child today is born into a home in which television is on an average of seven hours a day. For the first time in human history, most of the stories about people, life and values are told not by parents, schools, churches, or others in the community who have something to tell but by a group of distant conglomerates that have something to sell.

This is a radical change in the way we employ creative talent and the way we cast the symbolic environment. The roles we grow into and the ways others see us are no longer home-made, hand-crafted, community-inspired. They are products of a complex manufacturing and marketing process. We are usually not aware of the relative shadings of each role because each is rationalized by the particular plot, the selected news event, the conventional rules of the game. We are even less aware of the associations common to large numbers of characterizations that we do not perceive to be parts of a wider pattern. That is why this study was necessary.

The report was commissioned by the Screen Actors Guild and the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists in connection with their continuing campaign to ensure that media decision makers reflect more fairly the diversity of the "American Scene" by broadening the range of images and increasing the presence of women, racial and ethnic groups, seniors and people with disabilities in television, film, commercials and all broadcasting and cable.

The study was conducted by the Cultural Indicators research team at the University of Pennsylvania's Annenberg School for Communication.<sup>1</sup> It

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1 The Cultural Indicators project was initiated by the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence in 1969 and supported by the Surgeon General's Scientific Advisory Committee on Television and Social Behavior, the National Institute of Mental Health, the White House Office of Telecommunications Policy, the American Medical Association, the U.S. Administration on Aging, the National Science Foundation, The Hoso Bunka Foundation, the National Cable Television Association and other organizations. The author of this report is the originator of the Cultural Indicators project and co-principal investigator (with Profs. Larry Gross, University of Pennsylvania; Michael Morgan, University of Massachusetts, Amherst; and Nancy Signorielli, University of Delaware) of the television Violence Index and other reports listed in the Bibliography. Results and interpretation are the sole responsibility of the project director. For

was designed to investigate patterns of televised messages and images presented to large and diverse publics over long periods of time.

The focus is on the basic building-blocks of story-telling: casting and fate. Casting the symbolic world defines the pool of human characterizations from which stories and images are drawn. Fate is the destiny associated with different social types. Who are the characters that populate the world of television? How are women and minorities (seniors, racial and ethnic groups, poor and disabled persons, etc.) represented? And, finally, how do they fare in that world?

The special concerns of this study have been the recurrent and inescapable images that cultivate conceptions of majority and minority status and the corresponding calculus of visibility, power, and risk. Inescapable also are the implications for the television industry -- the people who sponsor it, run it, write, produce and direct its programs, and act in it.

#### SAMPLES AND DESIGN

The results are based on the analysis of 19,642 speaking parts appearing in 1,371 television programs in 8 samples. Each season's programming, except cable-originated, is represented by a solid week's sample from the Cultural Indicators data base. Cable-originated program samples varied from two to three weeks. The following is a list of samples, chosen to avoid seasonal, holiday, or other deviations from normal programming:

(1) Ten seasons of major network (ABC, CBS, NBC) prime time (8 to 11 p.m., EST) dramatic programs, 1982-83 through 1991-92; 675 programs, 30 percent "mostly humorous."

(2) Nine seasons of major network Saturday morning (8 a.m. to 2 p.m.) dramatic (mostly cartoon) programs, same as above with the exception of 1989-90; 394 programs, 50 percent "mostly humorous."

(3) Major network daytime serial drama for the week of April 20, 1992; 60 programs, 7 percent "mostly humorous."

(4) Fox network dramatic programs for the week of April 20, 1992; 13 programs, 46 percent "mostly humorous."

(5) Cable-originated general dramatic programs transmitted by 11 major cable networks at different times during 1991 and 1992; 119 full-length programs, 53 comedy skits; 30 percent "mostly humorous."

(6) Cable-originated children's dramatic (including cartoon) programs transmitted during 1991; 26 programs, 35 percent "mostly humorous."

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able assistance and coordination, credit is due to Mariaelena Bartesaghi, Kristen Conrad, Cynthia Kandra, Amy Nyman and Nejat Ozyegin.

(7) Major network game shows for the week of April 20, 1992; 26 programs.

(8) Major network news; 10 weekday daytime local news for April 20-24, 1992 and 21 national evening national news programs for April 16-22, 1992.

"Dramatic" was defined as fictional programs with a story-line or plot, including series, films, cartoons and other clearly fictional programs shown on television. "Cable-originated" was defined as those programs, including feature movies, in whose production the 11 major cable networks had a substantial financial interest.

All programs were screened and coded by trained analysts using an extensively tested instrument of analysis. The procedure requires the reliable observation by multiple independent coders of programs and characters in the samples. Further methodological details can be found in publications listed in the Bibliography.

The report presents the highlights of the findings drawn from the tabulations in the Appendix. Table 1 provides an overview of the number of characters in each sample.

#### CASTING

Americans spend one-third of their freely disposable time with television. That is more than the next ten highest-ranked leisure-time activities put together. During that time the average viewer of a major network station is exposed to an average of 355 characters playing speaking parts each week in prime-time dramatic programs, 353 in daytime dramatic series, 138 in Saturday morning (children's) programs, 51 in game shows, and 209 news professionals (including repeated appearances) delivering the local and national news. During the sample periods the Fox network showed 149 dramatic characters, and the 11 cable-networks-originated programs together presented 624 characters in adult drama and 66 in children's dramatic programs. Overall about one out of five characters play major roles.

#### Demographic Cross-Section

Although the coming of television introduced changes that are still sweeping the cultural landscape, the demography of the world on television is impressive in its repetitiveness and stability. Tables 2 and 3 display the results.<sup>2</sup> Here we summarize selected highlights only.

<sup>2</sup> In summary Tables 2 and 3, the major prime-time network column is for 10 seasons and the children's program major network column is for 9 seasons, whereas all other columns are for one season. They can be compared to the 1991-92 season figures in Tables 6-15. The relative stability of the casts is reflected in the fact that of the total of 44 categories of Tables 2 and 3, the percentage difference between the multi-season and one-season samples was 1 percent or less in 27 cases, between 1 and 2 percents in 9 cases, and 3 or more percents in 8 cases.

Women comprise one-third or less of the characters in all samples except daytime serials where they are 45.5 percent and in game shows where they are 55.3 percent. The smallest percentage of women is in the news (27.8 percent) and in children's programs (23.4 percent). As major characters, women's roles shrink in children's programs to 18 percent.

Age was observed in two ways. "Elderly" was a casting term for characters who definitely looked and acted old. Chronological age was also estimated. Tables 2 and 3 show the number and percent of "elderly" and separately of "seniors" judged to be 60 and over. While all seniors are greatly underrepresented, visibly old people are almost invisible on television. Their representation ranges from none on the youth-oriented Fox network and about 1 percent on network daytime series to less than 3 percent in other samples.

African-Americans are most visible on Fox and in game shows. On major network prime-time programs they are 10.8 percent and on daytime serials 8.8 percent of all characters. They are least visible Saturday morning children's programs (partly because identification of race and color is least reliable in cartoons).

Latino/Hispanic characters are rarely seen. Only in game shows do they rise significantly above 1 percent representation. Americans of Asian/Pacific origin and Native Americans ("Indians") are the most conspicuous by their absence. Less than 1 percent (in the case of Native Americans 0.3 percent) is their general proportion in most samples.

Almost as invisible are members of the "lower classes" (judged by a three-way classification of the socio-economic status of major characters). Although the U.S. census classifies more than 13 percent of the population (and one-third of African-Americans) as "poor," and many more as low-income wage-earners, on network television they make up only 1.3 percent of major characters in prime time, 1.2 percent in daytime, half that (0.6 percent) in children's programs, and 0.2 percent in the news.

Disability was recorded for major characters only. Physical disability is portrayed in 1.5 percent and mental illness in 3.7 percent of major characters in prime-time programs.

Next we take a closer look at prime-time, daytime, children's, Fox and cable-originated dramatic programs and news.

#### Prime-Time Dramatic Programs

Annual trends for all seasons studied have been tabulated and can be seen in Tables 4-15. Here we shall highlight and compare major network samples with Fox and cable-originated samples. (The latter were not all necessarily aired in prime time.)

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## Major networks

Despite changes in styles, stars, and formats, prime-time network dramatic television presents a remarkably stable cast. As we have noted, two-thirds of the cast are men. The gender imbalance was virtually the same in the 1982-83 as in the 1991-92 season (35.0 percent and 33.9 percent, respectively). There is no clear overall difference in gender representation between major and minor characters.

Young and middle-aged adults dominate the cast of prime-time characters with more than 8 out of 10 (Table 16). "Elderly" characters are 2.5 percent (the real-life proportion is more than 12 percent). "Elderly" characters tend to decline in their proportion of the prime-time population, a trend contrary to real life.

Females "age faster" on television than males. Women tend to be concentrated in the younger age groups. Their proportion of "settled adults" declines significantly more than men's.

Romance may be rampant on prime time but marriage is not. Only one in ten characters is married. Marriage is a more defining circumstance for women than it is for men (Tables 17, 28). Almost two-thirds of all men but only 43.7 percent of women appear in roles whose marital status is undefined. Women are almost twice as likely to play the role of wife as men are to play the role of husband. One-third of all characters but nearly half of all married characters are women.

The population of prime-time television drama is overwhelmingly "middle class." About 9 out of ten characters are so classified each year and, if anything, their proportion increased recently. As already noted, "lower class" characters make up 1.3 percent of the prime-time population; three times as many were "upper class" (Table 7). Women, who hold most of the lower-paid jobs in real life, are even more invisible. Their percentage of lower-class characters is 0.9 percent of all characters and 0.5 percent of major characters.

Race and ethnicity of prime-time characters is as skewed as gender, age and class. All people of color are 13.2 percent, African-Americans about 10.8 percent of the prime-time population. These percentage fluctuated between 6 and 16 percent, with no clear tendency since 1982-83. In the 1991-92 season African-Americans were 12.4 percent.

Latino/Hispanic characters are 1.1 percent of the prime-time population, Asian/Pacific 0.8 percent and Native American ("Indian") 0.3 percent (Table 8). All seasonal fluctuations are within 1 percent of the 10-season average.

Some form of disability, as we have seen before, strikes 11.2 percent of prime-time major characters. Seasonal fluctuations range between 7 and 17 percent (Table 8). Physical injury afflicts about 8 percent of men and 7 percent of women (despite the fact that 49 percent of men and 31 percent of women suffer some violence). Physical illness strikes almost as many, and mental illness nearly 4 percent.

## Fox and cable-originated programs

Fox network programming targets young viewers; their average age is 27. The average age of characters on Fox is 31 -- the youngest of all dramatic programs. (The average age of characters in major network and cable-originated dramatic programs is 35.) Fox is also heavily comedy and action-oriented, as is cable-originated programming. Consequently, more men and fewer women are cast in major roles. Seniors are fewer and those cast play mostly minor roles. On Fox, and to a lesser extent on cable-originated programs, more characters are observed as unmarried and as injured than on the other networks (Table 18).

## Daytime Serials

Daytime is serious business, mostly sexual and marital (Table 19). Only 7 percent of daytime drama was judged to be "mostly humorous," far below the prime time 30 percent. Daytime is the only daypart where the number of women almost equals that of men (45 percent) and where almost as many women (49 percent) as men play major roles.

Male hegemony is again preserved, if barely, in age-casting. Daytime favors men with a longer mid-life span, as does prime time. However, the age distribution is little more even-handed than in prime time (Table 19). The daytime cast is also more clearly and evenly defined along marital lines. The world of daytime serial drama has less use for maritally undefined men and more need for married men and women.

The class and race structure of daytime is similar to that of prime time, and, if anything, more "white." There are no characters with physical handicaps. Illness or injury are rare and seem to afflict mostly men.

## Saturday Morning

Women are less than one-fourth (23.4 percent) of the Saturday morning cast. Their percentage ranges between 16 and 27 percent, with no clear tendency over time. (In 1991-92 they were 21.7 percent.) As major characters, their percentage goes down to 18; it ranges between 15 and 24, again with no clear trend over the 9 seasons.

Cartoon characters make up most of the Saturday morning cast. Anthropomorphic animals and other creatures are not easily classified. Two out of 10 are "ageless," compared to only 2 out of 100 in prime time. "Elderly" characters are as invisible as on prime time. Their percentage was 1.8 in 1982-83 and 1.7 in 1991-92; the 9-year average is 2.3.

Importance declines with age, as well as with gender. Children and adolescents play a larger role than in prime time (Tables 20,21). More than 4 out of 10 female parts are young girls. As age increases, the percentage of major compared to minor roles drops, especially for women.

Curiously for children's programs, married characters, potential father and mother images, are less than half their prime time proportions (Table 21). Saturday morning shuns married women: they play 20 percent of major female roles in prime time but only 3 percent in children's programs.

Social class, when it can be observed, is as skewed in children's as in prime-time program. The child viewer of Saturday morning major network programs would see, on the average, one lower class character every three weeks, usually in a minor role.

With more than half of all characters unclassifiable by race, people of color make up less than 5 percent of the Saturday morning program population. African-Americans average 2.9 percent, though their proportion varies greatly, reaching 6.9 percent in 1991-92. Hispanics are seen, on the average, once every two weeks (0.5 percent) and Asian/Pacific Americans once every three weeks (0.3 percent), and mostly in minor roles. In the nine Saturday morning three-network samples, only 3 Native Americans appeared (0.1 percent).

Despite all the mayhem, only 3.2 percent of Saturday morning characters suffer any injury (in the 1991-92 none seemed injured) and 4.9 percent exhibit signs of any disability (in 1991-92 2.3 percent).

Cable-originated children's programs present a slightly more equitable gender, race and disability character distribution, but otherwise they resemble the Saturday morning cast.

#### Major Network Game Shows

Game shows feature a populist patriarchy. The contestants are more diverse than the casts of other programs. Women are 58 percent, African-Americans 18.3 percent, Latino/Hispanics 4.6 percent -- more than on any other program -- and they tend to win more often than the others. The ringmasters, however, are all men (Tables 22,23). Women who are not contestants are young assistants to the hosts. Three out of 4 assistants are seen but not heard.

#### Major Network News

The thematic structure of television news items provides the context within which the selection of persons takes place. The news item was defined by the newscaster's announcement of the topic. Each new topic started a new unit. A total of 434 news items were analyzed. Of 50 different themes coded, including political, economic, and human interest, the only issues judged to be a significant or the main topics in more than 15 percent of the news items were issues of power: who has it, who uses it, who seeks it, and, most of all, who are threats to life, limb, and the social order.

Criminal activities and health issues each attract major attention in 18 percent of the items; law enforcement and other legal issues 16 percent each; and death and dying 15 percent. Women's rights attract major

attention only in connection with abortion, in 6 percent of the items. Other minority groups, people or rights together are featured in only 3 percent.

That is the context of topics in which 1,825 persons appear either as delivering the news, cited in the news, or making news. Next to game show hosts, the world of newsmakers is the most male-dominated (Tables 24,25). The mean age of those in the news is 41, the highest of all except game show hosts. Men are 64.3 percent of those delivering the news 80 percent of those cited as authorities, and 81.9 percent of those making news. Women are most visible (35.4 percent) as news deliverers. As authorities cited, they drop to 20 percent and as newsmakers to 17.4 percent.

Productive aging in the news, even more than in other types of programs, is a privilege of men and majorities. Newsmakers over 60 are 12 percent of men, 6 percent of women, and 1 percent or less of other minorities.

African-Americans are most visible (14.2 percent) as news-deliverers. They are 7.8 percent of newsmakers, and 4 percent of those cited in the news as spokespersons or authorities. Americans of Asian/Pacific origin are most likely to appear as sources cited (4.0 percent) and as delivering the news (2.3 percent). Latino/Hispanics make 1.5 percent of news, or less, in any category.

Government officials (including law enforcement) are 43 percent of newsmakers and 12 percent of authorities cited. Private business makes up 11.5 percent of newsmakers and 8 percent of those cited. The next highest newsmaking activity (6.4 percent of newsmakers) is of those arrayed against law and order: the criminals.

Minorities (except women) have a better chance to make news as government officials than as private business persons. Women in business are relatively more visible in the news than women in government. African-Americans in government are four times as newsworthy as they are in business. This may be because African-American business people rarely make news, or because government is more of an equal-opportunity newsmaker, or both.

The disparities are even greater when we compare news of legitimate and illegal activity. Women make news as government officials and business persons combined 9.9 times as much as in crime. The same ratio for men is 8.2, for Latino/Hispanics 5.0 and for African-Americans 1.7. The ratio of business-related vs. crime-related news shows even more striking contrasts. For one woman in crime news there are 2.6 in business news; for one man in crime news there are 1.7 in business news; but for each Latino/Hispanic in business news there is one in crime news and for each African-American in business news there are 6.6 in crime news.

This begins the discussion of "fate" on television, the subject we turn to next.

## FATE

"Fate" is the evaluation of characters as "good" or "bad" and the outcome (successful or unsuccessful) for which they are destined. We present the dynamics of "fate" in the multi-season samples of major network prime-time and Saturday morning programs.

First we discuss the evaluation of characters as "good" or "bad" (also dubbed "heroes" and "villains"). Secondly, we discuss success and failure ("winners" and "losers") in terms of the objectives the characters set for themselves, whether those are good or bad. That judgement required fuller character development and was made only for major characters.

Significant proportions of mixed and unclear characterizations are ignored in much of this discussion. We proceed on the assumption that when evaluation and success are not clear, the character's "fate" is also not as determined as when those characteristics are well-defined. "Fate," therefore, means the clear-cut and unambiguous evaluation and goal-attainment of those characters for whom such judgments could be made.

### Heroes and Villains

Seen from the birds-eye-view of this report, television seems to present a pre-ordained world. Its distribution of values is as stable as its casting and thematic structure (Tables 26,27).

Positively valued ("good") characters outnumber evil ("bad") between two and three to one each of the years studied. From half to two-thirds of the cast are of "mixed" character. Children's program characters are more sharply differentiated, with fewer mixed evaluations.

For every "bad" man there are about 2 "good" men and for every "bad" woman about 5 "good" women in both prime-time and Saturday morning programs. When we look at gender evaluation by age, however, we discover that older women in children's programs bear a disproportionate burden of negative characterizations.

While the ratio of "good" characters to "bad" is generally favorable to women, the evaluations are reversed for "elderly" women. For every elderly male villain there are 13 male heroes of the same age. But for every such heroin there is one elderly female villain. The proportion of "bad" old females is more than 8 times that of "bad" old males.

Prime-time romance involves more young women than men, but more mature men than women (Table 28,29). The disparity is even greater in Saturday morning children's programs. Nearly half (48.6 percent) of female romance is in adolescence. Men's romantic parts occur in greater numbers at all other ages. The child viewer may see 3 mature men involved in romance for every mature woman, and even a romantic old man every once in a great while, but never a romantically involved old woman.

A ranking of "goodness/badness" ratios has been constructed by dividing the number of positively valued by the number of negatively valued characters in each group. The results give us an order of "villainy" (Tables 30-37).

Being "bad" is not necessarily all bad in the sense that one needs power to be a credible villain. Conversely, a "good," character may lack effectiveness to succeed, as we shall see later. But the results of this ratio show a relative sense of moral value attributed to different groups of characters.

We have already noted that, on the whole, there are more "good" than "bad" characters. We have also examined how many more (or less) in each group. Here we shall line up groups we have identified in this study in order of the number of "villains" per 100 "heroes." First we shall look at the total casts of all characters. After that overall view, we shall see if being a major character changes the lineup. Finally we shall look at the most important gender and other differences.

For every 100 heroes in prime time there are, overall, 43 villains. On top of the prime time evaluation order are most minorities, women, and children. (Characteristics coded only for major characters will be discussed below.) Knowing the age, marital and family status of characters means more favorable portrayal than not knowing. Villains are disproportionately male, lower class, young, Latino/Hispanic and foreign, or at least not identifiable American.

The lineup for major characters shows relatively more Latino/Hispanic heroes, indicating that most Latino/Hispanic villains are minor characters. The most negatively valued characters, with actually more villains than heroes, are the mentally ill.

Differences by gender shed further light on some of these ratios. Evil aliens of color are all men. For males, it is better not to be married than to be married. Among all male characters, foreign, young, and Latino/Hispanic men have the least favorable "hero/villain" ratios. Foreign white and mentally ill males provide a disproportionate ratio of major male villains. The largest ratio of female villains in major roles comes from mentally ill and old women characters.

Saturday morning, disabled and older characters fare worse than in prime time. Gender comparisons show that, unlike in prime time, both men and women in leading roles are generally more evil than in other parts. Villains actually outnumber heroes among male aliens of color. Mother figures in leading roles -- married, elderly, settled women -- and major African-American female characters, few as they are, are among the most wicked.

#### Winners and Losers

Those who succeed in their aims we call "winners" and those who fail "losers." A reliable determination of success in achieving objectives was made for major characters only. Although "good" characters usually win and

"bad" lose, it is possible for negatively valued characters to achieve their aims and for positive characters to fail. Therefore, we can consider this measure as one of effectiveness. A character may be good but ineffective while another bad but effective.

As with heroes and villains, a significant proportion of mixed and unclear characterizations is ignored in this discussion in order to make the main points more distinct. Nearly half of all major characters are "mixed" both in evaluation and success. Of those judged "good," 63.2 percent succeed and 6.4 percent fail. Of the "bad" characters, 9.6 percent succeed and 69.9 percent fail (Tables 38-43).

In prime time, boys and elderly men have a much higher effectiveness ratio than girls and elderly women. A ranking of success/failure ratios shows the order of failures for every 100 successes in selected groups. Latino/Hispanic and Asian/Pacific Americans have higher relative failure rates than most others. Foreign whites, Native Americans, and the mentally ill fail at least as often as they succeed.

Lower class men succeed more often than they fail, but lower class women fail as often as they succeed. To be cast as a major female character in prime time who is old, unmarried, ill, or poor carries a disproportionately high risk of failure. Women cast as Native American or Asian/Pacific leading characters, few as they are, are destined for failure; none of them succeeds in achieving her aims.

The world of Saturday morning children's programs is more starkly, and darkly, defined. More than one-fourth (25.5 percent) of all characters fail, compared to the prime time failure rate of 18.4 percent. The failure of those depicted as mentally ill is higher (57.1 percent) than in prime time (42.3 percent). Boys and older men also have a higher percentage of success and lower percentage of failure than girls and older women.

Success/failure ratio rankings show that the general rate of failure is higher, and being married is even more of a losing proposition Saturday morning than in prime time. Foreign, old, and ill characters fail more than they succeed. The mentally ill fail twice as often.

Major male characters on Saturday morning programs run the highest risks of failure when they are cast as not American, over 60 and mentally ill. Major female characters are most likely to fail as foreign and over 60. While marriage hurts men and helps women in prime time, in children's programs it hurts both. Elderly women have four times the relative failure rate of elderly men. To be cast an older woman or a mentally ill character in children's programs is to run the highest risk of ill fate on television.

## CONCLUSIONS

Minorities are made, not born. Gender, race, class, ethnicity, age, and disability define society's power structure. Their portrayals affect how we see ourselves and each other. The world of television seems to be frozen in a time-warp of obsolete and damaging representations.

Women play one out of three roles in prime time television, one out of four in children's programs, and one out of five of those who make news. They fall short of majority even in daytime serials. They age faster than men, and as they age they are more likely to be portrayed evil and unsuccessful.

Seniors of both genders are greatly underrepresented and seem to be vanishing instead of increasing as in real life. As characters age they lose importance, value, and effectiveness. *Visibly* old people are almost invisible on television. Mature women seem to be especially hard to cast - and hard to take. They are disproportionately underrepresented, undervalued, and undersexed.

People of color, the vast majority of humankind, estimated to reach a majority in America by the year 2000, are 13 percent of the major network prime-time and less than 5 percent of children's program casts. African-Americans are less than 11 percent of prime-time and 3 percent of children's program casts. Latino/Hispanics, over 9 percent of the U.S. population, are about 1 percent of prime time and half of that of children's program casts. Americans of Asian/Pacific origin, more than 3 percent of the U.S. population, and Native Americans ("Indians"), more than 1 percent, are conspicuous by their virtual absence. Minorities are more likely to play minor than major parts. The world of daytime serials is even more "white" than prime time. A child viewer sees the fewest minorities.

In the overwhelmingly middle-class world of television, poor people play a negligible role. The low-income 13 percent of the U.S. (and much larger percentage of minorities and of the world's) population is reduced to 1.3 percent or less on television. Women of low income, who hold most of the low-income jobs in real life, are even more invisible.

As the 43 million disabled American gain legal rights of equal access and employment in real life, physical disability is visible in only 1.5 percent of prime-time programs. Mental illness is portrayed in 3.7 of prime-time programs. Those shown as disabled fare relatively badly in Saturday morning children's programs. Mentally ill characters fare badly in all types of programs.

The Fox network and to a lesser extent cable-originated programs target young viewers; the age of their character population is skewed accordingly. Fox programs have the highest percentage of African-Americans. Game show contestants are the most diverse, but the hosts are middle-aged men and their helpers young women, most of whom are only seen but not heard.

If prime time is a time of macho adventures, family comedies, and societal power-plays, daytime is a time of interior turbulence. Its sexual and marital themes raise female representation but reduce social diversity below that of prime time.

Programs designed specifically for children's favorite viewing time, Saturday morning, may be expected to present a world that is more tranquil

and fair than the troubled worlds of prime time and daytime drama. However, the world of children's programming is, in fact, the harshest and most exploitive. The inequities of prime time are magnified Saturday morning.

A child growing up with children's major network television will see about 123 characters each Saturday morning, but rarely, if ever, a role model of a mature female as leader. The Saturday morning viewer sees an elderly leading character, if at all, about once every three weeks, and it is most likely to be a man. Married and parent images are curiously rare and gloomy in children's programs. Older women, when seen, are most likely to play the villain. That is where witches come from.

All the mayhem in children's cartoons (32 acts per hour according to our studies) seems painless. Cartoon humor appears to be the sugar coating on the pill of cool, happy violence.

A disproportionate number of ill-fated characters comes from the ranks of poor, Latino and foreign men, and both young and old, African-American, and poor women. At the bottom of fate's "pecking order" are characters portrayed as old women and as mentally ill, perpetuating stigma of the most damaging kinds.

Casting and fate also affect those who deliver the news, who are referred to and cited in the news, and who are news. In most essential characteristics, news deals with the exercise of power: who has it, who uses it, who seeks it, and, most of all, who threatens it.

Women decline in representation from 35 percent as newscasters to 20 percent as authorities cited and 17 percent as newsmakers. Other minorities are also most visible delivering and least visible making news. When they do, they are most likely to appear as government officials or as criminals. African-Americans make news as criminals at least twice as often as other groups do.

These results present a record of television performance and policy. They show not what the industry says or thinks it does but what it actually presents to the public. Therefore, they provide a basis for judgment and action regarding employment and programming policies vital to a democratic society.

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Appendix

TABLE 1: NUMBER OF CHARACTERS ANALYZED<sup>1</sup>

Source of sample	Season	All	Major	
		characters N	characters N	%
1.ABC, CBS, NBC prime-time	1981-82 to 1991-92	10,647	1,940	18.2
2.ABC, CBS, NBC children's	1981-82 to 1991-92	3,740	994	26.2
3.ABC, CBS, NBC daytime serial drama	1991-92	1,058	210	19.8
4.Fox network dramatic programs	1991-91	149	24	16.1
5.Cable-originated dramatic (general)	1991-92	1,873	408	21.8
6.Cable-originated dramatic (children's)	1991-92	199	54	27.1
7.ABC, CBS, NBC game shows	1991-92	154	15 <sup>2</sup>	9.7
8.ABC, CBS, NBC network news	1991-92	1,825	658 <sup>3</sup>	49.6
Total characters analyzed		19,645	4,303	21.9

<sup>1</sup> Number of characters presented here may not match the totals of each table in the report due to "missing values." A missing value is reported when a characteristic could not be reliably observed or coded. For example, when a character's gender is coded as "other" or "cannot code", instead of male or female (as for some cartoon animals, robots, etc.), those characters are reported as "missing values" in tabulations that use gender.

<sup>2</sup> Hosts of game shows.

<sup>3</sup> News professionals in each news item.

Appendix

TABLE 2: WOMEN AND MINORITIES: ALL SAMPLES

		D r a m a t i c   p r o g r a m s				G a m e		News	
		Major	Fox	Cable	Day Time	Child.prg.	shows	Major	
		nets	net	orig.	serial	Major	Major	Major	
					Maj.n.	nets	orig.	nets	
Women	%	33.3	32.2	28.5	45.5	23.4	30.7	55.2	27.8
	N	(3534)	(48)	(530)	(481)	(832)	(58)	(85)	(508)
"Elderly"	%	2.1	0.0	1.3	0.9	2.3	2.6	01	01
	N	(223)		(25)	(9)	(87)	(5)		
Age 60+	%	5.4	4.7	5.0	4.0	5.7	2.8	10.4	6.0
	N	(558)	(7)	(90)	(42)	(103)	(3)	(16)	(109)
All chars. of color	%	13.2	21.4	9.0	10.2	4.7	8.0	15.6	12.9
	N	(1403)	(32)	(159)	(106)	(175)	(13)	(24)	(236)
African- Americ. <sup>2</sup>	%	10.8	19.4	4.7	8.8	2.9	3.1	15.7	11.9
	N	(1155)	(29)	(83)	(93)	(110)	(5)	(24)	(196)
Latino/ Hispan. <sup>2</sup>	%	1.1	0.7	1.0	1.1	0.5	0.0	3.3	1.3
	N	(119)	(1)	(18)	(12)	(18)		(5)	(22)
Asian/ Pacific <sup>2</sup>	%	0.8	0.7	1.4	0.7	0.3	0.0	0.0	1.1
	N	(89)	(1)	(26)	(7)	(11)			(19)
Native Amer. (Indian) <sup>2</sup>	%	0.3	0.0	0.4	0.4	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
	N	(31)		(7)	(4)	(3)			
"Lower class" <sup>3</sup>	%	1.3	0.0	2.5	1.2	.6	2.1	01	0.2
	N	(77)		(46)	(13)	(10)	(4)		(4)
Physical disabil. <sup>3</sup>	%	1.5	8.3	1.2	0.0	1.4	0.0	0.0	0.2
	N	(28)	(2)	(5)		(13)			(3)
Physical illness <sup>3</sup>	%	6.5	0.0	2.5	1.4	3.0	1.9	01	01
	N	(125)		(10)	(3)	(29)	(1)		
Physical injury <sup>3</sup>	%	7.1	16.7	9.4	1.9	3.2	3.8	01	01
	N	(137)	(4)	(38)	(4)	(31)	(2)		
Mental illness <sup>3</sup>	%	3.7	8.3	4.4	.5	.6	5.7	01	0.3
	N	(71)	(2)	(18)	(1)	(6)	(3)		(5)
Any and all disabil. <sup>3</sup>	%	11.2	29.2	16.7	3.8	4.9	11.1	0.0	0.6
	N	(218)	(7)	(68)	(8)	(49)	(6)		(9)

<sup>1</sup> Not coded

<sup>2</sup> U.S. only

<sup>3</sup> Major characters in dramatic programs

TABLE 3: WOMEN AND MINORITIES: DRAMATIC PROGRAMS, MAJOR CHARACTERS

		D r a m a t i c   p r o g r a m s					
		P r i m e   t i m e		D a y   T i m e		C h i l d r e n ' s   p r o g r a m s	
		Major nets	Fox net	Cable orig.	Serials Major nets	Major nets	Cable orig.
Women	%	35.1	29.2	26.4	48.6	18.4	30.2
	N:	679	7	107	102	176	16
"Elderly"	%	2.1	0.0	0.7	0.0	1.6	0.0
	N:	41		3		16	
Age 60+ <sup>1</sup>	%	5.6	8.7	2.4	1.0	2.11	0.0
	N:	103	2	9	2	21	
All chars. of color	%	11.3	33.3	6.8	5.3	4.0	2.2
	N:	219	8	25	11	40	1
African- Americ.	%	9.8	33.3	4.4	3.9	2.4	2.2
	N:	191	8	16	8	24	1
Latino/ Hispan.	%	0.7	0.0	1.2	1.9	0.2	0.0
	N:	14		5	4	2	
Asian/ Pacific	%	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0
	N:	7			1		
Native Amer. (Indian)	%	0.3	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.2	0.0
	N:	5		2		2	

<sup>1</sup> The percentage of those clearly observable as 60+; 56 percent of cartoon characters could not be coded for age.

TABLE 4: PRIME TIME CHARACTERS: ROLE AND GENDER BY SEASON

	MAJOR CHARACTERS			MINOR CHARACTERS			ALL CHARACTERS		
	Male	Female	Row Total	Male	Female	Row Total	Male	Female	Row Total
1982-83	156	88	244	647	344	991	803	432	1235
	63.9	36.1	12.6	65.3	34.7	11.4	65.0	35.0	11.6
1983-84	123	72	195	638	291	929	761	363	1124
	63.1	36.9	10.1	68.7	31.3	10.7	67.7	32.3	10.6
1984-85	152	69	221	628	281	909	780	350	1130
	68.8	31.2	11.4	69.1	30.9	10.5	69.0	31.0	10.6
1985-86	138	78	216	645	294	939	783	372	1155
	63.9	36.1	11.2	68.7	31.3	10.8	67.8	32.2	10.9
1986-87	106	72	178	642	269	911	748	341	1089
	59.6	40.4	9.2	70.5	29.5	10.5	68.7	31.3	10.3
1987-88	127	61	188	533	278	811	660	339	999
	67.6	32.4	9.7	65.7	34.3	9.3	66.1	33.9	9.4
1988-89	129	63	192	626	312	938	755	375	1130
	67.2	32.8	9.9	66.7	33.3	10.8	66.8	33.2	10.6
1989-90	119	55	174	543	279	822	662	334	996
	68.4	31.6	9.0	66.1	33.9	9.5	66.5	33.5	9.4
1990-91	100	59	159	392	238	630	492	297	789
	62.9	37.1	8.2	62.2	37.8	7.2	62.4	37.6	7.4
1991-92	104	62	166	541	269	810	645	331	976
	62.7	37.3	8.6	66.8	33.2	9.3	66.1	33.9	9.2
Column Total	1254	679	1933	5835	2855	8690	7089	3534	10623
	64.9	35.1	100.0	67.1	32.9	100.0	66.7	33.3	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 24

TABLE 5: PRIME TIME CHARACTERS: SOCIAL AGE BY SEASON

	SOCIAL AGE					Row Total
	CANNOT CODE	CHILD & ADOLESENT	YOUNG ADULT	SETTLED ADULT	ELDERLY	
1982-83	27 2.2	136 10.9	223 17.9	824 66.2	34 2.7	1244 11.7
1983-84	7 .6	81 7.2	220 19.6	802 71.4	14 1.2	1124 10.6
1984-85	22 1.9	95 8.4	263 23.3	716 63.4	34 3.0	1130 10.6
1985-86	10 .9	102 8.8	299 25.8	725 62.5	24 2.1	1160 10.9
1986-87	39 3.6	74 6.8	147 13.5	798 73.2	32 2.9	1090 10.2
1987-88	22 2.2	99 9.9	136 13.6	715 71.4	29 2.9	1001 9.4
1988-89	79 7.0	134 11.8	126 11.1	769 67.8	26 2.3	1134 10.7
1989-90	8 .8	136 13.7	92 9.2	743 74.6	17 1.7	996 9.4
1990-91	2 .3	126 16.0	137 17.4	515 65.3	9 1.1	789 7.4
1991-92	3 .3	126 12.9	186 19.0	658 67.3	4 .4	977 9.2
Column Total	219 2.1	1109 10.4	1829 17.2	7265 68.2	223 2.1	10645 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 2

TABLE 6: PRIME TIME CHARACTERS:  
MARITAL STATUS BY SEASON

	MARITAL STATUS			Row Total
	Cannot code	Not Married	Married	
1982-83	704 56.6	408 32.8	132 10.6	1244 11.7
1983-84	629 56.0	377 33.5	118 10.5	1124 10.6
1984-85	687 60.8	320 28.3	123 10.9	1130 10.6
1985-86	741 63.9	302 26.0	117 10.1	1160 10.9
1986-87	704 64.6	278 25.5	108 9.9	1090 10.2
1987-88	588 58.7	278 27.8	135 13.5	1001 9.4
1988-89	712 62.8	319 28.1	103 9.1	1134 10.7
1989-90	531 53.3	330 33.1	135 13.6	996 9.4
1990-91	410 52.0	287 36.4	92 11.7	789 7.4
1991-92	511 52.2	341 34.9	126 12.9	978 9.2
Column Total	6217 58.4	3240 30.4	1189 11.2	10646 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 1

TABLE 7: PRIME TIME CHARACTERS: SOCIAL CLASS BY SEASON<sup>1</sup>

	SOCIAL CLASS				Row Total
	CANNOT CODE	CLEARLY UPPER	MIDDLE	CLEARLY LOWER	
1986-87	34 3.1	80 7.3	964 88.4	12 1.1	1090 18.2
1987-88	28 2.8	29 2.9	935 93.4	9 .9	1001 16.7
1988-89	39 3.4	16 1.4	1079 95.1		1134 18.9
1989-90	17 1.7	56 5.6	892 89.6	31 3.1	996 16.6
1990-91	24 3.0	40 5.1	709 89.7	17 2.2	790 13.2
1991-92	5 .5	16 1.6	949 97.0	8 .8	978 16.3
Column Total	147 2.5	237 4.0	5528 92.3	77 1.3	5989 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 4658

<sup>1</sup> Social Class was not coded for minor characters prior to 1986.

TABLE 8: PRIME TIME CHARACTERS: U.S. RACE,  
ETHNICITY AND DISABILITY BY SEASON<sup>1</sup>

	African Amer	Latino/ Hispanic	Asian/ Pacific	Native Amer	Any Disability <sup>2</sup>
1982-83	77 6.2	10 .8	10 .8		22 8.9
1983-84	112 10.0	19 1.7	3 .3	1 .1	21 10.8
1984-85	101 8.9	12 1.1	9 .8	8 .7	37 16.7
1985-86	143 12.3	15 1.3	7 .6	3 .3	23 10.6
1986-87	176 16.1	13 1.2	13 1.2	2 .2	13 7.3
1987-88	96 9.6	8 .8	10 1.0	1 .1	20 10.6
1988-89	100 8.8	20 1.8	14 1.2	1 .1	17 8.7
1989-90	121 12.1	4 .4	6 .6	1 .1	24 13.8
1990-91	104 13.2	4 .5	10 1.3	7 .9	27 17.0
1991-92	121 12.4	14 1.4	7 .7	7 .7	14 8.4
Column Total	1151 10.8	119 1.1	89 .8	31 .3	218 11.2

<sup>1</sup> Frequencies and percentage of total characters per season.

<sup>2</sup> Major Characters only.

TABLE 9: PRIME TIME CHARACTERS: CHARACTER TYPE BY SEASON

	CHARACTER TYPE				Row Total
	CANNOT CODE	GOOD	MIXED	BAD	
1982-83	69 5.5	279 22.4	760 61.1	136 10.9	1244 11.7
1983-84	3 .3	269 23.9	735 65.4	117 10.4	1124 10.6
1984-85	76 6.7	282 25.0	650 57.5	122 10.8	1130 10.6
1985-86	35 3.0	257 22.2	730 62.9	138 11.9	1160 10.9
1986-87	42 3.9	317 29.1	589 54.0	142 13.0	1090 10.2
1987-88	136 13.6	273 27.3	496 49.6	96 9.6	1001 9.4
1988-89	6 .5	317 28.0	660 58.2	151 13.3	1134 10.7
1989-90	36 3.6	319 32.0	551 55.3	90 9.0	996 9.4
1990-91	1 .1	99 12.5	640 81.0	50 6.3	790 7.4
1991-92		166 17.0	736 75.3	76 7.8	978 9.2
Column Total	404 3.8	2578 24.2	6547 61.5	1118 10.5	10647 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 0

TABLE 10: SATURDAY MORNING CHARACTERS: ROLE AND GENDER BY SEASON

	MAJOR CHARACTERS			MINOR CHARACTERS			ALL CHARACTERS		
	Male	Female	Row Total	Male	Female	Row Total	Male	Female	Row Total
1982-83	103	9	112	164	43	207	267	52	319
	92.0	8.0	11.7	79.2	20.8	7.9	83.7	16.3	9.0
1983-84	115	20	135	274	91	365	389	111	500
	85.2	14.8	14.1	75.1	24.9	14.0	77.8	22.2	14.0
1984-85	111	29	140	259	77	336	370	106	476
	79.3	20.7	14.7	77.1	22.9	12.9	77.7	22.3	13.4
1985-86	103	33	136	259	101	360	362	134	496
	75.7	24.3	14.2	71.9	28.1	13.8	73.0	27.0	13.9
1986-87	78	20	98	251	91	342	329	111	440
	79.6	20.4	10.3	73.4	26.6	13.1	74.8	25.2	12.4
1987-88	69	15	84	234	97	331	303	112	415
	82.1	17.9	8.8	70.7	29.3	12.7	73.0	27.0	11.7
1988-89	58	14	72	145	48	193	203	62	265
	80.6	19.4	7.5	75.1	24.9	7.4	76.6	23.4	7.4
1990-91	72	18	90	168	52	220	240	70	310
	80.0	20.0	9.4	76.4	23.6	8.4	77.4	22.6	8.7
1991-92	70	18	88	197	56	253	267	74	341
	79.5	20.5	9.2	77.9	22.1	9.7	78.3	21.7	9.6
Column Total	779	176	955	1951	656	2607	2730	832	3562
	81.6	18.4	100.0	74.8	25.2	100.0	76.6	23.4	100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 178

TABLE 11: SATURDAY MORNING CHARACTERS:  
SOCIAL AGE BY SEASON

	SOCIAL AGE					Row Total
	CANNOT CODE	CHILD & ADOLESENT	YOUNG ADULT	SETTLED ADULT	ELDERLY	
1982-83	82 24.3	51 15.1	71 21.0	128 37.9	6 1.8	338 9.0
1983-84	151 29.2	106 20.5	55 10.6	200 38.6	6 1.2	518 13.9
1984-85	109 20.7	134 25.4	142 26.9	130 24.7	12 2.3	527 14.1
1985-86	154 28.9	120 22.6	73 13.7	173 32.5	12 2.3	532 14.2
1986-87	61 13.6	129 28.7	44 9.8	202 45.0	13 2.9	449 12.0
1987-88	44 10.4	156 36.8	54 12.7	153 36.1	17 4.0	424 11.3
1988-89	27 9.6	88 31.3	21 7.5	138 49.1	7 2.5	281 7.5
1990-91	101 31.1	89 27.4	23 7.1	104 32.0	8 2.5	325 8.7
1991-92	22 6.4	100 28.9	88 25.4	130 37.6	6 1.7	346 9.3
Column Total	751 20.1	973 26.0	571 15.3	1358 36.3	87 2.3	3740 100.0

TABLE 12: SATURDAY MORNING CHARACTERS:  
MARITAL STATUS BY SEASON

	MARITAL STATUS			Row Total
	Cannot code	Not Married	Married	
1982-83	221 65.4	98 29.0	19 5.6	338 9.0
1983-84	293 56.6	194 37.5	31 6.0	518 13.9
1984-85	298 56.5	213 40.4	16 3.0	527 14.1
1985-86	308 57.9	195 36.7	29 5.5	532 14.2
1986-87	247 55.0	177 39.4	25 5.6	449 12.0
1987-88	172 40.6	228 53.8	24 5.7	424 11.3
1988-89	151 53.7	115 40.9	15 5.3	281 7.5
1990-91	165 50.8	147 45.2	13 4.0	325 8.7
1991-92	173 50.0	162 46.8	11 3.2	346 9.3
Column Total	2028 54.2	1529 40.9	183 4.9	3740 100.0

TABLE 13: SATURDAY MORNING CHARACTERS:  
SOCIAL CLASS BY SEASON<sup>1</sup>

	SOCIAL CLASS				Row Total
	CANNOT CODE	CLEARLY UPPER	MIDDLE	CLEARLY LOWER	
1986-87	132 29.4	8 1.8	305 67.9	4 .9	449 24.6
1987-88	90 21.2	5 1.2	325 76.7	4 .9	424 23.2
1988-89	62 22.1	5 1.8	213 75.8	1 .4	281 15.4
1990-91	105 32.3	11 3.4	209 64.3		325 17.8
1991-92	14 4.0	2 .6	329 95.1	1 .3	346 19.0
Column Total	403 22.1	31 1.7	1381 75.7	10 .5	1825 100.0

Number of Missing Observations: 1915

<sup>1</sup> Social Class was not coded for minor characters prior to 1986.

TABLE 14: SATURDAY MORNING CHARACTERS: U.S. RACE,  
ETHNICITY AND DISABILITY BY SEASON<sup>1</sup>

	African- Amer	Latino/ Hispanic	Asian/ Pacific	Native Amer	Any Disability <sup>2</sup>
1982-83	7 2.1	2 .6	1 .3		6 5.0
1983-84	17 3.3	9 1.7	2 .4	1 .2	8 5.6
1984-85	16 3.0	1 .2	2 .4	1 .2	6 4.1
1985-86	14 2.6	3 .6	1 .2		8 5.4
1986-87	13 2.9	2 .4			4 4.1
1987-88	11 2.6	1 .2	2 .5		4 4.7
1988-89	3 1.1		1 .4		1 1.3
1990-91	4 1.2		1 .3		10 11.1
1991-92	24 6.9		1 .3	1 .3	2 2.3
Column Total	109 2.9	18 .5	11 .3	3 .1	49 4.9

<sup>1</sup> Frequencies and percentage of total characters per season.

<sup>2</sup> Major Characters only.

TABLE 15: SATURDAY MORNING CHARACTERS:  
CHARACTER TYPE BY SEASON

	CHARACTER TYPE				Row Total
	CANNOT CODE	GOOD	MIXED	BAD	
1982-83	6 1.8	122 36.1	154 45.6	56 16.6	338 9.0
1983-84		159 30.7	293 56.6	66 12.7	518 13.9
1984-85	16 3.0	202 38.3	234 44.4	75 14.2	527 14.1
1985-86	7 1.3	191 35.9	255 47.9	79 14.8	532 14.2
1986-87	5 1.1	166 37.0	209 46.5	69 15.4	449 12.0
1987-88	42 9.9	162 38.2	162 38.2	58 13.7	424 11.3
1988-89		108 38.4	131 46.6	42 14.9	281 7.5
1990-91		86 26.5	199 61.2	40 12.3	325 8.7
1991-92		77 22.3	220 63.6	49 14.2	346 9.3
Column Total	76 2.0	1273 34.0	1857 49.7	534 14.3	3740 100.0

TABLE 16: PRIME TIME CHARACTERS: SOCIAL AGE,  
ROLE AND GENDER

Social Age	Major Chars.		Minor Chars.		Total Chars.	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
	%	%	%	%	%	%
CANNOT CODE	N: 29 2.3	17 2.5	109 1.9	52 1.8	138 1.9	69 2.0
CHILD & ADOL.	N: 119 9.5	67 9.9	504 8.6	412 14.4	623 8.8	479 13.6
YOUNG ADULT	N: 167 13.3	122 18.0	884 15.2	655 22.9	1051 14.8	777 22.0
SETTLED ADULT	N: 916 73.0	455 67.0	4226 72.4	1664 58.3	5142 72.6	2119 60.0
ELDERLY	N: 23 1.8	18 2.7	110 1.9	72 2.5	133 1.9	90 2.5
Total	N:1254 % 64.9	679 35.1	5833 67.1	2855 32.9	7087 66.7	3534 33.3

Number of Missing Observations: 26

TABLE 17: PRIME TIME CHARACTERS:  
MARITAL STATUS AND GENDER

	Men	Women
	%	%
Can't tell	65.7	43.7
Definitely not married	25.3	40.8
Married	9.1	15.5

TABLE 18: PRINCIPAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CASTS OF  
PRIME TIME MAJOR NETWORK, FOX, AND  
CABLE-ORIGINATED DRAMATIC PROGRAMS

	Major nets	Fox	Cable orig.
	%	%	%
Men in major roles	64.9	70.8	73.6
Women in major roles	35.1	29.2	26.4
Child. and adolescents	10.4	22.8	10.7
Young adults	17.2	18.8	20.8
Settled adults	68.4	58.4	64.3
Elderly	2.1	0	1.3
Definitely not married (excluding "not known")	30.5	40.9	33.0
Injured	7.1	16.7	9.4

TABLE 19: PRINCIPAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE CASTS OF PRIME-TIME AND DAYTIME DRAMA

	Prime time		Daytime	
	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
Young adults	14.8	22.0	20.8	31.0
Settled adults	72.6	60.0	74.2	64.7
Can't tell if married	65.7	43.7	53.7	43.2
Definiteley not married	25.3	40.8	28.4	34.3
Married	9.1	15.5	17.9	22.5
All chars. lower class	1.5	0.9	1.7	0.6
Major chars. lower class	0.9	0.5	3.7	1.0
Major chars. of color	12.1	9.6	7.4	2.9
All chars. of color	13.2	13.0	10.9	9.4

TABLE 20: GENDER DIFFERENCES IN ROLE REPRESENTATION BY AGE IN SATURDAY MORNING PROGRAMS

	Males		Females	
	Major %	Minor %	Major %	Minor %
Children, adolescents	28.4	22.5	42.6	32.8
Young adults	15.4	15.0	12.5	17.4
Settled adults	32.3	42.4	21.6	35.1
Elderly	1.4	2.6	2.8	3.0

TABLE 21: MARRIED CHARACTERS IN PRIME TIME AND SATURDAY MORNING

	Prime time		Sat. morning	
	Men %	Women %	Men %	Women %
Major role	16.7	19.8	3.6	2.8
Minor role	7.4	14.4	3.5	12.5

TABLE 22: CASTING THE GAME SHOW

	N=	Hosts 15 %	Assistants 28 %	Contestants 109 %
Men		100	25	46
Women		0	75	58
Speaking parts		100	25	99.1
Over 60		13	0	7
African-American		0	0	18.3
Latino/Hispanic		0	0	4.6

TABLE 23: GAME SHOW CONTESTANTS:  
WINNERS AND LOSERS

	Men %	Women %	Afr.-Amer. %
Winners (successful)	19.6	27.0	20.0
Previous champs	23.9	28.6	40.0
Challengers	41.3	25.4	25.0
Losers (unsuccessful)	43.5	33.3	35.0

TABLE 24: CASTING THE NEWS

	News conveyors who deliver the news, including anchors and field reporters on the program N=	News conveyors who are cited as authorities (such as spokespersons) but not reporters N=	Newsmakers (persons in the news)	Total %
	658 %	25 %	849 %	1825 <sup>1</sup> %
Men	64.3	80.0	81.9	71.7
Women	35.4	20.0	17.4	27.8
African-American	14.2	4.0	7.8	10.9
Latino/Hispanic	0.3	0	1.5	1.1
Asian/Pacific	2.3	4.0	0.7	1.3
Government officials	0	12.0	43.0	20.3
Private business	0	8.0	11.5	5.6
Criminal	0	0	6.4	3.1

<sup>1</sup> Including 293 characters who could not be reliably coded for occupation

TABLE 25: PERSONS' IN THE NEWS

		Men	Women	Afr.-Amer.	Lat./Hisp.	Asian/Pac.
60 and over	%	12.4	6.4	1.1	0	0
Referred to only	%	34.9	24.0	31.1	10.5	0
Speaks on camera	%	59.0	71.3	63.1	78.9	0.4
Government offic.	%	36.2	16.0	19.4	21.4	0
Private business	%	9.6	5.8	1.9	5.3	0
Criminal	%	5.6	2.2	12.6	5.3	0

TABLE 26: THE HEROES AND VILLAINS OF PRIME TIME AND SATURDAY MORNING

		Men	Women	Total	Ratios	
		%	%	%	Good/bad	Men Women
Prime-time drama	"good"	24.1	27.4	25.2		
	"bad"	13.8	5.2	10.9	+1.7	+5.3
Saturday morning	"good"	32.7	43.1	35.1		
	"bad"	16.0	8.0	14.1	+2.0	+5.4

TABLE 27: HEROES AND VILLAINS BY AGE AND GENDER

	"Good" characters		"Bad" characters		Ratios	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Good/bad	Men Women
	%	%	%	%		
Prime time						
Child, adolesc.	25.2	27.0	5.5	4.3	4.6	6.3
Young adult	19.7	21.2	20.2	5.9	-1.0	3.6
Settled adult	25.0	30.1	13.6	4.9	1.8	6.1
Elderly	24.6	24.7	7.9	5.9	3.1	4.2
Saturday morning						
Child, adolesc.	47.1	47.2	5.9	4.2	7.9	11.2
Young adult	28.0	45.8	18.6	5.3	1.5	8.6
Settled adult	26.2	35.1	20.1	10.3	1.3	3.4
Elderly	43.3	32.0	3.3	28.0	13.1	1.1

TABLE 28: SOCIAL AGE BY ROMANTIC INVOLVEMENT AND GENDER;  
PRIME TIME

	No Romantic Involvement			Some Romantic Involvement		
	MALE	FEMALE	Row Total	MALE	FEMALE	Row Total
CANNOT CODE	19	5	24	10	12	22
	79.2	20.8	2.4	45.5	54.5	2.4
	2.6	1.7		1.9	3.1	
CHILD & ADOLESCENT	89	41	130	30	26	56
	68.5	31.5	12.8	53.6	46.4	6.1
	12.3	14.1		5.6	6.7	
YOUNG ADULT	84	47	131	83	75	158
	64.1	35.9	12.9	52.5	47.5	17.2
	11.6	16.2		15.5	19.3	
SETTLED ADULT	512	188	700	404	267	671
	73.1	26.9	69.1	60.2	39.8	72.9
	70.9	64.6		75.9	68.8	
ELDERLY	18	10	28	5	8	13
	64.3	35.7	2.8	38.5	61.5	1.4
	2.5	3.4		.9	2.1	
Column Total	722	291	1013	532	388	920
	71.3	28.7	100.0	57.8	42.2	100.0

TABLE 29: SOCIAL AGE BY ROMANTIC INVOLVEMENT AND GENDER;  
SATURDAY MORNING

	No Romantic Involvement		Row Total	Some Romantic Involvement		Row Total
	MALE	FEMALE		MALE	FEMALE	
CANNOT CODE	158	30	188	16	6	22
	84.0	16.0	22.3	72.7	27.3	19.6
	22.5	21.3		20.8	17.1	
CHILD & ADOLESCENT	204	58	262	17	17	34
	77.9	22.1	31.1	50.0	50.0	30.4
	29.1	41.1		22.1	48.6	
YOUNG ADULT	101	18	119	19	4	23
	84.9	15.1	14.1	82.6	17.4	20.5
	14.4	12.8		24.7	11.4	
SETTLED ADULT	228	30	258	24	8	32
	88.4	11.6	30.6	75.0	25.0	28.6
	32.5	21.3		31.2	22.9	
ELDERLY	10	5	15	1		1
	66.7	33.3	1.8	100.0		.9
	1.4	3.5		1.3		
Column Total	702	141	843	77	35	112
	83.3	16.7	100.0	68.8	31.3	100.0

TABLE 30: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS, ALL CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME

	No. of villains per 100 heroes	N for category
Asian/Pacific American	14	83
Native American	18	31
Women	19	3394
Children	19	1069
African-Americans	22	1106
Not Married	23	3199
60 and over	25	536
Married	26	1171
Elderly	29	211
Settled adult	42	6998
White American	42	7975
ALL CHARACTERS	43	10219
Men	57	6825
Lower Class	65	73
Age undefined	65	207
Young adult	69	1756
Marital status undefined	71	5872
Foreign chars. of color	79	81
Socio-economic stat. undefined	85	146
Latino/Hispanic American	92	117
Foreign whites	119	437

TABLE 31: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS, MAJOR CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME

	No. of villains per 100 heroes	N for category
Asian/Pacific American	NV	7
Native American	NV	5
Children	10	186
Handicapped	12	28
Latino/Hispanic American	12	14
Women	15	679
Elderly	18	41
Physically ill	18	125
African-American	18	190
Not Married	18	1149
60 and over	21	103
Married	23	343
White American	23	1548
ALL MAJOR CHARACTERS	24	1932
Lower Class	25	14
Settled adult	25	1371
Young adult	26	289
Socio-economic stat. undefined	28	51
Men	29	1253
Age undefined	38	52
Marital status undefined	44	446
Foreign whites	64	54
Foreign chars. of color	67	7
Mentally ill	106	71

NV: No villains

TABLE 32: HERO/VILLAIN RATI

ENDER; PRIME TIME

	Number			roes	
	Among Men	N		Among Women	N
Asian/Pacific American	15	50	Foreign chars. of color	NV	14
Children	22	599	Native American	NV	9
Native American	22	22	Socio-economic stat undef.	11	39
60 and over	24	377	Married	12	536
African-American	26	732	Asian/Pacific American	12	33
Not Married	27	1770	African-American	14	372
Older adult	32	126	Children	16	463
Married	39	635	Settled adult	16	2038
Settled adult	54	4956	Not Married	17	1424
White American	56	5223	Foreign whites	18	95
Lower Class	69	56	White American	19	2749
Age undefined	80	131	Latino/Hispanic American	20	23
Foreign chars. of color	82	65	Elderly	24	85
Marital status undefined	86	4420	60 and over	25	159
Young adult	103	1011	Marital status undefined	27	1433
Latino/Hispanic American	110	94	Young adult	28	744
Socio-economic stat undef.	132	105	Age undefined	43	64
Foreign whites	173	342	Lower Class	50	17

NV: No villains.

TABLE 33: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS, MAJOR CHARACTERS BY GENDER; PRIME TIME

	No. of villains per 100 heroes			No. of villains per 100 heroes	
	Among Men	N		Among Women	N
Foreign chars. of color	NV	4	Lower Class	NV	5
Asian/Pacific American	NV	4	Handicapped	NV	5
Native American	NV	4	Foreign chars. of color	NV	1
Elderly	9	23	Latino/Hispanic American	NV	3
Children	12	119	Asian/Pacific American	NV	3
Socio-ec. stat. undefined	17	36	Native American	NV	1
Handicapped	17	23	Children	6	67
60 and over	17	74	Physically ill	9	37
African-American	20	132	Foreign whites	9	16
Latino/Hispanic American	20	11	African-American	14	58
Not Married	20	705	Not Married	14	442
Physically ill	22	88	Settled adult	15	455
White American	28	978	Married	15	134
Married	28	209	White American	15	570
Settled adult	31	916	Marital stat. undefined	16	102
Young adult	31	167	Young adult	18	122
Lower Class	33	9	Age undefined	18	17
Age undefined	45	28	Mentally ill	29	26
Marital stat. undefined	51	339	Elderly	33	18
Foreign whites	107	38	Socio-ec. stat. undefined	33	10
Mentally ill	155	45	60 and over	37	29

NV: No villains.

TABLE 34: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS, ALL CHARACTERS:  
COMPARISON OF SATURDAY MORNING AND PRIME TIME

	No. of villains per 100 heroes	
	SATURDAY MORNING	PRIME TIME
Lower Class	NV	65
Asian/Pacific American	NV	14
Native American	NV	18
Children	11	19
Latino/Hispanic American	14	92
African American	17	22
Married	18	26
Women	19	19
Not Married	22	23
Older adult	27	29
ALL CHARACTERS	40	43
White American	42	42
Socio-economic status undefined	44	85
Men	49	57
60 and over	50	25
Young adult	53	69
Age undefined	58	65
Foreign characters of color	59	79
Foreign whites	65	119
Settled adult	65	42
Marital status undefined	71	71

NV: No villains.

TABLE 35: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS, MAJOR CHARACTERS:  
COMPARISON OF SATURDAY MORNING AND PRIME TIME

	No. of villains per 100 heroes	
	SATURDAY MORNING	PRIME TIME
Asian/Pacific American	NR	NV
Lower Class	NV	25
Latino/Hispanic American	NV	12
Native American	NV	NV
Children	8	10
Young adult	17	26
African-American	21	18
Women	22	15
Not Married	22	18
White American	31	23
Older adult	33	18
ALL MAJOR CHARACTERS	35	24
Socio-economic status undefined	36	28
Men	38	29
Age undefined	38	38
Married	39	23
Mentally ill	50	106
Marital status undefined	57	44
Physically ill	58	18
Foreign whites	67	64
Foreign characters of color	67	67
Handicapped	83	12
Settled adult	88	25
60 and over	100	21

NR: Not represented.

NV: No villains.

TABLE 36: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS, ALL CHARACTERS BY GENDER;  
SATURDAY MORNING

No. of villains per 100 heroes

	Among			Among	
	Men	N		Women	N
Lower Class	NV	4	Lower Class	NV	4
Native American	NV	2	Latino/Hispanic American	NV	7
Elderly	8	60	Asian/Pacific American	NV	8
African-American	11	77	Children	9	286
Children	13	649	Young adult	12	131
Married	18	96	White American	15	340
Latino/Hispanic American	20	11	Not Married	16	437
Not Married	24	1032	Foreign chars. of color	17	7
Socio-ec. stat. undefined	48	273	Married	18	86
60 and over	53	71	Age undefined	21	113
White American	58	818	Socio-ec. stat. undefined	22	84
Young adult	66	404	Marital stat. undefined	25	294
Age undefined	67	508	Foreign whites	28	46
Settled adult	77	1051	Settled adult	29	262
Foreign chars. of color	82	26	African-American	33	28
Marital stat. undefined	82	1544	60 and over	46	30
Foreign whites	91	146	Elderly	88	25

NV: No villains.

TABLE 37: HERO/VILLAIN RATIOS, MAJOR CHARACTERS BY GENDER;  
SATURDAY MORNING

No. of villains per 100 heroes

	Among			Among	
	Men	N		Women	N
Lower Class	NV	4	Young adult	NV	22
Latino/Hispanic American	NV	2	Lower Class	NV	1
Native American	NV	2	Physically ill	NV	5
African-American	8	18	Foreign chars. of color	NV	3
Children	9	221	Children	7	75
Elderly	14	11	White American	13	73
Young adult	22	120	Age undefined	16	36
Not Married	23	411	Not Married	19	124
Married	33	28	Socio-ec. stat. undefined	24	55
Socio-ec. stat. undefined	36	235	Marital stat. undefined	26	47
White American	39	206	Foreign whites	37	12
Age undefined	41	174	Elderly	100	5
Mentally ill	50	6	Married	100	5
Marital stat. undefined	61	340	60 and over	100	4
Physically ill	75	24	Settled adult	107	38
Handicapped	78	13	African-American	200	6
Foreign whites	81	39			
Settled adult	88	252			
60 and over	100	17			
Foreign chars. of color	133	7			

NV: No villains.

TABLE 38: SUCCESS AND FAILURE, MAJOR CHARACTERS; PRIME TIME

	Success		Failure		Ratios	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Success/failure	
	%	%	%	%	Men	Women
Child, adolescent	49.6	35.8	10.1	13.4	4.9	2.7
Young Adult	42.8	45.9	24.7	19.7	1.7	2.3
Settled adult	47.8	47.5	20.3	15.7	2.4	3.0
Elderly	56.5	33.3	4.3	16.7	13.1	1.9

TABLE 39: SUCCESS AND FAILURE, MAJOR CHARACTERS; SATURDAY MORNING

	Success		Failure		Ratio	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Success/failure	
	%	%	%	%	Men	Women
Child, adolescent	60.7	56.0	11.4	18.7	5.3	2.9
Young Adult	58.3	81.8	20.8	0	2.8	NF
Settled adult	42.6	47.4	43.0	36.8	-1.0	1.3
Elderly	72.7	40.0	18.2	40.0	3.9	1.0

TABLE 40: SUCCESS/FAILURE RATIOS OF MAJOR CHARACTERS;  
PRIME TIME

	No. of failures per 100 successes	N for category
Foreign characters of color	NF	7
Elderly	21	41
Children	25	186
60 and over	28	103
Handicapped	29	28
Lower Class	33	14
Young adult	34	288
African-American	34	188
Not Married	35	1147
Women	37	677
White American	37	1547
Latino/Hispanic American	37	14
Married	38	343
Settled adult	39	1369
ALL MAJOR CHARACTERS	40	1930
Men	41	1253
Socio-economic stat. undefined	41	52
Age undefined	48	53
Asian/Pacific American	50	7
Marital stat. undefined	51	446
Physically ill	63	124
Foreign whites	100	54
Native American	100	5
Mentally ill	150	70

NF: No failures.

TABLE 41: SUCCESS/FAILURE RATIOS, MAJOR CHARACTERS BY GENDER; PRIME TIME

Number of failures per 100 successes

	Among Men			Among Women	
	NF	N		NF	N
Foreign chars. of color	NF	4	Handicapped	NF	5
Asian/Pacific American	NF	4	Latino/Hispanic American	NF	3
Elderly	8	23	Foreign whites	14	16
Age undefined	18	29	African-American	23	57
Lower Class	20	9	Marital stat. undefined	27	101
Children	20	119	Married	29	134
60 and over	27	74	60 and over	31	29
Not Married	32	704	Settled adult	33	453
Socio-econ.stat undefined	33	37	Children	37	67
White American	37	978	White American	38	569
African-American	40	131	Not Married	42	441
Handicapped	40	23	Young adult	43	122
Settled adult	42	916	Elderly	50	18
Married	45	209	Physically ill	75	36
Native American	50	4	Socio-econ.stat undefined	100	10
Young adult	58	166	Lower Class	100	5
Physically ill	58	88	Age undefined	120	17
Marital stat. undefined	59	340	Mentally ill	160	25
Latino/Hispanic American	60	11	Asian/Pacific American	NS	3
Mentally ill	147	45	Native American	NS	1
Foreign whites	160	38			

NF: No failures.

NS: No successes.

TABLE 42: SUCCESS/FAILURE RATIOS, MAJOR CHARACTERS;  
SATURDAY MORNING

	No. of failures per 100 successes	N for category
Lower Class	NF	5
Latino/Hispanic American	NF	2
Native American	NF	2
Children	22	297
Young adult	29	144
Not Married	36	540
African-American	36	24
Women	40	176
Elderly	40	16
ALL MAJOR CHARACTERS	47	952
Socio-economic stat undefined	48	321
Age undefined	48	240
White American	49	280
Men	49	776
Marital stat. undefined	63	418
Married	66	33
Foreign chars of color	67	10
Handicapped	75	14
Settled adult	95	293
Foreign whites	105	51
Physically ill	108	31
60 and over	143	21
Mentally ill	200	7

NF: No failures.

TABLE 43: SUCCESS/FAILURE RATIOS, MAJOR CHARACTERS BY GENDER;  
SATURDAY MORNING

## Number of villains per 100 heroes

	Among Men			Among Women	
	NF	N		NF	N
Lower Class	NF	4	Young adult	NF	22
Latino/Hispanic American	NF	2	Lower Class	NF	1
Native American	NF	2	Foreign char. of color	NF	3
Children	19	219	White American	23	73
African-American	23	18	Physically ill	33	5
Elderly	25	11	Children	33	75
Not Married	34	409	Marital stat. undefined	35	47
Young adult	36	120	Not Married	42	124
Socio-econ. stat undefined	42	235	Age undefined	50	36
Age undefined	44	174	Married	50	5
White American	61	206	Socio-econ. stat undefined	56	55
Handicapped	63	13	Settled adult	78	38
Marital status undefined	67	339	Elderly	100	5
Married	70	28	Foreign whites	100	12
Settled adult	101	251	African-American	199	6
Foreign whites	106	39	60 and over	200	4
Physically ill	110	24			
Foreign char. of color	133	7			
60 and over	133	17			
Mentally ill	150	6			